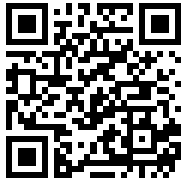
This is a reproduction of a library book that was digitized by Google as part of an ongoing effort to preserve the information in books and make it universally accessible.

Google™ books

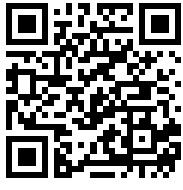
https://books.google.com



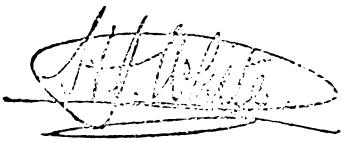
This is a reproduction of a library book that was digitized by Google as part of an ongoing effort to preserve the information in books and make it universally accessible.

Google™ books

https://books.google.com



Digitized by Google



Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

The Journal of Theological Studies

VOLUME XXI

Digitized by Google

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS

LONDON EDINBURGH GLASGOW NEW YORK

TORONTO MELBOURNE CAPE TOWN BOMBAY

HUMPHREY MILFORD

PUBLISHER TO THE UNIVERSITY

Digitized by Google

The Journal

of

Theological Studies

VOLUME XXI

OHIO STATE
UNIVERSITY

OXFORD
AT THE CLARENDON PRESS
1920

Digitized by Google

COMMITTEE OF DIRECTION:

Rev. Dr. Barnes, Hulsean Professor of Divinity, Cambridge.
F. C. Burkitt, D.D., Norrisian Professor of Divinity, Cambridge.
Rev. Dr. Cooke, Regius Professor of Hebrew, Oxford.
Rev. Dr. Kennett, Regius Professor of Hebrew, Cambridge.
Very Rev. Dr. Kirkpatrick, Dean of Ely.
Rev. Dr. Lock, Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity, Oxford.
Rev. Dr. Mason, Canon of Canterbury.
Very Rev. Dr. J. Armitage Robinson, Dean of Wells.
Rev. Dr. Sanday, Oxford.
Rev. Dr. Stanton, Regius Professor of Divinity, Cambridge.
Very Rev. Dr. Strong, Dean of Christ Church, Oxford.

EDITORS:

Rev. Dr. Bethune-Baker, 23 Cranmer Road, Cambridge.
Rev. F. E. Brightman, Magdalen College, Oxford.

Digitized by Google

I

INDEX OF WRITERS

PAGE

ABRAHAMS, I.
THE S.P.C.K. 'TRANSLATIONS OF EARLY DOCUMENTS' . . 179

AYTOUN, R. A.
'HIMSELF HE CANNOT SAVE' (Ps. xxii 29 and Mk. xv 31) . 245

BADCOCK, F. J.
Sanctorum Communio AS AN ARTICLE IN THE CREED . . 106

BARNES, W. E.
The Book of Jeremiah (L. E. Binns) 79
Commentary of R. David Kimhi (R. S. Finch) 80
The Old Testament (R. H. Malden) 82
Shekel Hakodesh (H. Gollancz) 81
The Samaritans (J. E. H. Thomson) 283
The Sayings of the Jewish Fathers (W. O. E. Oesterley) . . 283
Tractate Sanhedrin (H. Danby) 80

BAXTER, J. H.
ST MAXIMUS *contra Iudaeos*: PARALLELS IN EARLIER WRITERS 175

BESSIÈRES, J.
LA TRADITION MANUSCRITE DE LA CORRESPONDANCE DE SAINT BASILE. Edited by C. H. Turner . . . 1, 289

BETHUNE-BAKER, J. F.
Belief and Creed (F. H. Chase) 93
Charis, Phōs (G. P. Wetter) 88
Les mystères païens et le mystère chrétien (A. Loisy) . . . 183
The Ministry of Women (Archbishop's Committee) . . . 93
The Origin of the Doctrine of the Trinity (R. Harris) . . 85
THE POHLE-PREUSS SERIES OF DOGMATIC TEXT-BOOKS . . 92
THE S.P.C.K. 'TRANSLATIONS OF EARLY DOCUMENTS' . . 182
Women in the Apostolic Church (T. B. Allworthy) . . . 93

BRADLEY, H.
Ps. lxxxv 9 243

BURCH, V.
THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO THE HEBREWS: SOME NEW MATTER CHIEFLY FROM COPTIC SOURCES 310
MATERIAL FOR THE INTERPRETATION OF *Ascensio Isaiae* . 249
THE THRENUS SEILAE 76

BURKITT, F. C.
Aram and Israel (E. G. H. Kraeling) 340
Legends of Babylon and Egypt (L. W. King) 280
NOTE ON THE TABLE OF NATIONS (Gen. x) 233
The Sacred Books of the Manichees (P. Alfaric) . . . 338
The Style and Literary Method of Luke (H. J. Cadbury) . . 342

BURNEY, C. F.
AN ACROSTIC POEM IN PRAISE OF JUDAS MACCABAEUS . . 319
NOTES ON SOME HEBREW PASSAGES 239

C4+.

921221

Digitized by Google

PAGE

CONNOLLY, R. H.
LITURGICAL PRAYERS OF INTERCESSION: I. THE GOOD FRIDAY *Orationes Solemnes* 219

COOK, S. A.
CHRONICLE OF THE HISTORY OF RELIGIONS 375

COWLEY, A.
A HITTITE WORD IN HEBREW 326

CREED, J. M.
First Christian Ideas (E. C. Selwyn) 371
The Parables of the Kingdom (H. B. Swete) 373

DANBY, H.
THE BEARING OF THE RABBINICAL CRIMINAL CODE ON THE JEWISH TRIAL NARRATIVES IN THE GOSPELS . . . 51

ESPOSITO, M.
A SEVENTH-CENTURY COMMENTARY ON THE CATHOLIC EPISTLES 316

FAWKES, A.
The 'Defensor Pacis' of Marsiglio of Padua (E. Emerton) . 368
Les Lettres Provinciales (H. F. Stewart) 366

FRIDRICHSEN, A.
AD 1 COR. xiii 169

HOSKYNS, E. C.
GENESIS i–iii AND ST JOHN'S GOSPEL 210

JACKSON, H. L.
Der Sohn Gottes (G. P. Wetter) 277

JAMES, M. R.
Les Acta Salvatoris and *Les Actes du Sauveur* (E. Darley) . 284
The Epistola Apostolorum (C. Schmidt) 334

KENNEDY, J.
PS. xxxii 9 328

LATTEY, C.
'LIFTING UP' IN THE FOURTH GOSPEL 175

LEWIS, F. W.
'THE JOHANNINE ACCOUNT OF THE EARLY MINISTRY OF JESUS' 173

MARRIOTT, G. L.
THE AUTHORSHIP OF A HOMILY ATTRIBUTED TO ST MACARIUS OF EGYPT 177

MARSH, F. S.
PS. lxxiii 10 265

MASON, A. J.
MACARIUS OF EGYPT 266

MICHAEL, J. H.
'THE SIGN OF JOHN' 146

Digitized by Google

PAGE

MOZLEY, J. K.
The Atonement and Ourselves (P. L. Snowden) . . . 185
The Challenge of the Universe (C. J. Shebbeare) . . . 352
Grace and Personality (J. Oman) 349
Lay Religion (H. T. Hodgkin) 187
What is the Kingdom of Heaven? (A. Clutton-Brock) . . 186

NAIRNE, A.
Ἐν ὀλίγῳ με πείθεις Χριστιανὸν ποιῆσαι 171
The Spirit (ed. B. H. Streeter) 345

OMAN, J.
The Idea of Atonement in Christian Theology (H. Rashdall) . 267
The Ministry of Reconciliation (J. R. Gillies) 277
A Short History of the Doctrine of the Atonement . . . 275

RICHARDS, G. C.
A Grammar of the New Testament Greek (J. H. Moulton) . 285

ROBINSON, J. A.
THE 'APOSTOLIC ANAPHORA' AND THE PRAYER OF ST POLYCARP 97

SLEE, H. M.
NOTE ON ST LUKE xiii 6-9 AND ST MATTHEW iii 10 || ST LUKE iii 9 77

SMITH, J. A.
ΑΠΑΡΕΜΦΑΤΟΣ 329

STANTON, H. V.
What think ye of Christ? (C. E. Raven) 353

STEPHENSON, T.
THE OVERLAPPING OF SOURCES IN MATTHEW AND LUKE . 127

STEWART, H. F.
Divine Overruling (W. Sanday) 343
Les premières controverses jansénistes en France (A. Meyer) . 83

TENNANT, F. R.
The Construction of the World in terms of Fact and Value (C. T. H. Walker) 365
Interpretation of the Spiritual Philosophy (J. Gurnhill) . . 365
The Problem of Evil (P. Green) 359
Science and Theology (F. W. Westaway) 356
Some Religious Implications of Pragmatism (J. R. Geiger) . 363

TRITTON, A. S.
PROVERBS xxv 22 172

TURNER, C. H. SEE ALSO BESSIÈRES, J.
NOTES ON THE *Apostolic Constitutions*. III. THE TEXT OF COD. VAT. 1506 160
THE *Shepherd* OF HERMAS AND THE PROBLEM OF ITS TEXT . 193

WHITNEY, J. P.
CHRONICLE OF HISTORICAL WORKS 188

DE ZWAAN, J.
ANOTHER STRAIN OF SYMBOLISM IN THE *Chi-Rho* AS A MONOGRAM OF CHRIST 332

Digitized by Google

II

INDEX OF ARTICLES

PAGE

ARTICLES:

THE 'APOSTOLIC ANAPHORA' AND THE PRAYER OF ST POLYCARP. By J. A. Robinson 97

THE *Shepherd* OF HERMAS AND THE PROBLEM OF ITS TEXT. By C. H. Turner 193

NOTES AND STUDIES:

ΑΠΑΡΕΜΦΑΤΟΣ. By J. A. Smith 329

Apostolic Constitutions, NOTES ON THE. III. THE TEXT OF COD. VAT. 1506. By C. H. Turner 160

Ascensio Isaiae, MATERIAL FOR THE INTERPRETATION OF. By V. Burch 249

SAINT BASILE, LA TRADITION MANUSCRITE DE LA CORRESPONDANCE DE. By J. Bessières and C. H. Turner . . 1, 289

CATHOLIC EPISTLES, A SEVENTH-CENTURY COMMENTARY ON THE. By M. Esposito 316

Chi-Rho AS A MONOGRAM OF CHRIST, ANOTHER STRAIN OF SYMBOLISM IN THE. By J. de Zwaan 332

1 COR. xiii, AD. BY A. Fridrichsen 169

Εν ὀλίγῳ με πείθεις Χριστιανὸν ποιῆσαι. By A. Nairne . . . 171

GENESIS i–iii AND ST JOHN'S GOSPEL. By E. C. Hoskyns . . 210

GOSPEL ACCORDING TO THE HEBREWS, THE: SOME NEW MATTER CHIEFLY FROM COPTIC SOURCES. By V. Burch . . 310

HEBREW PASSAGES, NOTES ON SOME. By C. F. Burney . . 239

'HIMSELF HE CANNOT SAVE' (Ps. xxii 29 and Mk. xv 31). By R. A. Aytoun 245

HITTITE WORD IN HEBREW, A. By A. Cowley 326

'JOHANNINE ACCOUNT OF THE EARLY MINISTRY OF JESUS, THE'. By F. W. Lewis 173

S. JOHN'S GOSPEL, GENESIS i–iii AND. By E. C. Hoskyns . . 210

JUDAS MACCABAEUS, AN ACROSTIC POEM IN PRAISE OF. By C. F. Burney 319

'LIFTING UP' IN THE FOURTH GOSPEL. By C. Lattey . . 175

LITURGICAL PRAYERS OF INTERCESSION: I. THE GOOD FRIDAY *Orationes Solemnes*. By R. H. Connolly 219

Digitized by Google

PAGE

ST LUKE xiii 6-9 AND ST MATTHEW iii 10 || ST LUKE iii 9, NOTE ON. By H. M. Slee 77

LUKE, THE OVERLAPPING OF SOURCES IN MATTHEW AND. By T. Stephenson 127

MACARIUS OF EGYPT. By A. J. Mason 266

ST MACARIUS OF EGYPT, THE AUTHORSHIP OF A HOMILY ATTRIBUTED TO. By G. L. Marriott 177

ST MATTHEW iii 10 || ST LUKE iii 9, NOTE ON ST LUKE xiii 6–9 AND. By H. M. Slee 77

MATTHEW AND LUKE, THE OVERLAPPING OF SOURCES IN. By T. Stephenson 127

ST MAXIMUS *contra Iudaeos*: PARALLELS IN EARLIER WRITERS. By J. H. Baxter 175

PROVERBS xxv 22. By A. S. Tritton 172

PSALM xxxii 9. By J. Kennedy 328

PSALM lxxiii 10. By F. S. Marsh 265

PSALM lxxxv 9. By H. Bradley 243

Sanctorum Communio AS AN ARTICLE OF THE CREED. By F. J. Badcock 106

SIGN OF JOHN, THE. By J. H. Michael 146

TABLE OF NATIONS (Genesis x), NOTE ON THE. By F. C. Burkitt 233

THRENUS SEILAE, THE. By V. Burch 76

TRIAL NARRATIVES IN THE GOSPELS, THE BEARING OF THE RABBINICAL CRIMINAL CODE ON THE JEWISH. By H. Danby 51

Digitized by Google

III

INDEX OF AUTHORS AND BOOKS REVIEWED OR NOTICED

PAGE

Acts xxvi 28 171
Ady, C. M. *Pius II* 188
Alfaric, P. *Les Écritures Manichéennes* 338
Allworthy, T. B. *Women in the Apostolic Church* 93
Apostolic Constitutions 160
Archbishop's Committee. *The Ministry of Women* 93
Ascensio Isaiae 182, 249
Barton, G. A. *The Religions of the World* 380
St Basil *Epistles* 1, 289
Bate, H. N. *The Jewish Sibylline Oracles* 180
Binns, L. E. *The Book of Jeremiah* 79
Box, G. H. *The Apocalypse of Ezra* 179
and J. I. Landsman. *The Apocalypse of Abraham* 182
Brooks, E. W. *Joseph and Asenath* 181
Browne, E. G. *The materials for the study of the Bábí Religion* . . . 379
Cadbury, H. J. *The Style and Literary Method of Luke* 342
Cagin, P. *L'Anaphore apostolique et ses témoins* 97
Catholic Epistles, The 316
Charles, R. H. *The Ascension of Isaiah* 182
,, *The Book of Enoch* 182
and W. O. E. Oesterley. *The Apocalypse of Baruch* 182
,, ,, *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* . . 182
Chase, F. H. *Belief and Creed* 93
Clement of Alexandria *Strom.* iv 25 329
,, ,, *Protrept.* 44 337
Clutton-Brock, A. *What is the Kingdom of Heaven* 186
Cohen, S. S. *Address to the Jewish Theological Seminary, New York* . . 376
1 Cor. xiii 169
Cowley, A. *Jewish Documents of the time of Ezra* 179
Danby, H. *Tractate Sanhedrin* 80
Darley, E. *Les Acta Salvatoris* 284
Emerton, E. *The 'Defensor Pacis' of Marsiglio of Padua* 368
Emmett, C. W. *The Third and Fourth Books of Maccabees* 182
Ferrar, W. J. *The Uncanonical Jewish Books* 182
Finch, R. G. *Kimhi's Commentary on the Psalms* 181
Geiger, J. R. *Some Religious Implications of Pragmatism* 363
Genesis i–iii 210
,, x 233
Gillies, J. R. *The Ministry of Reconciliation* 277
Gollancz, H. *Shekel Hakodesh* 81

Digitized by Google

PAGE

GRAFFIN and NAU. *Patrologia orientalis* ix 3 334
GREEN, P. *The Problem of Evil* 359
GRENSTEAD, L. W. *A Short History of the Doctrine of the Atonement* . . 275
GUERRIER, L., and S. GRÉBAUT. *Le Testament en Galilée de N.-S. Jésus-Christ* 334
GURNHILL, J. *Interpretation of the Spiritual Philosophy* 365
HARRIS, R *The Origin of the doctrine of the Trinity* 85
Hebrews, Gospel according to 310
HIPPOLYTUS, S. *Traditio apostolica* 97
HODGKIN, H. T. *Lay Religion* 187
HOPKINS, E. W. *The History of Religions* 380
HOWARD, W. F. *See* MOULTON, J. H.
HOWELL, A. G. F. *St Bernardino of Siena* 189
JAMES, M. *The Biblical Antiquities of Philo* 181
St John 173, 175, 210
JORDAN, L. H. *The History of Religions in Italian Universities* . . . 375
Journal of the Manchester Egyptian and Oriental Society, 1916–1918 . . 375
KING, L. W. *Legends of Babylon and Egypt in relation to Hebrew Tradition* . 280
KÖNIG, E. *Hermeneutik d. Alten Testaments* 378
KRAELING, E. G. H. *Aram and Israel* 340
LOISY, A. *Les mystères païens et le mystère chrétien* 183
St Luke 127
,, iii 9 77
,, xiii 6–9 77
ST MACARIUS OF EGYPT *Homilies* 177, 266
1 Maccabees iii 2 sqq. 319
MACEWEN, A. R. *A History of the Church of Scotland* 190
MALDEN, R. H. *The Old Testament: its meaning and value for the Church to-day* 82
St Mark xv 31 245
MASON, A. J. *The Ministry of Women* 93
St Matthew 127
,, iii 10 77
ST MAXIMUS *contra Iudaeos* 175
DE MEYER, A. *Les premières controverses jansénistes en France* 83
MOORE, G. F. *The History of Religions* 380
MORGENSTERN, J. *A Jewish Interpretation of the Book of Genesis* . . . 376
MOULTON, J. H. *A Grammar of New Testament Greek* ii (ed. W. F. Howard) 285
OESTERLEY, W. O. E. *The Sayings of the Jewish Fathers* 283
,, *The Wisdom of Ben-Sira* 182
,, *The Wisdom of Solomon* 182
OMAN, J. *Grace and Personality* 349
POHL, J., and A. PREUSS. *Grace actual and habitual, the Sacraments, &c.* . 92
Polycarpi Martyrium 103
PREUSS, A. *See* POHLE, J.
Proverbs xxv 22 172
Psalm xxii 29 245
,, xxxii 9 328
,, lxxiii 10 265
,, lxxxv 9 243
RASHDALL, H. *The Idea of Atonement in Christian Theology* . . . 267

Digitized by Google

PAGE

RAVEN, C. E. *What think ye of Christ?* 353
SANDAY, W. *Divine Overruling* 343
SCHMIDT, C., P. LACAU, and I. WAJNBERG. *Gespräche Jesu mit seinen Jüngern nach der Auferstehung* 334
SELWYN, E. C. *First Christian Ideas* 371
SHEBBEARE, C. J. *The Challenge of the Universe* 352
SNOWDEN, P. L. *The Atonement and Ourselves* 185
STEWART, H. F. *Les Lettres Provinciales* 366
STREETER, B. H. (ed.). *The Spirit: God in His relation to Man* . . . 345
SWETE, H. B. *The Parables of the Kingdom* 373
THACKERAY, H. ST J. *Letter of Aristeas* 179
" *Selections from Josephus* 182
THOMSON, J. E. H. *The Samaritans* 283
Threnus Seilae 76
WALKER, C. T. H. *The Construction of the World in terms of Fact and Value* 365
WESTAWAY, F. W. *Science and Theology* 356
WETTER, G. P. *Charis* 88
" *Phōs* (ΦΩΣ) 88
" *Der Sohn Gottes* 277
WIENER, H. M. *The Religion of Moses* 376

Digitized by Google

The Journal

of

Theological Studies

OCTOBER, 1919

NOTES AND STUDIES

LA TRADITION MANUSCRITE DE LA CORRESPONDANCE DE SAINT BASILE

BY THE LATE ABBÉ J. BESSIÈRES

(INTRODUCTION BY C. H. TURNER)

THE correspondence of St Basil consists in the Benedictine edition of 365 pieces, in Migne's reprint of 366. No attempt has been made since the Benedictine edition appeared in 1730 (in vol. iii of St Basil's works) to study the MSS and their mutual relations: even the Benedictine editors (Dom Garnier and Dom Maran) concentrated their efforts rather on establishing the chronology of the letters than on ascertaining the best available text. In the main their chronology, that is to say the new order in which they arranged the Letters, has been unshaken by criticism, and it has found a zealous defender in Dr Loofs.[1] But as regards the text they were content to give a straightforward and readable text, based on the evidence of the MSS most accessible to them at Paris. And results which do not begin by taking account of the manuscripts as a whole and of a comparison of their contents are unsatisfying, if not necessarily unsatisfactory: so that it was a serious gap in one of the most important sources of our knowledge of St Basil, the man and his times, which M. Bessières set himself to fill by the detailed investigation of which an account has now to be given.

In studying the manuscripts of the correspondence of an ancient writer, there are three ways by which the subject may be approached. There is, firstly, the age and number of the manuscripts: a family represented by many MSS or by the older MSS is likely to be more original than a family represented only by one comparatively late MS.

[1] *Eustathius von Sebaste und die Chronologie der Basiliusbriefe*, Halle, 1898.

Digitized by Google

There is, in the second place, the test of the order of the letters: MSS which give the letters in the same order belong to the same family, and, since there would probably be in the minds of scribes and editors a desire to classify the *disiecta membra* of an extensive correspondence by grouping together letters directed to the same correspondent or letters bearing on the same or similar subjects, a group of MSS where this sort of classification is extensively adopted is likely to belong to a later stage of the developement of the collection than a group in which the letters are less logically arranged. But it must not be forgetten that we are dealing only with probabilities and presumptions, and therefore we can never dispense with the third and final test, namely a comparison of various readings actually found in the manuscripts of different families.

The treatise now before us is, in the main, an exhaustive application of the second of the three methods just described to the problem of the correspondence of St Basil. M. Bessières' results are in the highest degree interesting: he has spared no labour in the enumeration of the contents of the different MSS and in the construction of tables of concordance between them: and he has, in my judgement, rightly divined which family of MSS should be placed at the head of the tradition, as representing the earliest stage of the developement. But though this main and primary conclusion seems to me incontestable, I think that he has throughout depended too exclusively on this second method (the order, that is, of the letters in the different MSS) taken by itself, and that if he had kept a more open mind to considerations of the age and number of the MSS, and still more of the filiation of the text as evidenced by *variae lectiones*, his treatment of the relative priority of the groups in one of his main families of MSS would have worked itself out on rather different lines to those which are embodied in his essay.

Broadly speaking, M. Bessières has examined between twenty-five and thirty MSS, ranging in date from the tenth to the sixteenth century, all of them containing at least 100 letters and most of them not less than 200. In western Europe he has worked at the libraries of Paris, Oxford, Berlin, Munich, and Vienna, besides the chief libraries of Italy, and he also visited Patmos. It is certain that no one would willingly repeat the toilsome process of describing so minutely the number and order of the letters contained in these MSS, and from this point of view alone it may be said to be quite essential to the interests of learning that M. Bessières' researches should find their way into print.

A preliminary chapter (pp. 9–22) describes the printed texts. Although the first Greek edition of any of the letters goes back as far as 1499, the various editions that followed in the sixteenth century made only gradual progress in the recovery of the correspondence. Morel's Paris edition of 1618 repeated from previous editors a total of 214 letters, which was

Digitized by Google

exactly doubled by the addition of a contribution from English sources of a further 214.[1] This edition concluded the chapter of the recovery of the letters: the three centuries which have elapsed since Morel have scarcely added anything to the substance of the material, but they have seen at least the opening of the critical treatment of it. The Benedictine editors, a century after Morel, for the first time digested the amorphous mass into something like an ordered series, divided into three classes: 46 letters written before St Basil's consecration to the bishopric of Caesarea in 370; 245 letters (47–291) written between his consecration and his death on Jan. 1, 379; and 74 letters (292–365) impossible to date, or doubtful, or spurious.

The first of M. Bessières' numbered chapters (chap. I pp. 22–50, with a list of the MSS used, pp. 21, 22) describes in succession the contents of twenty-seven MSS; in a few cases, where the MS is quite late and the family to which it belongs has several older representatives, summarily, but as a rule with full detail. For the convenience of the reader in following the thread of the argument which is to follow, the order of description already assumes a rough division into lines of transmission ('embranchements') and families of MSS ('familles'): M. Bessières divides his material into two main branches, A and B, the A line of transmission having three subdivisions, the families Aa, Ab, Ac, the B line four subdivisions, Bo, Bu, Bx, and Bz. The largest group, reckoned by the number of MSS belonging to it, is Aa, with eight MSS, of which Patmos 57, of the tenth century, is the oldest: but it happens that though almost a third of M. Bessières' MSS are now, and were at the date of the Benedictine edition, in Paris, the only Aa MS at Paris is of the sixteenth century, so that it is not surprising that the Benedictine edition does not reproduce the Aa text. If M. Bessières is, as we fully believe, right in assigning the superiority to this family over all the rest, it is at once obvious that, from the point of view of the readings adopted, a new critical edition might in detail differ rather widely from the Benedictine.

Chapter II (pp. 51 ff.) is devoted to an examination of the mutual relations of the three subdivisions of the A line of transmission. The Aa family (especially as expressed in its three oldest representatives, Patmos 57, s. x, Oxford Baroccianus 121, s. xi, Venice Marcianus 61, s. xi) contains 272 letters, the order of which is, at least when compared to the order of Ab and Ac, relatively haphazard. Both Ab and Ac are larger in bulk than Aa, and both make more attempt at systematic classification: but their additions and their rearrangements are independent of one another, so that they appear to be distinct developements of a commo

[1] See preface to vol. i, and vol. ii p. 1000, 'epistolae novae, quae a Richardo Montacutio [Mountague, afterwards bishop of Chichester and Norwich] nunc primum ex Anglicis codicibus MSS. eduntur et Latinitate donantur; An. MDCXVII.'

Digitized by Google

stock which is Aa. Ac (which would seem to be a closer representative than Ab of Aa, though in number and age of the MSS composing it it is the less important of the two) takes Aa as its base, but at every fresh name of a correspondent it brings together all the letters addessed to him at whatever point in Aa they occur; and to the Aa total it adds the group known as Ἀνεπίγραφοι, that is, letters without the name of the addressee. Ab contains 310 letters, rearranged on a somewhat similar plan, but with still more drastic systematization.

Next follows, in chapter III, a corresponding study of the four families or subdivisions of the other or B line of transmission. The matter is here more complicated, and the conclusions reached, it must be frankly added, are less satisfying. M. Bessières takes his start from the two families Bo and Bu, which have both the most ancient and the most numerous attestation among the four of this line, the former resting on the testimony of five MSS, the latter on three, in either case with a MS of about A. D. 1000 as the earliest. Using the same criterion as for the A families, we find that Bo, though far from shewing so elaborate a plan as either Ab or Ac, is both more complete and more systematically arranged than Bu; from which facts the conclusion is provisionally drawn that it is later. Next the subdivision Bz is considered, first by a comparison of its two representatives with one another, then by a comparison of their resultant order with the order of Bo and again of Bu. Relationship is clear, and it is more marked with Bu than with Bo. What then is the kind of relationship? Is Bu derived from Bz, or is it vice versa? or if they are descendants of a common ancestor, which reproduces it the more faithfully? M. Bessières compares in succession several small groups of letters found, but in differing order, in both families, and concludes that Bz, of which the distinguishing mark is the great 'incoherence' of its order, is the more primitive collection of the two, and that Bu is a recasting and improvement of Bz, as Bo in turn was seen to be of Bu. Finally the subdivision Bx receives separate treatment, and though its independence of its companions is very thorough-going and its order of the letters is the issue of a revision effected with relentless logic, it is decided to be fundamentally of the B type, and descended from a Bz MS.

Thus on M. Bessières' chain of reasoning the Bz family emerges as the most primitive representative of the B line of transmission, and it only remains to bring it into connexion with the corresponding oldest representative of the A line, in order to see whether there is any 'common measure' between the two main lines of transmission in their ultimate forms: and chapter IV is intended to answer this question. But in fact, as we shall see later on, there is some weak point in the argument, for the conclusion as to the antiquity of the Bz family in relation to other families breaks down hopelessly when confronted with

Digitized by Google

the test of the actual readings it offers. It was suspicious, to start with, that a family whose two representatives were of the thirteenth and sixteenth century respectively should be supposed to transmit the most original form of the collection contained in any of the B MSS: and when to that is added the evidence which M. Bessières' fifth chapter will be found to provide as to the worthless character of the Bz text, one can only say that the use of the classification method as the sole clue to the disentanglement of the rival claims to priority of the different families of a single line of transmission has in this instance broken down. It is conceivable, of course, though perhaps not very probable, that a MS or group of MSS might retain a primitive order of contents, even when its text was subjected to a drastic process of depravation. But it becomes at least quite useless for textual purposes: and any future editor of St Basil's letters will do well to fight entirely shy of Vaticanus 435 and Berolinensis 23, the two component members of the Bz family.

Chapter IV deals in general, as we have said, with the question of the possibility of establishing contact between the ultimate or original form of the A line and the ultimate or original form of the B line of transmission. But as we have already given the caution that M. Bessières' results as to the most ancient type among the B families will be shewn by a consideration of his own material, as supplied in his next chapter, to be quite untenable, it would be superfluous to go into further detail with regard to the steps by which he seeks to shew, first, the existence of points of contact between his Aa and his Bz, and, secondly, the priority of Aa over Bz. Without denying the validity of his conclusion in itself, it only shews (on our view) the dependence of a late B type on an early A type: and the problem of the relation of the earliest traceable B type to the earliest A type remains so far unsolved. Nevertheless the chapter contains two further side-enquiries which merit notice; namely, (1) at the start, a detailed enumeration of a homogeneous group of letters, some thirty-eight in number, headed Ἀνεπίγραφος, absent from the earlier MSS of the Aa family, and (2) at the close, a discussion of the bearings of a papyrus fragment at Berlin, said to be of the fifth century, containing successive extracts from five letters of St Basil. The grounds for asserting that the author of this *florilegium* drew on a MS which gave the letters in the *order* of the Aa family are not very convincing: but there is more substance in the conclusion that the readings of the papyrus are much closer to the *text* of the A MSS than to that of the B MSS.

This preliminary enquiry into textual relations leads on to the full and detailed examination in chapter V of the readings of a number of MSS for one selected letter, Ep. 46 *ad virginem lapsam*. It is unfortunate that M. Bessières should have chosen for his specimen

Digitized by Google

text a letter that is on the one hand not quite certainly genuine, and on the other has a place in the manuscript tradition not only of the letters of St Basil but of his homilies, since the possibility is opened that cross-currents from the one line of tradition may have had effect on the other, and therefore the normal text of a MS, or group of MSS, of the letters may on this occasion have suffered contamination from another source, namely MSS of the homilies. But with this reserve the evidence must be accepted, and its tenor is clear enough; so clear that M. Bessières would surely have been the first to see it in its full bearings, if his mind had not been preoccupied by the results to which the exclusive use of his method of comparison of the order of the letters had already led him. He admits indeed that the text of the family Bz—the family which he places at the source of the B line of transmission—is 'un texte fortement glosé'. But he supposes, if I understand him aright, that this is the most ancient stage of the text to which we can reach back,[1] and that the A and the rest of the B line represent independent and haphazard efforts at disembarrassing it of its accretions. But a very slight consideration of the variants themselves will lead us at once to a much simpler conclusion: Bz stands not at the beginning but at the end of a long line of developement, and betrays itself either as tertiary when it gives a conflate reading made up of two (or even more) readings found separately in other authorities, or at least as secondary, by its Biblical 'tags' or its doctrinal polish.

A few examples must suffice in proof of this:—

(1) ἀλλὰ σὺ τῆς θείας ἐκείνης κοινωνίας τὸν ζυγὸν ἀπορρήξασα Aa–c and (at any rate for the first six words) 7 MSS of Homilies.
ἀλλὰ σὺ τῆς θείας ἐκείνης κοινωνίας τὸν ζυγὸν ἀπορρίψασα Ab.
ἀλλὰ σὺ τῆς θείας ἐκείνης συναφείας τὸν ζυγὸν ἀπορρίψασα Bo.
ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς θείας ἐκείνης συναφείας τὸν ζυγὸν ἀπορρίψασα Bu.
ἀλλὰ καὶ σὺ τῆς θείας ἐκείνης παρθενίας τὸν ζυγὸν ἀθετήσασα 3 MSS of Homilies.
ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ τῆς θείας ἐκείνης κοινωνίας καὶ συναφείας τῆς ἐκ τῆς παρθενίας τὸν ζυγὸν ἀθετήσασα σύ . . . Bz.

Here Bz is certainly the latest, Aa–c presumably the earliest, reading.

(2) τοῦ ἀνδρός Bo–u (and Rufinus's Latin version 'viro suo').
τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ ἀνδρός A (a, b, c) with 3 MSS of Homilies.
τοῦ ἀθανάτου ἀνδρός 10 MSS of Homilies.
τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ καὶ ἀθανάτου ἀνδρός Bz.

(3) τοῦ δεσπότου A Bo–u with 8 MSS of Homilies.
τοῦ ἐπουρανίουδεσπότου Bz with 3 MSS of Homilies.

[1] But this is not quite consistent with what he says elsewhere of the superior originality of A.

Digitized by Google

(4) τοῦ νυμφίου : τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ νυμφίου Bz with 4 MSS of Homilies.

(5) πικρότερον χολῆς εὑρήσεις : + καὶ ἠκονημένον μᾶλλον μαχαίρας διστόμου (Prov. v 4) Bz with 6 MSS of Homilies.

(6) Ἱερεμίου : + τοῦ προφήτου Bz with 3 MSS of Homilies.

But the data supplied by these collations enable us to extend our inductions beyond this negative result about the Bz family. They supply corroborative proof of the general excellence of the A text: for instance:—

(7) πρὸς τὸν νύμφιον A (5 MSS of Homilies): πρὸς τὸν ἀληθινὸν νύμφιον B (8 MSS of Homilies):

and compare κοινωνίας in (1) above. But they also supply, what takes us a step further in the process of working out the text-relationships between the A and B families, some clear indications that the Ab family is a link between the two lines: thus:—

(8) κέκραγε μεῖζον ἢ περὶ τῆς Ἡρωδιάδος Aa–c with 10 MSS of Homilies. Add (after μεῖζον) ὁ Ἰωάννης Ab B with 3 MSS of Homilies.

(9) αὔραν δεξαμένη τοῦ ἀέρος τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ νῦν ἐνεργοῦντος Aa–c (9 MSS of Homilies): τοῦ ἀερίου (for ἀερὸς τοῦ) πνεύματος Ab B. Here αὔρα seems to call for the literal word ἀέρος.

(10) τὸν μητρῷον οἶκον καταλιποῦσα Aa–c (one MS of Ab) and 5 MSS of Homilies: πατρῷον Ab (two MSS) B and 9 MSS of Homilies. Here μητρῷον recalls what has been said about grandmother, mother, and sister earlier in the letter: πατρῷον is a Biblical reminiscence from Ps. xlv (xliv) 11.

In the final section of this fifth chapter, M. Bessières poses the question whether behind the collection Aa, which to him is the sole ultimate source of the rest, we can get back to any earlier stage of the formation of the *corpus* of St Basil's letters. *A priori* it is likely that large collections should have been formed out of smaller ones—we see this process at work in the various enlargements of Aa, and we have no reason to suppose that Aa itself had been immune from it in the course of its own growth. Moreover, examination of its contents (it is an amorphous mass, as it stands, of letters heaped up after one another pell-mell) does suggest points of juncture between one stage of the collection and another. In the first portion letters to the same correspondent are almost without exception grouped together. But after we have passed beyond the first 100 items we find, for instance, a second group of letters to Libanius (105–107 of the Aa order) followed immediately by a second group of letters to Eusebius of Samosata (108–111). There is therefore something to be said for the conjecture that the original nucleus of the Aa collection was a small edition of only some 100 letters or so, which in process of time received one supplement after another until the complete

Digitized by Google

number of 272 letters was attained. If we go on to ask whether the external evidence of history has anything to tell us in reinforcement of the internal evidence of our earliest extant collection, we have in answer the interesting *datum* that St Gregory Nazianzen did in fact send his friend Nicobulus (see his 53rd epistle) a collection of St Basil's letters and of his own. Perhaps M. Bessières is overstepping the due bounds of caution when he conjectures that St Gregory's collection was, as regards the Basil section, nothing else than the first 100 letters of the Aa MSS: certainly it would need a parallel work of enquiry into the tradition of St Gregory's own letters before the hypothesis could be called more than plausible. But anyhow the evidence of the Basil MSS alone is enough to indicate the three main stages of the developement of the collected correspondence: first an original nucleus, fairly well arranged, of (it would seem) about 100 letters, going back no doubt to within a few years of St Basil's death; secondly, a stage of successive additions, spread it may be over a century or more, by which without any rearrangement one supplement after another was tacked on to the existing collection, until the 100 letters had swelled to 272, and the collection emerges to the light of day in our Aa MSS; thirdly a process, or rather a series of independent, possibly even simultaneous, processes, by which something was done to enlarge the collection, and a great deal was done in the way of recasting and rearranging it—processes represented by all our MSS except those of the Aa family. But greatly though this editorial labour must have served the convenience of the reader, it is almost always the case that the text suffers when an editor's hand is once at work. The letters are not only sorted and put in order, but they are emended and polished as well. It is not surprising that the Aa order of the letters being the most original, the Aa form of text should turn out to be the most original also.

In the sixth and last chapter M. Bessières discusses the problem of the genuineness of the correspondence. He first reviews those letters, between ninety and a hundred in number, which do not form part of the Aa collection, but were incorporated subsequently. More than a third of these belong to the group, already mentioned, of the 'Ανεπίγραφοι: but as a matter of fact the 'Ανεπίγραφοι can hardly be separated from a number of other letters which though not strictly 'unaddressed' are addressed to unknown or obscure individuals, and so the number of letters in this subsection, if we may so call it, is raised to a proportion of quite two-thirds of the letters absent from A. These letters do not appear in the oldest MSS even of the B line of tradition: they entered therefore into the collections at a relatively late date, and in the Ab family they retain their place apart at the end of the collection. Obviously they do not bear the same external guarantee as the letters

Digitized by Google

of the earlier collections. Yet it does not follow that they are not for the most part genuine: M. Bessières finds indeed that some of them are too insignificant to offer any opening for criticism, favourable or otherwise; a few are letters of Gregory rather than of Basil; a few again are not really, whether genuine or not, letters at all; but, apart from certain letters to Libanius and to Apollinaris, there are hardly any which there is actual reason to suspect.

Next M. Bessières turns to the few items appearing in the collection Aa on which doubt has been thrown. He defends epp. 45–46 (of the Benedictine numeration) *ad monachum lapsum*, *ad virginem lapsam*, though as homilies rather than letters: rejects the pair of letters to and from Julian, epp. 40, 41: rejects also ep. 16, which is not a letter but is extracted from Gregory of Nyssa's work against Eunomius, and ep. 321, which belongs to Gregory Nazianzen.

Lastly he examines the correspondence with Libanius (epp. 335–359), and points out that in Aa, which contains some twenty of the letters in question, they appear in three different groups; for the genuineness of the first group (epp. 335–343) he declares decisively, and for the second group (epp. 344–346) with more hesitation: the rest, apart from ep. 358, he rejects.

Here ends this most valuable dissertation: and here ends the analysis and criticism of it.

C. H. Turner.

LA TRADITION MANUSCRITE DE LA CORRESPONDANCE DE SAINT BASILE

Introduction.

En abordant l'étude des manuscrits qui nous ont transmis la Correspondance de S. Basile, nous nous proposions, en gros, d'en tirer tout ce qui nous permettrait d'établir l'histoire du texte de cette Correspondance, et c'est en fixant nos classifications et nos filiations de manuscrits que nous avons été conduit à des conclusions relatives à l'histoire du texte antérieurement aux manuscrits les plus anciens. Notre étude comprendra donc deux parties distinctes bien qu'étroitement liées, la première ayant pour objet de décrire et de classer les manuscrits, la deuxième de découvrir l'état du plus ancien recueil.

Le problème qui se pose à propos de la Correspondance de S. Basile se pose aussi à propos de tous les textes anciens. Les données traditionnelles diffèrent pour chaque auteur, il est vrai, et elles obligent la recherche philologique à varier chaque fois l'emploi de ses critères et de ses méthodes. Lorsque les manuscrits sont peu nombreux, on obtient d'excellents résultats par la collation intégrale de leur contenu.

Digitized by Google

Mais quand les manuscrits sont nombreux et très dispersés, comme c'est le cas pour les manuscrits de la Correspondance de S. Basile, il serait impossible d'aboutir à une solution si l'on était obligé de les collationner tous. Heureusement le philologue possède des critères plus extérieurs, plus apparents, qui le dispensent de recourir à la collation autrement que par sondages, à titre de contre-épreuve. Nous avons établi nos résultats en comparant l'ordre de succession des Lettres dans les différents manuscrits. Nous exposerons en temps et lieu le détail de notre méthode.

Les manuscrits que nous avons étudiés sont très dispersés. Nous sommes allé les étudier tous sur place, en Angleterre, en Italie, en Bavière, en Autriche, dans l'île de Patmos. Tous les manuscrits décrits dans le présent travail ont ainsi passé entre nos mains, ce qui nous a permis de contrôler, de rectifier, et de compléter au besoin, les indications souvent insuffisantes des catalogues.

Nous avons délibérément exclu de notre enquête :

1er Les manuscrits qui ne contiennent que quelques Lettres de genre homilétique, insérées dans les manuscrits d'Homélies, et des Lettres de genre canonique ou considérées comme telles. Ces manuscrits extrêmement nombreux, peuvent être considérés comme représentant une tradition indépendante. En tout cas l'examen de ces Lettres dans de tels manuscrits ne nous eût donné aucun résultat intéressant l'ensemble de la Correspondance, et le travail aurait été aussi long que stérile.

2e Les manuscrits incomplets par mutilation, par exemple le 678 du Supplément grec de la Bibliothèque nationale de Paris, qui contient les Lettres 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 112, 61, 66, 80, 197, 279, 280, 111, 89, 214, et qui se rattache à la famille que nous appellerons Aa. Ces manuscrits, dans la mesure où ils nous permettent une comparaison avec les manuscrits plus complets, peuvent être incorporés à notre classification, aucun ne décèle une tradition différente de celle que nous avons étudiée. Étant donné leur état, nous avons cru pouvoir les négliger sans dommage.

3e Les manuscrits incomplets parce qu'ils représentent un choix (florilèges). Exemple : l'Angelicanus 13 (Bibl. Angelica, Rome),[1] ms.

[1] En voici le contenu : 341, 335, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 356, 342, 343, 347, 348, 344, 161, 176 (jusqu'aux mots *ἐρρωμένος καὶ εὔθυμος*, *P. G.* 32. 653 C. 2), 150, 223 (à partir de *⟨εὐ⟩θὺς ταῖς βλασφημίαις βάλλοντες*, *ibid.* 829), 1, 58, 267, 281, 163, 4, 12, 259, 26, 18, 82, 80, 61, 69, 66, 67, 133, 100, 30, 98, 63, 258 (jusqu'à *τὸ μέρος ἀσφαλισάμενος ibid.* 952), 50, 81, 185, 181, 79, 57, 197 (jusqu'à *ἐπὶ γῆς πάμπληθες ἀπωκίσμεθα*), 84 (jusqu'à *περὶ τὸ ἄρχειν σου ἀρετῆς*), 15, 329, 152 (à partir de *κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην*), 321, [Greg. Naz. 57 (*P. G.* 37. 112 B.)], 93, 330, 332, 16, 140, 53; *Ἀπολιναρίῳ περὶ τῆς θείας οὐσίας* (inc. *ἐδεξάμην τὸ γνώρισμα τῆς πίστεως* : faussement attribuée à S. Basile : éditée d'après ce ms. par L. Sébastiani, *Epistola ad Apollinarem, etc.*, Rome, 1776), 307, 60, 59, 56, 323 (sans l'adresse), 164, 306, 215, 317, 37, 83, 106, 194, 290, 123, 64, 209, 227, 178, 196, 118, 14 . . . 71.

Digitized by Google

sur parchemin 180 × 130 mm., folios 180, mutilé des folios 16, 48, 176 — XI^e siècle. Par l'ordre de succession de ses Lettres, et par les quelques leçons que nous avons relevées, se classe dans la famille que nous appellerons Bo.

Nous avons retenu les manuscrits contenant un minimum d'une centaine de Lettres. En outre, nous avons choisi comme représentants typiques de chaque famille les exemplaires non interpolés. Pour les autres nous avons, dans la mesure du possible, récherché la source de l'interpolation, ce qui nous a permis de classer les manuscrits mixtes et composites; tel le Patmius 326.

Nous avons distingué en tout sept familles de mss. qui se ramènent à deux embranchements. Les manuscrits qui donnent les Lettres dans un ordre identique sont de la même famille. Les familles qui offrent entre elles de nombreuses analogies d'ordre sont d'un même embranchement.

Le présent travail comporte six chapitres que nous faisons précéder d'un chapitre préliminaire sur les éditions grecques de la Correspondance de S. Basile.

En effet les éditions représentent elles-mêmes quelque chose de la tradition. Nous nous référons souvent à l'une ou à l'autre de ces éditions et notamment à l'édition mauriste reproduite par Migne. Il y avait donc lieu de se demander comment et d'après quels manuscrits se sont constituées ces éditions.

Le Chapitre I décrit les manuscrits à classer. Il fournit les renseignements d'usage sur le format, l'âge, la matière, l'état, le contenu de chacun d'eux. Ces descriptions serviront à contrôler les tableaux des chapitres suivants. Elles ne font pas double emploi avec eux, car dans ces tableaux les renseignements sur les mss. eux-mêmes ne sauraient trouver place.

Le Chapitre II étudie les mss. de l'embranchement A.

Le Chapitre III étudie les mss. de l'embranchement B. Ils sont bâtis sur un même plan. Les familles y sont présentées d'abord isolément, puis rapprochées entre elles au sein de leurs embranchements respectifs.

Le Chapitre IV rapproche et compare entre eux les deux embranchements, en vue de découvrir l'état le plus ancien de la tradition. On y fait intervenir les renseignements fournis par un papyrus qui se trouve aujourd'hui à Berlin, en vue de déterminer la forme et l'ordre du recueil d'où sont vraisemblablement issus nos deux embranchements.

Le Chapitre V compare les variantes fournies par plusieurs exemplaires de chaque famille pour la Lettre 46 (*ad virginem lapsam*). C'est la contre-épreuve philologique de notre classification. Nous l'aurions voulue plus étendue, mais l'indigence de nos moyens, la dispersion des mss., ne nous ont pas permis de lui donner toute l'ampleur souhaitée.

Digitized by Google

Le Chapitre VI s'occupe des questions d'authenticité envisagées du point de vue de la tradition manuscrite. Faisant état des résultats acquis, il part de l'état du plus ancien recueil, de l'archétype reconstitué par hypothèse, pour examiner l'authenticité de certaines lettres, suivant leur incorporation plus ou moins tardive à la tradition. Ce chapitre, après un paragraphe consacré au plus ancien recueil, contient un stemma général, et la discussion proprement dite des problèmes d'authenticité.

Nous sollicitons l'indulgence des lecteurs pour les erreurs qui, malgré notre diligence, auront échappé à notre attention dans un travail où abondent les chiffres et les statistiques. Nous ne croyons pas toutefois qu'elles soient de nature à vicier nos conclusions. Si, malgré ses imperfections, la présente étude récolte quelque approbation, nous en rapporterons l'honneur aux maîtres qui en ont suivi ou guidé l'élaboration, surtout à Monsieur A. Desrousseaux qui, au jour-le-jour, a dirigé et contrôlé notre tâche. Nous adressons également nos remerciements à MM. les bibliothécaires préposés aux collections que nous avons visitées, à Monseigneur Mercati qui nous a communiqué ses relevés des manuscrits de la Vaticane, et généralement à toutes les personnes qui, à divers titres, nous ont aidé à mener à bonne fin le présent travail.[1]

Chapitre préliminaire.

Les Éditions grecques — Indications sommaires sur les manuscrits qui ont servi à les établir.

I. Ἐπιστολαὶ Βασιλείου τοῦ μεγάλου, Λιβανίου ῥήτορος, Χίωνος τοῦ Πλατωνικοῦ, Αἰσχίνου καὶ Ἰσοκράτους τῶν ῥητόρων, Φαλάριδος τοῦ τυράννου, Βρούτου Ῥωμαίου, Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ Τυανέως, Ἰουλιανοῦ τοῦ παραβάτου, Ἐπιστολαὶ διαφόρων ῥητόρων, σοφιστῶν ἐξ πρὸς τοῖς εἴκοσι. Ἐνετίῃσι παρ' Ἄλδῳ. 1499. in-4°. Cette édition partielle de lettres de S. Basile est mentionnée au tome I de la *Bibliotheca graeca* de Fabricius-Harles, p. 672, et au tome VI p. 777 note *t.*[2] — En voici la dédicace : —

'Aldus Manutius Romanus Antonio Codro Urceo S.P.D.—Collegimus nuper, Codre doctissime, quotquot habere potuimus graecas epistolas,

[1] Le point de vue d'où nous étudions la Correspondance de S. Basile nous dispense d'établir une table bibliographique. Relativement aux éditions, nous avons puisé largement dans Fabricius-Harles, t. ix. Pour les mss. nous n'avons pu utiliser que les catalogues (cf. Gardthausen *Sammlungen und Kataloge*) et la précieuse collection des 'Studi italiani di filologia classica'. Nous signalerons en note les autres ouvrages utilisés dans cette étude.

[2] Pour les réimpressions voir Fabr.-Harl., IX p. 53 'Illa collectio (Manutii) deinde cum latina versione prodiit Genevae 1606 in fol. sub falso nomine Iacobi Cujaci' : *ib.* p. 55 'Basilii et Libanii epistolas una cum sex vel septem brevioribus epistolis Graece in tironum usus recudi fecit H. Stephanus 1577 in-8° inter epistolia dialogos oratiunculas et poemata e variis scriptoribus collecta'.

Digitized by Google

easque typis nostris excusas duobus libris publicamus, praeter multas illas Basilii, Gregorii, et Libanii quas cum primum fuerit facultas imprimendas domi servamus. Auctores vero, quorum epistolas damus, sunt numero circiter quinque et triginta, ut in ipsis libris licet videre. Has ad te qui et latinas et graecas litteras in celeberrimo Bononiensi gymnasio publice profiteris muneri mittimus, tum ut a te discipulis ostendantur tuis, quo ad cultiores litteras capessendas incendantur magis, tum ut apud te sint Aldi tui *μνημόσυνον* et pignus amoris. Vale. Venetiis quinto decimo Kalendas Maias MID.'

Voici le détail des lettres de S. Basile et de Libanios que contient cette édition. — Migne *P. G.*, vol. xxxii, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 112, 1, 293, 151, 135, 20, 16, 4, 211, 12, 13, 3, 116, 10, 330, 332, 333, 86, 14, 2, 334, 19.

Nous n'avons pu déterminer de quelle catégorie de mss. Alde a extrait ce florilège.

II. *Basilii Magni et Gregorii Nazianzeni theologorum epistolae graecae nunquam antea editae.* Haganoae [1] per Iohan. Secerium [2] anno MDXXVIII, in-8°. Cette édition, œuvre de Vincent Obsopœus, est dédiée à Wilibald Pyrckheimer,[3] patrice de Nuremberg. L'épître dédicatoire nous fournit un renseignement, d'ailleurs vague, sur le ms. qui est à la base de l'édition en question. 'Cum nuper inspiciendum mihi obtulisset ex bibliotheca tua, Bibalde claris., Georgius Leutius codicem epistolarum Basilii et Gregorii, quem cum ob literarum characteras, tum ob vetustatem vehementer videre cupiebam : est enim, ut mihi coniecturam facienti visum est, ante ducentos aut amplius annos descriptus inque regis Vngariae [4] Bibliothecam repositus : in eo ergo cum avidissime versarer, coepi epistolas quoque aliquot excutere . . . . . Sed enim cum animadverterem huius tam rari codicis precium nulla tua invidia premi, cum alias tuae instructissimae Bibliothecae utriusque linguae authores studiosis a te flagitantibus . . . utendos dare soleas, coepi te per Andream Butellium familiarem tuum interpellare . . . me describendi laborem et taedium libenti animo suscipere velle . . .'

Quelles ont été les destinées de ce ms.? Comment se trouvait-il alors dans la bibliothèque de Pyrckheimer à Nuremberg? Où se trouve-t-il actuellement? Il doit bien porter les armes de Mathias Corvin. Mais aucun catalogue ne nous renseigne là-dessus. Toujours

[1] Grossenhain, ville du royaume de Saxe.

[2] Secerius est le nom de l'imprimeur.

[3] Pirckheimer d'après Eckstein.

[4] Mathias Corvin, roi de Hongrie de 1458 à 1490. La littérature relative à Corvin (Gardthausen *Sammlungen u. Kataloge* pp. 71, 72) ne nous fournit aucun renseignement sur le ms. en question.

Digitized by Google

est-il qu'il appartenait sûrement à la famille que nous appelons Ab, ainsi qu'on peut le déduire de l'ordre de succession des lettres basiliennes dans l'édition en question. On y trouve intercalées 58 lettres de S. Grégoire de Nazianze. Voici le contenu de l'édition de Grossenhain : —

Bas. 2, 7, 19, 47, 10, 27, 30, 138, 268, 239, 271. Ensuite 21 lettres de S. Grég. Naz. — Bas. 238; puis 8 lettres de S. Grég. Naz. — Bas. 277, 38, 58, 60, 59, 61, 66, 80, 67, 82, 69, 25, 24, 197, 57, 68, 120, 129, 140, 90, 28, 207, 210, 261, 246, 29, 97, 92, 243, 139, 251, 226, 263, 204, 53, 303, 125, 223, 189, 151, 244, 20, 32, 250, 51, 115; puis 29 lettres de Grég. Naz. — Bas. 8.

Nous n'avons là qu'un florilège. L'éditeur mentionne dans sa dédicace l'Aldine décrite ci-dessus. 'Paucas saltem Basilii ad Libanium Sophistam, et alios nonnullos . . . edidit, quas nos in hoc libello consulto praetermisimus.' Au surplus l'éditeur fait œuvre de controverse dans son choix. L'édition de Venise était d'un humaniste, celle-ci est d'un théologien. ('Faxit Christus ut per te et Martinum nostrum incomparabilem illum sacrae doctrinae vindicem.') Cette polémique est dirigée contre les Oecolampadiens et les Munzériens 'ces pestiférés'. L'habitude d'intercaler une quantité de lettres de S. Grégoire de Naz. parmi celles de S. Basile se maintiendra dans les éditions suivantes jusqu'à celle des Mauristes.

III. La première édition de Bâle, chez Jérôme Froben, avec une lettre-préface d'Érasme à Sadolet évêque de Carpentras, 1532, in-fol. de 674 pages. Contient : —

Βασιλείου τοῦ μεγάλου, εἰς τὴν ἑξαήμερον, ὁμιλίαι ια'. εἰς Ψαλμούς, ὁμιλίαι ιε'. ἄλλαι ὁμιλίαι κθ'. περὶ ἁγίου πνεύματος πρὸς Ἀμφιλόχιον. ἐπιστολαὶ Βασιλείου τοῦ μεγάλου καὶ Γρηγορίου τοῦ θεολόγου.

Voici la liste des Lettres de S. Basile : —

2, 7, 19, 47, 34, 27, 30, 138, 268, 269, 271, puis huit lettres de S. Grég. Naz.; 14, puis treize lettres de Grég. Naz.; 71, encore Grég. Naz. avec sept lettres; 9, 277, 38, 58, 60, 59, 61, 66, 80, 82, 69, 25, 24, 197, 57, 68, 120, 129, 140, 90, 28, 207, 210, 261, 246, 29, 97, 92, 243, 139, 251, 226, 263, 204, 53, 203, 125, 223, 189, 151, 224, 20, 32, 250, 51, 115. Ensuite cinquante-trois lettres de Grég. Naz.; puis 8, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 112, 1, 293, 135, 16, 4, 211, 12, 13, 3, 116, 10, 330, 332, 333, 86, 334.

IV. *Opera quaedam Basilii Caesariensis episcopi.* (Tractatus ethicorum—Regula, sive τὰ ἀσκητικά—De Virginitate—Contra Eunomium—Item sermones et epistolae nonnullae insertae in regula: quae omnia diligenter recognita nunc primum impressa sunt.) Venetiis, apud Stephanum Sabium, anno Salutis M.D.XXX V mense novembri. Dédicace au cardinal Gaspari Contareno. Édition établie principalement d'après

Digitized by Google

trois manuscrits de Venise, nous ne savons lesquels, et un manuscrit du Mont-Cassin.[1]

Contient les lettres 42 et 44.

V. Deuxième édition de Bâle chez Jérôme Froben, avec une lettre-dédicace en grec de Janus Cornarius[2] à Jules, évêque de Naumbourg, 1551, in-fol. de 698 pages. Cette édition est la reproduction de celle de 1532, augmentée, en ce qui concerne les lettres, des deux numéros 42 et 44 qui figuraient dans le supplément aux œuvres de S. Basile paru à Venise en 1535.

VI. *Sancti Patris Nostri Basilii Magni . . . opera omnia quae reperiri potuerunt, Nunc primum graece et latine coniunctim edita, in duos tomos distributa et doctissimorum virorum industria cum manuscriptis codicibus, praecipue Bibliothecae Christianissimi Regis, collata, cum in graeco textu tum in latina versione correcta et illustrata, ac ducentis quatuordecim epistolis aucta.* Parisiis, sumptibus Claudii Morelli, via Iacobaea, sub insigne fontis. 1618. in-fol.

Voici la table générale : —

Tome I. 9 homélies sur l'hexaemeron.
17 homélies sur les psaumes.
31 homélies diverses.
Traité du baptême en 2 livres.
— de la Virginité.
Commentaire sur Isaïe en xvi chap.

Tome II. Contre Eunome — 5 livres.
Traité du St Esprit.
Œuvres ascétiques et morales.
Homélie sur le renoncement aux choses du monde.
De la vraie foi.
Préface aux Moralia, sur le 'Jugement de Dieu'.
De l'institution des Moines.
Règles détaillées.
Règles résumées.
Animadversions contre des réguliers.
Constitutions monastiques.
Épître à Chilon (42).
— à un moine prévaricateur (44).
— à un autre moine prévaricateur (45).
— à une vierge déchue (46).
— à Amphiloque (188, 199, 217, 236).

[1] Il n'existe pas actuellement au Mont-Cassin de ms. contenant des lettres de S. Basile. Il y trouve un ms. de la liturgie de S. Basile, incomplet. Cf. Ioannes Sajdak : *De Codicibus Graecis in Monte Casino*, Krakovie, 1912, p. 73.

[2] De son vrai nom Hagebut ou Hagepol d'après Eckstein *Nomencl.*

Digitized by Google

214 lettres de S. Basile et de S. Grégoire de Naz.
214 lettres inédites jusqu'à ce jour, traduites par Richard Montagu.

Appendice (vol. iii). Discours de Siméon Métaphraste.[1]
'Indices.'

En ce qui concerne les lettres :

1–182 (ordo vetus dans Garnier et dans Migne) reproduction des lettres figurant dans les éditions de Bâle.

182–202 'Ex editione Latina Parisiensi' qui doit être celle de 1603, chez Michel Sonnius.

203–204 'Epistolae 2, presbyteris Tarsensibus et iis qui Tarsi sunt'; publiées pour la première fois par Flaminius Nobilius, Rome, 1578, in-8°.

205–209 'Eiusdem (Basilii) epistolae aliae seorsim antea editae' (dans les œuvres de Julien l'Apostat).

210–214 'Eiusdem epistolae ex editione Augustana Davidis Hoeschelii cum Phrynicho' (Augustae Vindob., 1601).

215–428 'S. Basilii epistolae novae quae a Richardo Montacutio nunc primum ex Anglicis codicibus manuscriptis eduntur et Latine donantur'.

Comme on le voit, l'édition de Paris comprend trois parties :

(*a*) Lettres figurant dans l'édition de Bâle.
(*b*) Lettres extraites de publications diverses.
(*c*) Lettres inédites jusqu'à 1618.

Les éditeurs parisiens[2] informent le lecteur dans une lettre-préface de la genèse de leur édition. Comme ils se proposaient d'éditer S. Basile, Richard Montagu leur envoya d'Angleterre :

(*a*) un exemplaire de l'édition Froben de 1551 collationnée avec les mss. et portant en marge les 'lectiones variae' et émendations.

(*b*) un exemplaire de l'édition latine de 1603 munie des variantes et corrections relatives au Commentaire sur Isaïe, aux homélies sur les psaumes.

(*c*) le texte grec du Commentaire sur Isaïe, manuscrit.

(*d*) la copie et la traduction de 214 lettres inédites.

Le tout fut comparé avec les mss. de la bibliothèque royale, et muni des notes de Fronton du Duc, jésuite de Bordeaux, et des émendations d'André Schott relatives aux 'ascetica', émendations issues de la collation d'un ms. de Gérard Vossius.

On voit, d'après ce qui précède, que l'édition parue chez Claude Morel reproduit, en les complétant, les éditions antérieures. Elle donne

[1] Migne, 32, col. 1115 et suiv. Ces discours sont des centons extraits de l'œuvre oratoire de S. Basile.

[2] Fronton du Duc et Féd. Morel.

Digitized by Google

un texte fortement émendé et meilleur que toutes celles qui avaient précédé.

La lettre 46, insérée ici pour la première fois dans une édition complète de S. Basile, avait été éditée en 1574 à Paris pour la première fois, dans une publication portant ce titre : Τῶν ἐν ἁγίοις πατέρων ἡμῶν ἐπιστολαὶ β, ἡ μὲν Βασιλείου πρὸς παρθένον σφαλεῖσαν, ἡ δὲ Ἀθανασίου πρὸς Ἀμμοῦν μονάζοντα . . . *epistolae . . . antea non editae, Ioan. Curterio interprete.* Parisiis apud D. Vallensem in-16°. 48 pages.

VII. Τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Βασιλείου . . . τὰ εὑρισκόμενα — *Sancti patris nostri Basilii magni . . . opera omnia, nunc denuo Graece et Latine coniunctim edita.* Parisiis, sumptibus S. Cramoisy 1638, 3 vol. in-fol., chez Gilles Morel.

'Quidquid in hac, omne id in illa continetur ; nec una altera est auctior aut minutior', dit Garnier en parlant des éditions de 1618 et de 1638. Le même auteur ajoute : 'Editione priore semper usi sumus quae altera castigatior est et accuratior'.

VIII. François Combefis, dominicain, avait préparé une édition des œuvres de S. Basile. Mais elle ne vit jamais le jour, car Combefis mourut en 1679 avant d'avoir terminé son entreprise. Vincent Lefèvre, dominicain, publia les observations de Combefis sous ce titre : 'Basilius Magnus ab integro recensitus, textus fide optimorum codicum ubique castigatus, auctus, illustratus, emendatus, versiones recognitae'[1] etc. Paris, 1679, 2 vol. in-8°. En ce qui concerne les lettres, Combefis allègue souvent un 'Regius' qui doit être le 506, et deux 'Bigotiani' dont l'un a été identifié par Garnier et Maran avec le Parisinus actuel 334 Suppl. Quant à l'autre, nous ignorons tout de lui[2]. L'ouvrage de Combefis méritait une mention dans cette revue des éditions, à cause de la place qu'il occupe dans l'apparat de l'édition mauriste dont il va être question maintenant.

IX. Τοῦ ἐν ἁγίος πατρὸς ἡμῶν Βασιλείου . . . τὰ εὑρισκόμενα πάντα. *Sancti patris nostri Basilii opera omnia quae exstant . . . ad manuscriptos codices . . . nec non ad antiquiores editiones castigata, multis aucta, nova interpretatione illustrata* ; opera et studio D. Iuliani Garnier . . . Parisiis, typis et sumptibus J. B. Coignard. 1721–1730. 3 vol. in folio. Le tome III porte : 'Opera et studio monachorum ordinis S. Benedicti e Congregatione S. Mauri'.

L. de Sinner a donné du beau travail des bénédictins une 2e édition, Paris 1839, 3 vol. in-4°, avec des tables qui renvoient à la pagination originale de Garnier et Maran.

[1] Le livre publié sous le nom de Combefis n'est pas une édition mais un livre d'annotations critiques au texte.

[2] Il n'est pas question de ces deux *Bigotiani* dans l'ouvrage de L. Delisle intitulé : *Bibliotheca Bigotiana manuscripta.* Rouen, 1877.

Digitized by Google

Migne reproduit également l'édition Garnier, sans changements en ce qui concerne les Lettres.[1] Nos références renvoient à Migne, quelquefois, mais rarement, à Garnier, dont la pagination est incorporée, en caractères gras, dans la traduction latine de Migne (*P. G.* 29, 30, 31, 32). La Correspondance de S. Basile est au tome 32 de la *Patrologia Graeca*.

Dans l'édition bénédictine les lettres sont au tome III qui parut après la mort de Garnier († 3 Juin 1725) par les soins de Prosper Maran. Il est difficile de déterminer la part de chacun des deux religieux dans la préparation de ce tome III. Il semble pourtant que les collations (à part celle de l'*Harleianus*), la constitution du texte, la traduction latine, soient l'œuvre de dom Garnier. Dom Maran fixa l'ordre des lettres qui est l'ordre chronologique, et ceci constituait une révolution dans l'histoire des éditions basiliennes. Une fois la chronologie établie, on pouvait enfin songer à écrire une vie de S. Basile sur des documents de première main. Maran s'acquitta encore de cette tâche.

A vrai dire les travaux de Tillemont lui avaient préparé les voies.[2] Du point de vue de la chronologie des lettres, Loofs va même jusqu'à appeler l'édition bénédictine 'eine revidierte tillemontsche Ausgabe'.[3] Maran reconnaît d'ailleurs lui-même ce qu'il doit à Tillemont: 'Tillemontius, magnum illud historiae ecclesiasticae lumen, omnium accuratissime de rebus gestis Basilii disseruit, ac innumera aliorum errata emendavit . . . Satis erat Tillemontii vestigia premere, et si quid summo illi viro excidisset, observare et emendare'.

La chronologie de Maran a conquis tous les suffrages. On ne cite plus les lettres de S. Basile que d'après les numéros que leur a assigné Maran dans la suite chronologique. Ces numéros sont demeurés l'étiquette des lettres basiliennes. C'est d'après ces numéros que nous les désignerons, en nous conformant à l'usage général. En ce qui

[1] Migne complète le corpus basilien de la lettre 366, d'après le Cardinal Maï (*Patrum Nova Biblioth.* iii 450) dont il reproduit la notice relative à cette lettre: 'En Magni Basilii epistolam a prisco codice Veneto 61, fol. 324, a me exscriptam quae olim clarissimis quoque viris Marcianae bibliothecae descriptoribus Zanettio atque Morellio inedita visa est, atque utrum sit alicubi postremis his annis edita mihi non constat, sed certe in plenissima Garnerii editione desideratur.' Seulement Zanetti ne parle pas de cette lettre à propos du Marcianus 61, mais bien à propos du Marc. 54, avec un astérisque indiquant qu'il la juge inédite. Nous avons soigneusement relevé le contenu du Marc. 61. Or la lettre en question n'apparait pas dans notre liste. Le cardinal Maï aurait-il fait une confusion? Nous n'osons nous prononcer. Cette lettre figure aussi dans le Parisinus 334 S., et dans le Patmius 57 de main récente.

[2] *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique des six premiers siècles*, tome ix. Paris, 1693–1712.

[3] *Eustathius von Sebaste und die Chronologie der Basiliusbriefe*, Halle, 1898.

Digitized by Google

concerne le texte, les Mauristes partent de l'édition Parisienne de 1618, qu'ils émendent à l'aide des manuscrits dont la liste est donnée dans un 'elenchus' inséré au tome III. Trois de ces manuscrits ont le pas sur les autres : ce sont le *Coislin.* 237, l'*Harleianus* (= *Parisinus* 1020 S.), et le *Mediceus* iv 14.

Viennent en second rang le *Regius* 2293 (= *Parisinus* 506), le *Regius* 2897 (= *Parisinus* 971), le *Coislin* 288 (qui est aujourd'hui le *Parisinus* 1021 S).

En troisième lieu ils citent encore des variantes tirées du *Claromontanus* (= *Berolinensis* 23), du *Vaticanus* 434, du manuscrit de Notre-Dame de Paris (qui est le *Parisinus* 334 S).

A cette liste il faut ajouter plusieurs manuscrits secondaires ne donnant qu'un nombre limité de lettres.

D'une façon générale, en cas de divergence, Garnier et Maran donnent le pas aux trois premiers de ces manuscrits, surtout quand ils sont d'accord — et cela arrive souvent, car ils appartiennent au même embranchement. Toutefois cette préférence n'est pas systématique, bien qu'elle soit un peu trop accentuée. Ils gardent le texte traditionnel quand celui-ci offre un sens passable.

En somme le texte des Mauristes est assez composite, c'est-à-dire qu'il s'autorise tantôt d'une tradition, tantôt d'une autre. Mais du moins, et c'est là une chose nouvelle, cette édition nous offre enfin un apparat critique, où beaucoup de variantes sont rapportées. Il serait injuste de vouloir juger cet apparat d'après les principes qui guident la technique des éditions modernes. Tel qu'il est, incomplet et imprécis, il peut rendre des services. Toutefois il nous a été d'un secours médiocre pour notre travail.

L'édition mauriste ajoute aux précédentes quelques pièces nouvelles, savoir, en ce qui concerne les lettres, les numéros 357, 358, 359, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, extraits de l'ouvrage de Cotelier : *Monumenta ecclesiae Graecae* t. II, pp. 96 et suiv., 84 et suiv.

Cette revue sèche et rapide des éditions de la Correspondance de S. Basile nous apprend qu'il s'est créé, du texte de cette correspondance, une sorte de tradition imprimée, les éditions se complétant les unes les autres et aussi les unes par les autres. Ainsi, celle de Bâle 1532 repose sur celle de Grossenhain et sur l'Aldine qu'elle englobe ; celle de 1551 complète à son tour la précédente en lui adjoignant le supplément paru à Venise en 1535 chez de Sabio. La Parisienne de 1618 a pour base la Frobenienne de 1551 qu'elle complète à son tour avec des pièces parues ailleurs ou encore inédites. A son tour l'édition bénédictine dépend de celle de 1618, qu'elle enrichit des lettres publiées par Cotelier. Chose remarquable, dom Maran, ayant à sa disposition l'Harleianus, ne songe pas à en extraire directement les lettres 361, 362,

Digitized by Google

363, 364. Il va les chercher dans Cotelier qui, lui-même, les avait copiées sur l'Harleianus.[1] Nous voyons ainsi comment le corpus imprimé se forme peu à peu, et de quelles sources intermédiaires en proviennent les pièces dans l'édition finale. Ce qui ne veut pas dire que les éditeurs ultérieurs ne recourent pas directement aux manuscrits. Mais aucun ne recommence complètement sur nouveaux frais. On tient toujours compte des éditions existantes.

Exceptionnellement les Mauristes recourent aux manuscrits pour les lettres 40 et 41, en négligeant les éditions précédentes, parce qu'elles en donnent un texte trop défectueux. 'Huius autem et sequentis epistolae contextus adeo in editis mancus et corruptus est, ut totum ex antiquis codicibus describi necesse fuerit. Usi sumus potissimum codicibus Coislinianis, Medicaeo et Harlaeano, quorum magnus inter se consensus, et si quid interdum discrepent, id notare non pigebit.' Mais cette remarque montre par elle-même combien le cas est exceptionnel.

Les éditions antérieures à celle de Garnier et Maran reposent essentiellement sur les manuscrits de l'embranchement A. Celles de Grossenhain et de Bâle ont à leur base la famille Ab. Dans celle de 1618, les lettres antérieurement éditées ont été collationnées sur les manuscrits *Regii* qui sont principalement de la famille Ab. Le paquet envoya par Richard Montagu semble transcrit des manuscrits d'Oxford qui appartiennent aux familles Aa et Ab. Un des mérites de l'édition bénédictine a été d'introduire l'embranchement B dans le courant imprimé. 'Ad epistolas S. Basilii', lisons-nous dans l'elenchus, 'exstitere praesidio tres potissimum codices antiquissimi, Coislinianus 237 . . . Harlaeanus . . . et Medicaeus . . . His tribus codicibus, saltem cum inter se consentiunt, plus visum est tribuendum quam aliis omnibus.' Or ces trois manuscrits sont de l'embranchement B. Dès lors l'édition mauriste repose sur une base très large de manuscrits. Elle tient compte de la tradition A représentée par les éditions antérieures, et, dans une mesure parfois excessive, de la tradition B, représentée par les trois manuscrits ci-dessus et quelques autres.

Lorsque les manuscrits ne donnent pas un texte satisfaisant, il semble que l'édition parisienne de 1618 ait recouru assez largement à la conjecture, parfois même sans nécessité, d'après un idéal de correction qui n'était pas celui de l'époque où vivait S. Basile. On a du moins cette impression en lisant l'apparat des Mauristes qui opposent les leçons des 'editi', c'est-à-dire de l'édition de 1618, aux leçons des manuscrits. Il faut pourtant se défier de cette opposition, car nous avons eu souvent

[1] Maran nous apprend lui-même que l'*Harleianus* n'avait pas été collationné *par* ni *pour* Garnier ('collati enim cum editis fuerant diligenti manu excepto tamen Harleiano', préface du tome III de l'éd. origin.). La collation de l'*Harleianus* a donc été faite *par* ou au moins *pour* Maran.

Digitized by Google

l'occasion de retrouver dans les manuscrits les variantes des 'editi'. Au surplus, ce participe englobe manuscrits et éditions.

La critique des bénédictins est sage et prudente, avant tout exempte de partis pris, mais elle paraît un peu empirique. Entre plusieurs leçons, ils choisissent celle qui donne le sens le plus acceptable. Mais il est rare qu'ils cherchent à remonter à la source de la variante. Un exemple fera comprendre ce qu'une telle méthode a de défectueux, Migne 372 B 8 (ep. 46).

Les mss. A en majorité donnent :

. . . νεαζούσης ἄρτι ἢ τότε καὶ ἀκμαζούσης τὴν ἀρετήν,

texte corrompu et qui n'a pas de sens.

Les mss. B en majorité corrigent :

νεαζούσης ἔτι καὶ ἀκμαζούσης τὴν ἀρετήν,

adopté par les bénédictins, parce qu'offrant un sens acceptable. Néanmoins ce texte est défectueux et c'est de la leçon des mss. A qu'il faut partir pour retrouver le texte ancien : —

νεαζούσης ἄρτι καὶ τότε καὶ ἀκμαζούσης τὴν ἀρετήν,

donné par *Vat.* 435. Car en partant de B on ne se rend pas compte de la genèse de la variante ; tandis que A, bien que corrompu, est plus près du texte primitif.

Liste des manuscrits étudiés dans ce travail.

Embranchement A.

Famille Aa.
- Baroccianus 121. Oxford. xi s.
- Laurent. Mediceus lvii 7. Florence. xi et xii s.
- Vaticanus 434 fonds Vatican. Rome. xiii s.
- Marcianus 61. Venise. xi s.
- Patmius 57. Patmos. x s.
- Patmius 326. Patmos. xii s.
- Bodleianus, Thomas Roe 18. Oxford. xiv s.
- Parisinus 334 S. Paris. xvi s.

Famille Ab.
- Parisinus 506 } Paris. x s.
- Parisinus 763 S. } xi s.
- Vindobonensis 142. Vienna. xi s.
- Estensis 229. Modène. xi/xii s.
- Marcianus 79. Venise. xii s.
- Bodleianus Miscell. 38. Oxford. xvi s.

Famille Ac.
- Parisinus 967. Paris. xiv s.
- Parisinus 1021 S. Paris. xiii s.

Digitized by Google

Embranchement B.	Famille Bo.	Parisinus 37 P. Arsenal.	xi s.
		Laurent. Mediceus iv 14. Florence.	x/xi s.
		Vaticanus 713 fonds Vatican. Rome.	xiii s.
		Monacensis 497. Munich.	xi s.
		Parisinus Coislin. 237. Paris.	xi s.
	Famille Bu.	Vaticanus 2209 f. Vatican.	x/xi s.
		Parisinus 971. Paris.	xvi s.
		Ambrosianus 604. Milan.	xvi s.
	Famille Bx.	Parisinus 1020 S. Paris.	xi s.
	Famille Bz.	Vaticanus 435 f. Vatican. Rome.	xiii s.
		Berolinensis 23. Berlin.	xvi s.

Chapitre I.

Description détaillée des manuscrits à classer.

§ I. Famille Aa.

Le Baroccianus 121. Oxford, Bibliothèque Bodléienne.

XII saeculi exeuntis, dit le catalogue. Ce ms. serait plutôt à dater du XI^e^ s. pour les parties anciennes. 4 folios de garde en papier + 2 folios en parchemin contenant un fragment liturgique avec notation musicale + 210 folios en parchemin, avec insertion de quelques folios en papier destinés à combler des lacunes. 240 × 174 millim. Le catalogue ajoute: 'Titulum supplevit manus recentior ut sequitur: *ἐκ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Βασιλείου ἐπισκόπου Καισαρείας Καππαδοκίας βιβλίον πρῶτον*'. Voici comment se distribuent les premiers folios: 1 en papier, 2 en parchemin, 3 en papier, 4 en parchemin, 5–15 en papier, 16 en parchemin, 17 en papier (remplaçant plusieurs folios disparus, car la numérotation ancienne saute de *κβ΄* à *λδ΄*). Sont encore en papier 73, 186, 211, 215. Entre les folios 129 et 130 il y a une lacune non comblée: l'ancienne numérotation passe de *ρξγ΄* à *ροη΄*. Le scribe auteur des insertions a gratté l'écriture ancienne au bas du fol. 129^v^ pour y insérer le début de la lettre dont la suite est au fol. 130 à partir de *μέριμναν ἐμποιεῖ* (ep. 126). Le Baroccianus 121 donne les lettres suivantes: 1, 4, 2, 9, 140, 173, 34, 27, 30, 138, 268, 182, 31, 146, 168, 157, 158, 282, 334, 5, 6, 80, 197, 279, 280, 111, 90, 214, 64, 38, 236, 28, 207, 210, 293, 150, 299, 313, 56, 323, 147, 304, 33, 223, 257, 57, 259, 192, 219, 261, 277, 26, 32, 272, 229, 230, 247,

Digitized by Google

246, 29, 97, 154, 164, 58, 60, 55, 65, 245, 244, 356, 343, 195, 122, 255, 184, 185, 132, 181, 253, 256, 208, 196, 178, 84, 76, 96, 180, 177, 344, 345, 346, 239, 127, 48, 271, 269, 134, 135, 156, 123, 262, 276, 92, 243, 300, 228, 52, 67, 105, 252, 145, 100, 174, 186, 187, 328, 329, 194, 193, 212, 63, 94, 20, 151, 160, 139, 82, 102, 152, 136, 169, 98, 241, 227, 260, 321, 324, 7, 19, 47, 148, 149, 163, 74, 75, 179, 119, 226, 59, 129, 265, 224, 131, 211, 12, 13, 23, 302, 116, 17, 46, 99, 69, 133, 266, 216, 95, 141, 198, 237, 128, 161, 176, 231, 202, 200, 115, 101, 206, 10, 307, 130, 191, 189, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 347, 348, 22, 85, 284, 71, 125 (avec l'apostille d'Eustathe), 86, 87, 183, 137, 24, 126, 165, 72, 225, περὶ τοῦ σώματος τοῦ κυ (inc. οὔτε οὐράνιον ποίημα . . .), 242, 25, 18, 294, 14, 233, 234, 235, 113, 114, 205, 292, 159, 172, 79, 295, 238, 73, 53, 16, 290, 91, 240, 45, 103, 258, 330, 332, 264, πρὸς τοὺς μὴ δεχομένους τὸ ὁμοούσιον (inc. ἡ ὀρθὴ πίστις . . .); Libanios 1226; Bas. 222, 221, 220, 89, 124, 188, 199, 217. Cette dernière est numérotée σμη'. Dans l'ancienne numérotation 124 était σοδ' : il n'est pas certain que le ms. contint primitivement les trois lettres canoniques 188, 199, 217. Mais il devait compter au total 273 pièces, sur lesquelles 269 étaient des lettres de notre collection. Il est assez probable que le Baroccianus 121, au lieu des lettres canoniques, donnait à la fin les numéros 40 et 41, ce qui porterait le total des lettres à 271, soit un nombre égal à celui du Marcianus 61.

Le Mediceus LVII 7. Florence, Biblioth. Laurentienne.

XI^e^ siècle à partir du folio 127. Ce qui précède est d'un siècle plus récent. 250 folios en parchemin, complétés par 4 en papier au commencement et 2 à la fin. 280 × 215 millim. Contient : —

1. quelques lettres de S. Maxime et de S. Nil :
2. S. Athanase ad Rufinianum ;
3. à partir du fol. 39 les lettres de S. Basile :
4. 234 lettres de S. Grégoire de Nazianze (fol. 190 et suiv.) ;
5. épîtres d'Ignace martyr (cf. Aug. Lelong : *Ignace d'Antioche et Polycarpe de Smyrne*, Introd., p. viii. 'Pères Apostoliques' de la collection Hemmer-Lejay).

La correspondance de S. Basile porte le titre : Τοῦ ἁγίου Βασιλείου ἐπιστολαί. Elle contient les numéros suivants : 1, 4, 2, 9, 140, 173, 34, 27, 30, 138, 268, 182, 31, 146, 168, 157, 158, 282, 334, 5, 6, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 112, 61, 66, 80, 197, 279, 280, 111, 90, 214, 64, 38, 236, 28, 207, 210, 293, 150, 299, 313, 56, 323, 147, 304, 223, 257, 57, 259, 192, 219, 261, 277, 26, 32, 272, 229, 230, 247, 246, 29, 97, 154, 164, 58, 60, 55, 65, 245, 244, 51, 203, 291, 54, 301, 121, 254, 195, 122, 255, 184, 185, 132, 181, 253, 256, 208, 196, 178, 84, 76, 96, 180, 177, 344, 345, 346, 239, 127, 48, 271, 269, 134, 135, 156, 123

Digitized by Google

262, 276, 92, 243, 300, 228, 52, 67, 105, 252, 145, 100, 174, 186, 187, 328, 194, 193, 212, 63, 329, 94. [Entre les folios 126 et 127 lacune assez étendue. Ont disparu les lettres suivantes : 20, 151, 160, 139, 82, 102, 152, 136, 162, 98, 241, 227, dont il subsiste une ligne . . . *δι' αὐτῶν τῶν ἔργων ἐπαγαγεῖν ὑμῖν πειρασόμεθα.*] (Fol. 127) 260, 321, 324, 7, 19, 148, 149, 163, 74, 75, 179, 119, 62, 251, 118, 81, 3, 21, 325, 110, 281, 104, 68, 120, 250, 226, 59, 129, 265, 224, 131, 211, 12, 13, 23, 302, 116, 17, 46, 99, 69, 133, 266, 216, 95, 141, 198, 237, 128, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 347, 348, 22, 85, 284, 125 avec l'apostille d'Eustathe, 86, 87, 183, 137, 24, 126, 165, 72, 225, 263, 204, 242, 25, 18, 294, 233, 234, 235, 113, 114, 205, 292, 159, 172, 79, 295, 238, 73, 53, 16, 290, 91, 240, 45, 103, 258, 330, 332, 264, 267, 222, 221, 220, 89, 124. Ici (fol. 190) commence la Correspondance de S. Grégoire où l'on trouve égarées les lettres suivantes de S. Basile : 14, 47, 71, 26, avec les numéros *α', κζ', λζ', μβ'*. La lettre 26 figure aussi sous le n° *ξδ'* de la Correspondance de S. Basile.

Le Vaticanus 434 du fonds Vatican. Rome, Bibl. Vaticane.

XIII^e siècle. Papier. Ancien 932. 255 × 174 millimètres. ii + 236 folios.

1^er Grégoire de Nazianze (in cod. *Ἰωάννου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως*) homélies 1 et 45 jusqu'aux mots *θάνατος καταλύεται.*

2^e Simmias de Rhodes : 'Securis et Dosidae ara'. Avec commentaire.

3^e Épîtres de S. Basile avec deux index, l'un des destinataires incomplet (s'arrête au n° *ρξγ'*), l'autre des *incipit* par ordre alphabétique. Voici le détail de ces lettres : 1, 4, 2, 9, 140, 173, 34, 27, 30, 138, 268, 182, 31, 146, 168, 157, 158, 282, 334, 5, 6, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 112, 61 sans numéro ni adresse, jusqu'au mot *καταγνώσεως.* [Ici l'ancêtre offrait une lacune portant sur les numéros 68, 80, 197, 279, 280, 111, 90, 214, 64, qui sont mentionnés dans les indices]. 38 (à partir de : *ἡ ἔννοια τῶν ὀνομάτων*), 236, 28, 207, 210, 293, 150, 299, 213, 56, 323, 147, 304, 33, 223, 257, 57, 259, 192, 219, 261, 277, 26, 32, 272, 229, 230, 247, 246, 29, 97, 154, 164, 58, 60, 55, 65 avec cette addition à l'adresse : *κρίναντι μὴ γράφειν διὰ διαβολήν*, 245, 244, 51, 203, 291, 54, 301, 121, 254, 195, 122, 255, 184, 185, 132, 181, 253, 256, 208, 196, 178, 84, 76, 96, 180, 177, 344, 346, 239, 127, 48, 271, 269, 134, 135, 156, 123, 262, 276, 92, 243, 300, 228, 57, 67, 105, 252, 145, 100, 174, 186, 187, 328, 329, 194, 193, 212, 63, 94, 20, 151, 160, 139, 82, 102, 152, 136, 162, 98, 241, 227, 260, 321, 324, 7, 19, 47, 148, 149, 163, 74, 75, 179, 119, 62, 251, 118, 81, 3, 21, 325, 110, 281, 104, 68, 120, 250, 226, 59 jusqu'aux mots *χάριτός σου.* [Dans l'ancêtre avaient déjà péri *ροθ', ρπ', ρπγ'*]. 12, à partir de *ἄξια* . . ., 13, 23, 302, 116,

Digitized by Google

17, 46, 99, 69, 133, 266, 216, 95, 141, 198, 237, 128, 161, 176, 231, 202, 200, 115, 101, 206, 10, 307, 130, 191, 189, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 347, 348, 22, 85, 284, 71, 125, 86, 87, 183, 137, 24, 126, 165, 72, 225, 263 avec cette addition à l'adresse : *οὐκ ἀπεστάλη δέ*, 204, 242, 25, 18, 294, 14, 233, 234, 235, 113, 114, 205, 292, 159, 172, 79, 295, 238, 73, 53, 16, 290, 91, 240, 45, 103, 258, 330, 332, 264, 267, 222, 221, 220, 89, 124, 106, 268, 49, 50, 175, 201, 218, 232, 190, 365, 15, 274, 286, 142, 143, 144, 311, 109, 303, 306, 278, 333, 312, 83, 153, 296, 297, 107, 93, 78, 273, 275, 315, 318, 316, 319, 320, 317, 322, 326, 327, 77, 209, 36, 285, 309, 314, 305, 117, 298, 35, 310, 249, 11, 331, 155, 213, 88, 270, 287, 288, 37, 289. Grég. Naz. 6 et 114 (Migne *P. G.* 37, col. 29–32 et 209–212). Bas. 40, 41, cette dernière porte le n° *τμ΄*. La fin en est d'une main plus récente. L'ancêtre contenait encore les trois canoniques 188, 199, 217, comme le montre l'index des *incipit*. — Suivent :

4e Extraits de différents auteurs : Nicéphore Blemmides, Héron d'Alexandrie, etc. Au fol. 235v cachet de la Bibliothèque nationale de Paris.

[De ce ms. et du Vat. 435 dépend le Vat. 1486, du XVIe s. Les 142 premières lettres sont copiées sur le 434 et le reste sur le 435. 'Codex nullius pretii' dit Mercati dans une note manuscrite qu'il nous a communiquée.]

Le Marcianus 61. Venise, Bibl. S. Marc.

XIe siècle. Parchemin. iv + 328 folios. 420 × 175 millimètres : provient de la bibliothèque du cardinal Bessarion. Les folios du début contiennent des fragments de Julius Africanus sur la généalogie du Christ (inc. *ἐπειδὴ τὰ ὀνόματα . . .*), cf. Fabricius, Bibl. gr. tome V p. 210.

Ce ms. est d'une admirable écriture. Il donne les lettres dans l'ordre suivant : *τοῦ ἁγίου Βασιλείου ἐπιστολαί* 1, 4, 2, 9, 140, 173, 34, 27, 30, 138, 268, 182, 31, 146, 168, 157, 158, 282, 334, 5, 6, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 112, 61, 66, 80, 197, 279, 280, 111, 90, 214, 64, 38, 236, 28, 207, 210, 293, 150, 299, 313, 56, 323, 147, 304, 223, 257, 57, 259, 192, 219, 261, 277, 26, 32, 272, 229, 230, 247, 246, 29, 97, 154, 164, 58, 60, 55, 65, 245, 244, 51, 203, 291, 54, 301, 121, 254, 195, 122, 255, 184, 185, 132, 181, 253, 256, 208, 196, 178, 84, 76, 96, 180, 177, 344, 345, 346, 239, 127, 48, 271, 269, 134, 135, 156, 123, 262, 276, 92, 243, 300, 228, 52, 67, 105, 252, 145, 100, 174, 186, 187, 328, 329, 194, 193, 212, 63, 94, 20, 151, 160, 139, 82, 102, 152, 136, 162, 98, 241, 227, 260, 321, 324, 7, 19, 148, 149, 163, 74, 75, 179, 119, 62, 251, 118, 81, 3, 21, 325, 110, 281, 104, 68, 120, 250, 226, 59, 129, 265, 224, 131, 211, 12, 13, 23, 302, 116, 17, 46, 99, 69, 133, 266, 206, 95, 141, 198, 237, 128, 161, 176, 231, 202, 200, 115, 101,

Digitized by Google

206, 10, 307, 130, 191, 189, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 347, 348, 22, 85, 284, 125, 86, 87, 183, 137, 24, 126, 165, 72, 225, 263, 204, 242, 25, 18, 294, 233, 234, 235, 113, 114, 205, 292, 159, 172, 79, 295, 238, 73, 53, 16, 290, 91, 240, 45, 103, 258, 330, 332, 264, 267, 222, 221, 220, 89, 124, 40, 41. Au total 271 lettres, bien que la dernière porte le nº σογ′: ce désaccord entre la numérotation et le contenu réel s'explique par l'omission de 2 numéros qui sont νϛ′ et σμε′. Ce ms. donne à la fin les trois pièces suivantes :

σοδ′. — τοῦ αὐτοῦ πρὸς ἀσθενοῦντα παραμυθητική : inc. ὁ βίος τῶν ἀνθρώπων βραχὺς καὶ ὀλιγοχρόνιος . . . que Bandini signalait comme inédite de son temps :

— εἰς τὸ ἅγιον Πάσχα : inc. οὐ ξένην ἑορτὴν . . .

— εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν Τριάδα : inc. ἐπίγνωσις Πατρός . . .

Le Patmius 57. Patmos, Bibl. du Monastère S. Jean de l'Apocalypse.

xᵉ siècle. vi + 312 folios de 213 × 160 millim. Parchemin. Ms. assez homogène, mutilé en tout de trois ou quatre folios à l'intérieur. Les folios ne sont pas numérotés. Les quatre derniers, d'un parchemin plus rigide, avec 5 lettres de S. Grégoire de Nazianze, d'une écriture qu'on peut dater du xivᵉ siècle. Au dernier folio des lettres de S. Basile on lit cette notice : ἡ βίβλος αὕτη ἐστὶ μὲν καὶ τυγχάνει Γρηγορίου τλήμονος καὶ διακόνου, peut-être le même qui a copié les 5 lettres de S. Grégoire mentionnées ci-dessus. D'après Sakkélion ce ms. est l'œuvre de deux mains contemporaines, dont l'une a copié les lettres de S. Grégoire de Nazianze (au nombre de 236, les 5 de la fin non comprises), l'autre la Correspondance de S. Basile, au total 273 pièces. L'écriture est d'une admirable régularité et presque pure de lettres onciales : nous n'y avons guère relevé que le ϵ à certaines places, peut-être devant α ou ο ; le π toujours au commencement de la ligne ; le groupe ϰλ un peu plus fréquent. Il y a des pages entières sans onciales. Ce ms. est le plus ancien de la famille que nous appelons Aa. Voici la liste des lettres de S. Basile contenues dans le *Patmius* 57 : 1, 4, 2, 9, 140, 173, 34, 27, 30, 138, 268, 182, 31, 146, 168, 157, 158, 282, 334, 5, 6, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 112, 61, 66, 80, 197, 279, 280, 111, 90, 214, 64, 38, 236, 28, 207, 210, 293, 150, 299, 313, 56, 323, 147, 304, 33, 223, 257, 57, 259, 192, 219, 261, 277, 26, 32, 272, 229, 230, 247, 246, 29, 97, 154, 164, 58, 60, 55, 65, 245, 244, 51, 203, 291, 54, 301, 321, 254, 195, 122, 255, 184, 185, 132, 181, 253, 256, 208, 196, 178, 84, 76, 96, 180, 177, 344, 345, 346, 239, 127, 48, 271, 269, 134, 135, 156, 123, 262, 276, 92, 243, 300, 228, 52, 67, 105, 252, 145, 100, 174, 186, 187, 328, 329, 194, 193, 212, 63, 94, 20,

Digitized by Google

151, 160, 139 jusqu'aux mots *οἱ δὲ ἐν φόνῳ* . . . [La fin de cette lettre, les lettres 82, 102, 152 en entier, ont disparu par mutilation du ms.], 136, 162, 98, 241, 227, 260 (mutilée presque en entier), 324, 7, 19, 47, 148, 149, 163, 74, 75, 179, 119, 62, 251, 118, 81, 3, 21, 325, 110, 281, 104, 68, 120, 250, 226, 59, 129, 265, 224, 131, 211, 12, 13, 23. 302, 116, 17, 46, 99, 69, 133, 266, 216, 95, 141, 198, 237, 128, 161, 176, 231, 202, 200, 115, 101, 206, 10, 307, 130, 191, 189, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353. 354, 355, 347, 348, 22, 85, 284, 71, 125, 86, 87, 183, 137, 24, 126, 165, 72, 225, 263,[1] 204, 242, 25, 18, 294, 14, 233, 234, 235, 113, 114, 205, 292, 159, 172, 79, 295, 238, 73, 53, 16, 290, 91, 240, 45, 103, 258, 330, 332, 264, 267, 222 [221, 220 disparues], 89, 124, 366 (d'une main récente).

La Correspondance de S. Grégoire de Nazianze va jusqu'au folio 76, puis, au même folio : *ἀρχὴ τῶν τοῦ ἁγίου Βασιλείου ἐπιστολῶν* ; ce titre est récent. Le Patmius 57 n'a pas de tables, et il semble bien qu'il n'en a jamais eu.

Le Patmius 326.

Du XII^e^ siècle, d'après Sakkélion, mais peut-être seulement du XIII^e^ d'après l'aspect général de l'écriture. Papier, 216 folios. 250 × 185 millim. La table annonce 363 numéros de S. Basile et 232 de S. Grégoire de Nazianze. Mais le ms. ne contient actuellement que 237 numéros de S. Basile. Tout le reste, soit 126 lettres de S. Basile et toute la Correspondance de S. Grégoire, ont disparu. La table des lettres de S. Basile est mutilée des 75 premiers numéros.

Voici le contenu actuel : 1, 4, 2, 9, 140, 173, 34, 27, 30, 138, 268, 182, 31, 146, 168, 157, 158, 282, 334, 5, 6, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 112, 61, 66, 80, 197, 279, 280, 111, 90, 214, 64, 38, 236, 28, 207, 210, 293, 150, 299, 313, 56, 323, 147, 304, 33, 223, 257, 57, 259, 192, 219, 261, 277, 26, 32, 272, 229, 230, 247, 246, 29, 97, 154, 164, 58, 60, 55, 65, 245, 244, 51, 203, 291, 54, 301, 321, 254, 195, 122, 255, 184, 185, 132, 181, 253, 330, 7, 19, 47, 256, 208, 196, 178, 84, 76, 96, 180, 177, 344, 346, 188, 141, 198, 237, 222, 221, 220, 130, 205, 264, 267 : Libanios 1226, 1227 (Wolf) : Bas. 129, 199 (*ρκη΄* : les canons sont divisés en chapitres lesquels portent un numéro qui s'insère dans la numérotation même des lettres et ils vont de *ρκθ΄* à *ρμβ΄* inclus.), 217 (*ρμγ΄*, *ρμδ΄*), 326, 48, 127, 271, 269, 134, 135, 156, 123, 262, 276, 92, 243, 300, 228, 52, 67, 105, 252, 145, 100, 174, 186, 187, 328, 329, 194, 193, 212, 63, 94, 20, 151, 160, 139, 82, 102, 152, 136, 162, 98, 241, 227, 260, 321, 324, 7 (*bis*), 19 (*bis*), 47 (*bis*), 99, 148, 149, 163, 74, 75, 179, 119, 62, 251, 118, 81, 3, 21, 325, 110, 281, 104, 68, 120, 250, 226, 59, 129, 265, 224, 131, 211, 12, 13, 23, 302, 116, 17, 46, 176, 191, 161, *ὁμιλία πρὸς τοὺς νέους* (*σλβ΄*), 171, 170, 45, 53, 115, 189.

[1] *Τοῖς δυτικοῖς*, avec cette addition à la suscription : *οὐκ ἀπεστάλη δέ*.

Digitized by Google

Nous n'avons pu identifier toutes les lettres perdues, à cause des indications trop sommaires de la table. Toutefois en rapprochant les données de cette table de la liste du Vaticanus 435, nous en avons identifié un grand nombre. Voici la liste des lettres disparues :—

σλη′ = 16.
Trois lettres à Greg. Naz. sans numéro d'ordre.
σλθ′
σμ′
σμα′
σμβ′ Suite de la Correspondance entre Basile et Libanios.
σμγ′
σμδ′
σμε′
σμς′
σμζ′
σμη′ = 22.
σμθ′ = 40.
σν′ = 41.
σνα′ = 125.
σνβ′ = 124.
σνγ′ ἀνεπίγραφος.
σνδ′ = 284.
σνε′ περὶ τοῦ σώματος τοῦ κυ.
σνς′
σνζ′
σνη′ à Amphiloque.
σνθ′
σξ′
σξα′
σξβ′
σξγ′ adresses illisibles.
σξδ′
σξε′
σξς′ à Libanios.
σξζ′ = 128.
σξη′ = 101.
σξθ′ = 114.
σο′ = 205 ou 206.
σοα′ = 159.
σοβ′ = 238.
σογ′ = 73.
σοδ′ = 91.
σοε′ = 240.
σος′ = 86.
σοζ′ = 183.
σοη′ = 72.
σοθ′
σπ′ illisibles.
σπα′
σπβ′ = 225.
σπγ′ = 263.
σπδ′ = 25.
σπε′ = 283.
σπς′ = 296.
σπζ′ = 242.
σπη′ = 333.
σπθ′ = 365.
σϙ′ = 215.
σϙα′ = Acholio.
σϙβ′ = 126.
σϙγ′ = 24.
σϙδ′ = 15.
σϙε′ = 274.
σϙς′ = 49.
σϙζ′ = 153.
σϙη′ = 50.
σϙθ′ = 286.
τ′ = 142.
τα′ = 143.
τβ′ = 144.
τγ′ = 299.
τδ′ = 201.
τε′ = 107.
τς′ = 109.
τζ′ = illisible.
τη′ = 108.
τθ′ = 303.
τι′ = 312.
τια′ = 18.
τιβ′ = 306.
τιγ′ = 278.
τιδ′ = 297.
τιε′ = 83.
τις′ = 106.
τιζ′ = 175.
τιη′ = 218.
τιθ′ = 232.
τκ′ = 248.
τκα′ = 190.
τκα′ *bis* jusqu'à τξγ′. ἀνεπίγραφοι.

Cette liste des lettres sans adresse doit contenir notamment : 103, 87, 78, 273, 275, 315, 318, 316, 70, 319, 320, 317, 322, 326, 327, 77, 209, 36, 285, 309, 314, 305, 308, 117, 298, 35, 310, 249, 11, 331, 155, 213, 88, 270, 287, 288, 307, 37, 289, 195.

Le Patmius 326 appartient, pour la majeure partie de son contenu, à la famille Aa. Mais pour la dernière partie, c'est-à-dire à partir du numéro σκθ′ = ep. 176, et notamment pour la section qui a péri, il dépend de la même tradition que le Vaticanus 435, dont il sera question plus loin et qui appartient à l'embranchement B. Il offre quelques variantes et corrections également issues de la tradition B. L'écriture en est mal formée, le papier en mauvais état et de mauvaise qualité. L'encre a tellement pâli qu'on peut à peine lire par endroits.

Le Bodleianus, Thomas Roe 18. Oxford, Bibl. Bodléienne.

XIV^e^ siècle (année 1349 d'après le catalogue, mais 1348 d'après Gardthausen[1]). Papier. 375 folios. 300 × 215 millim. Copié par

[1] *Griechische Schreiber*, p. 251.

Digitized by Google

Constantin le Sage sur deux colonnes. Ce ms. a appartenu à l'église de la Sainte Trinité de l'île de Chalki près de Rhodes. Il forme aujourd'hui deux tomes. La Correspondance de S. Basile commence au fol. 314, avec le titre suivant : *ἐπιστολαὶ τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Βασιλείου τοῦ μεγάλου.*

Les quatre premières lettres ne sont pas numérotées ; ce sont 1, 335, 336, 337.

Les suivantes avec les numéros *κδ΄*, *κε΄* sont 40 et 41. Vient ensuite *κ̄ζ΄* qui est 4. A partir d'ici les lettres se suivent sans les adresses avec un numéro d'ordre, 9, 140, 173, 34. Cette série inaugure l'ordre régulier des manuscrits de la famille Aa, que celui-ci reproduit avec quelques lacunes peu considérables.

Le numéro *ροζ΄* qui est une insertion tardive est Bas. ep. 2.

Nous ne donnerons pas ici la suite des lettres dans le Bodleianus Thomas Roe 18. Nos relevés ne sont pas absolument complets. Au surplus, la famille à laquelle il appartient est assez riche en manuscrits anciens pour ôter à celui-ci toute importance.

Le Parisinus 334 S. Paris, Bibl. nationale.

XVI^e^ siècle. 206 folios ; 146–153 vides. Papier. 358 × 242 millim. Les éditeurs mauristes ont connu les leçons de ce ms. 'Habuimus etiam varias lectiones . . . ex insignis Ecclesiae Parisiensis codice, qui idem videtur esse ac Bigotianorum alter.' Outre la Correspondance de S. Basile il donne celle de S. Grégoire de Nazianze. Voici son contenu : 173, 182, 31, 146, 168, 157, 282, 5, 6, 279. 111, 214, 236, 64, 150, 299, 313, 56, 323, 147, 304, 257, 259, 219, 26, 272, 229, 230, 247, 154, 164, 55, 65, 245, 291, 54, 301, 121, 254, 122, 255, 184, 185, 132, 181, 253, 256, 208, 196, 84, 76, 180, 177, 127, 48, 269, 134, 156, 123, 262, 276, 300, 228, 52, 105, 252, 174, 186, 187, 328, 194, 193, 63, 94, 160, 102, 152, 136, 162, 98, 241, 227, 260, 321, 324, 148, 149, 163, 74, 75, 119, 62, 118, 81, 21, 325, 110, 281, 104, 265, 224, 131, 23, 302, 17, 46, 99, 133, 266, 216, 95, 141, 198, 237, 128, 161, 176, 231, 202, 200, 101, 206, 10, 307, 130, 191, 85, 284, 86, 87, 183, 137, 126, 165, 72, 225, 242, 18, 294, 233, 234, 235, 22, 113, 114, 205, 292, 159, 172, 79. 295, 238, 73, 290, 91, 240, 45, 103, 258, 267, 222, 221, 220, 89. 40, 41, *πρὸς ἀσθενοῦντα παραμυθητική* (inc. *ὁ βίος τῶν ἀνθρώπων βραχύς* : cf. Marcianus 61), 366 : *εἰς τὸ ἅγιον Πάσχα* (inc. *οὐ ξένην ἑορτήν* : *εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν Τριάδα* (inc. *ἐπίγνωσις*).

Pour tout ce qui précède le Parisinus 334 S semble dépendre du Marcianus 61. La suite est d'une autre main : 279, 280, 50, 274, 286, 142, 143, 144, 311, 109, 303, 296, 297, 107, 108, 93, 78, 273, 275, 315, 316, 70, 320, 317, 322, 326, 327, 77, 209, 36, 285, 309, 314, 305, 308,

Digitized by Google

117, 298, 35, 310, 249, 11, 331, 156, 213, 88, 270, 287, 288, 307, 37, 289.

§ II. Famille Ab.

Parisini 506 et 763 S. Paris, Bibl. nationale. Vindobonensis 142. Vienne, Bibl. Caesarea Augusta.

Ces trois manuscrits peuvent être étudiés ensemble, car, en ce qui concerne la Correspondance de S. Basile, ils concordent d'un bout à l'autre, sauf que les 3 canoniques 188, 199, 217, ne figurent pas dans le Vindobonensis. Ces trois lettres clôturent la Correspondance dans les deux Parisini. Nous ne donnerons donc le contenu qu'une seule fois pour les trois.

Parisinus 506.

x^e siècle. ii folios de garde en papier + 217 en parchemin. 314 × 220 millim. Outre la Correspondance de S. Basile ce ms. contient à partir du fol. 143 la Correspondance de S. Grégoire de Nazianze, et du fol. 189 le traité de S. Basile sur le S. Esprit. Ce ms., qui provient de la bibliothèque de Mazarin, est le Regius 2293 des Mauristes, qui lui assignent à tort le XII^e siècle comme date. Au fol. 1 on lit le titre suivant: *τοῦ ἁγίου Βασιλείου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Καισαρείας Καππαδοκίας ἐπιστολαί*, avec une table. Au verso de ce même folio on lit une note de main récente reproduite du verso du fol. 86 qui nous apprend que 'le présent manuscrit à été donné au monastère des Météores de Thrace par un certain Christophe' et encore celle-ci plus courte: *βιβλίον τῆς βασιλικῆς μονῆς Μητεώρου.*

Parisinus 763 S.

XI^e siècle. Parchemin. 211 folios. 248 × 182 millim. Fol. 1–165 Correspondance de S. Basile; 165^v Correspondance de S. Grégoire de Nazianze, et traité du S. Esprit. Tables précédant chacune de ces collections. Ce ms. abonde en abréviations, ce qui en rend la lecture laborieuse.

Vindobonensis 142.

XI^e siècle. ii fol. de garde + ii en papier vides + iii en parchemin portant un texte liturgique avec notation musicale, mais d'écriture récente, peut-être du XIV^e s., + 223 en parchemin. 253 × 175 millim. C'est un beau ms. d'une écriture très régulière et fort soignée, verticale, où abondent les lettres onciales. Il a été muni au XVII^e siècle de notes marginales, indiquant le contenu du texte, avec renvois à Baronius. L'auteur de ces annotations est un certain Sébastien Tengnagelius qui fut autrefois propriétaire du manuscrit.

Digitized by Google

Fol. 1–192^{v} *ἐπιστολαὶ τοῦ μεγάλου Βασιλείου*, cf. Lambecius, livre III, p. 358. Fol. 192^{v} *τέλος σὺν θῷ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν Βασιλείου Καισαρείας Καππαδοκίας*. Voici la liste du contenu identique de ces trois mss., abstraction faite des 3 lettres canoniques qui manquent dans le Vindob. 142 : 1, 4, 14, 2, 71, 7, 19, 47, [Grég. Naz. 114], 34, 27, 30, 138, 268, 239, 127, 48, 145, 100, 136, 162, 98, 241, 95, 141, 98, 237, 128, 31, 146, 168, 157, 158, 271, 9, 277, 38, 58, 60, 59, 55, 61, 66, 80, 67, 82, 69, 24, 25, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 355, 197, 57, 68, 120, 129, 216, 89, 112, 279, 280, 111, 110, 281, 104, 140, 90, 28, 207, 210, 219, 261, 229, 230, 247, 246, 29, 97, 92, 243, 228, 252, 139, 102, 227, 62, 251, 226, 265, 183, 263, 242, 204, 113, 114, 295, 238, 240, 53, 103, 222, 221, 220, 203, 54, 253, 256, 52, 105, 173, 257, 284, 85, 125, 184, 119, 79, 223, 151, 189, 245, 244, 250, 51, 121, 185, 130, 254, 195, 122, 255, 132, 181, 260, 118, 81, 133, 266, 205, 290, 91, 258, 264, 267, 124, 160, 135, 192, 32, 272, 76, 96, 180, 177, 172, 282, 334, 259, 154, 164, 165, 291, 134, 156, 123, 262, 224, 5, 6, 301, 269, 300, 302, 101, 206, 214, 99, 64, 72, 293, 299, 313, 56, 323, 147, 304, 33, 196, 178, 75, 26, 65, 126, 276, 186, 137, 328, 329, 194, 193, 212, 63, 94, 20, 21, 152, 324, 148, 149, 163, 74, 179, 3, 325, 131, 211, 12, 13, 23, 116, 17, 225, 18, 294, 292, 159, 73, 16, 45, 46, 321, 174, 10, 84, 86, 307, 87, 330, 332, 236, 150, 161, 176, 231, 202, 200, 191, 233, 234, 235 (ici finit le Vindobonensis 142), 188, 199, 217.

L'Estensis 229. Modène, Bibliothèque de l'Université ; ancienne bibl. des ducs d'Este.

XI^{e} siècle, d'après T. W. Allen[1] et Plutoni.[2] M. Alfred Jacob à qui nous avons montré une page photographiée de ce ms. opinerait pour le début du XII^{e} s. Papier bombycin. 286 fol. Mutilé aux deux bouts. 338 × 270 millim. 'Large free minuscule below the line, often abbreviated', Allen. Fol. 1–56 Correspondance de S. Grégoire de Nazianze : 56^{v} vide ; 57–286 Correspondance de S. Basile ; 287 vide.

Ἐπιστολαὶ τοῦ μεγάλου Βασιλείου (fol. 57) : 14, 2, 71, 7, 19, 47, [Grég. Naz. 114], 34, 27, 30, 138, 268, 239, 127, 48, 145, 100, 136, 162, 98, 241, 198, 237, 128, 182, 31, 146, 168, 157, 158, 271, 9, 277, 38, 58, 60, 59, 55, 61, 66, 80, 67, 82, 69, 24, 25, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 197, 57, 68, 120, 129, 216, 89, 112, 279, 280, 111, 110, 281, 104, 140, 90, 28, 207, 210, 219, 261, 229, 230, 247, 246, 29, 97, 92, 243, 228, 252, 139, 102, 227, 62, 251, 226, 265,

[1] *Notes on Greek Manuscripts in Italian Libraries*, London, 1890.

[2] *Studi italiani di filologia classica*, tome IV. Indice dei codici greci della Biblioteca Estense di Modena, p. 379 et suiv.

Digitized by Google

183, 263, 242, 204, 113, 114, 295, 238, 240, 53, 103, 222, 221, 220, 203, 54, 253, 256, 52, 105, 173, 257, 284, 85, 125, 1, 184, 119, 79, 223, 151, 189, 245, 244, 250, 51, 121, 185, 130, 254, 195, 122, 255, 132, 181, 260, 118, 81, 133, 266, 205, 290, 91, 258, 264, 267, 124, 160, 135, 192, 32, 272, 76, 96, 180, 177, 172, 282, 334, 359, 154, 164, 165, 291, 134, 156, 123, 262, 224, 5, 6, 301, 269, 300, 302, 101, 206, 214, 99, 64, 72, 293, 313, 56, 323, 147, 33, 196, 178, 75, 26, 65, 126, 276, 186, 187, 137, 328, 329, 194, 193, 212, 63, 94, 20, 21, 152, 324, 148, 149, 163, 74, 179, 3, 325, 131, 4, 211, 12, 13, 23, 116, 17, 225, 18, 294, 292, 159, 73, 16, 45, 46, 321, 174, 10, 84, 86, 307, 87, 330, 332, 236, 150, 161, 176, 231, 202, 200, 191, 234, 235, 201, 218, 232, 248, 190, 62, 106, 49, 50, 175, 22, 169, 171, 170, 15, 274, 286, 142, 143, 311, 109, 303, 306, 278, 208, 333, 312, 83, 153, 283, 296, 297, 107, 108, 93, 78, 273, 275, 315, 316, 70, 320, 317, 322, 326, 327, 77, 209, 36, 285, 309, 314, 305, [trois numéros perdus qui devaient être 308, 117, 298], 35, 310, 249, 11, 331, [deux numéros perdus, savoir 155, 213], 88, 270, 287, 288, [307 perdu], 37 incomplète.

Les derniers folios ont subi des interversions dont témoigne l'incohérence de la numérotation, car on a la suite : τε', τιθ', τκ', τκα', τς', τζ', τη', τθ', τι', τκδ', τκε', τκς', τκζ', τκη', τις', τιζ', τιη'. Nous avons rétabli ci-dessus la suite naturelle. En outre nous avons comblé les lacunes à l'aide du Marcianus 79.

Le Marcianus 79. Venise, Bibl. S. Marc.

'Saeculi circiter XII', Zanetti. 310 folios en parchemin. 355 × 250 millim. Écriture grosse, un peu lourde mais régulière et d'une lecture aisée. Les initiales et les numéros sont en lettres d'or, les adresses en rouge. Contient 238 lettres de S. Grégoire de Nazianze ; 338 de S. Basile ; 1 lettre de S. Grégoire de Nysse ; 1 lettre de S. Athanase ; deux tables, l'une des lettres de S. Grég. de Naz., fol. 1 et suiv., l'autre des lettres de S. Basile, fol. 79, 80, et 81. La Correspondance de S. Basile commence au fol. 82. Voici la liste de ses lettres : 14, 2, 71, 7, 19, 47, [Grég. Naz. 114], 34, 27, 30, 138, 268, 239, 127, 48, 145, 100, 136, 162, 98, 241, 95, 141, 198, 237, 128, 182, 31, 146, 168, 157, 158, 271, 9, 277, 38, 58, 60, 59, 55, 61, 66, 80, 67, 82, 69, 24, 25, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 356, 355, 197, 57, 68, 120, 129, 216, 89, 112, 279, 280, 111, 110, 281, 104, 140, 90, 28, 207, 210, 219, 261, 229, 230, 247, 246, 29, 97, 92, 243, 228, 252, 139, 102, 227, 62, 251, 226, 265, 183, 263, 242, 204, 113, 114, 295, 238, 240, 53, 103, 222, 221, 220, 203, 54, 253, 256, 52, 105, 173, 257, 284, 85, 125, 1, 184, 119, 79, 223, 151, 189, 245, 244, 250, 51, 121, 185, 130, 254, 195, 122, 255, 132, 181, 260, 118, 81, 133, 266, 205, 290, 91, 258, 264, 267, 124, 160,

Digitized by Google

135, 192, 32, 272, 76, 96, 180, 177, 172, 282, 334, 255, 154, 164, 165, 291, 134, 156, 123, 262, 224, 5, 6, 301, 269, 300, 302, 101, 206, 214, 99, 64, 72, 293, 299, 313, 56, 323, 147, 304, 34, 196, 178, 75, 26, 65, 126, 276, 186, 187, 137, 328, 329, 194, 193, 212, 63, 94, 20, 21, 152, 324, 148, 149, 163, 74, 179, 3, 325, 131, 4, 211, 12, 13, 23, 116, 17, 225, 18, 294, 292, 159, 73, 16, 45, 46, 174, 10, 84, 86, 307, 87, 330, 332, 236, 150, 161, 176, 231, 202, 200, 191, 233, 234, 235, 201, 218, 232, 248, 190, 62, 106, 49, 50, 175, 22, 356, 169, 171, 170, 15, 274, 286, 142, 143, 144, 311, 109, 303, 306, 278, 208, 333, 312, 83, 321, 283, 296, 297, 107, 108, 93, 78, 273, 275, 315, 316, 70, 320, 317, 322, 326, 327, 77, 209, 36, 285, 309, 314, 305, 308, 117, 298, 35, 310, 249, 11, 331, 155, 213, 88, 270, 287, 288, 307, 37, 289, 330, 215, 166, 167; Libanios 1226, 1227, 1228 (éd. Wolf); Bas. 115; Grég. Nysse, ep. 2 (M. 46, 1009–1016). Bas. desinit: *τέλος τῶν ἐπιστολῶν τοῦ ἁγίου Βασιλείου. . . .*

Le Bodleianus Miscell. 38. Oxford, Bibl. Bodléienne.

XVIe siècle (anno 1547). Papier. 196 folios. 326 × 230 millim. Titre *Ἐπιστολαὶ τοῦ μεγάλου Βασιλείου.* A s'en rapporter à la numérotation ce ms. a contenu 334 pièces, parmi lesquelles figurent Grég. Nysse, ep. 2 (M. 46, 1009–1016); Grég. Naz., ep. 207; Athanase, ep. ad Ioannem et Antiochum presbyteros (M. 26, 1165); Libanios 1226, 1227, 1228 (éd. Wolf).

La première lettre porte le no. *ιδ΄* (Bas. 127). Les 13 premiers numéros ont donc disparu. Viennent ensuite 48, 145, 100, 136, 162, 98, 241, 95, 141, 198, 237, 128, 31, 146, 168, 157, 158. La suite reproduit l'ordre de la famille Ab, particulièrement celui du Venetus 79 et de l'Estensis 229, avec quelques lacunes toutefois. Ainsi il lui manque les nos. 88, 270, 287, 288. Mais le classement de ce ms. n'est pas douteux. Comme il apparaît d'ailleurs négligeable dans l'histoire de la tradition, puisqu'il est postérieur à la première édition (celle de Grossenhain 1528), il est inutile de nous en occuper davantage.

§ III. Famille Ac.

Le Parisinus 967. Paris, Bibl. Nat.

Copié en 1377 par le moine Ignace.[1] A passé de la collection Hurault dans la Bibliothèque royale. Coté successivement Hurault 2897, Regius 2281, Nat. 967. iv + 310 fol. dont le dernier est vide. Papier. 218 × 140 millim. En tête une table qui remplit les 5 premiers folios et qui annonce 337 lettres de S. Basile. Mais dans ce total tout

[1] Le Parisin 967 vient du monastère *Φιλοθέου* de l'Athos.

Digitized by Google

n'est pas lettres, et les lettres ne sont pas toutes de S. Basile. Il faut en déduire les nos. τλ', τλγ', τλδ', τλε', τλζ'. En outre, après la lettre κγ' figurent trois pièces non numérotées : 1° un fragment d'homélie περὶ Εὐχαριστίας qui commence ainsi : καθεζόμενος ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης . . . et qui se termine par τὰ ἐνύπνια : 2° la lettre 358 : 3° la lettre 359. Les numéros et les adresses sont en rouge, l'écriture mal façonnée, pénible à lire, très abrégée.[1] Les folios 6–17 ont été déplacés. Vraisemblablement ils faisaient suite au fol. 22, et la numérotation des lettres qu'ils contiennent nous permet de les rétablir à leur vraie place. Pourtant il y a lieu de laisser hors cadre la première pièce qui figure au fol. 6, adressée à Amphilochius d'Iconium avec le n°. τλζ', qui est le premier chapitre du traité de S. Basile sur le St-Esprit, ainsi que le fragment sur l'Eucharistie et les deux lettres 358 et 359. Les lettres se présenteraient alors dans l'ordre suivant :

Au fol. 17 Ἐπιστολαὶ τοῦ μεγάλου Βασιλείου : 1, 4, 9, 140, 34, 27, 30, 138, 268 = θ', incomplète à cette place, la suite au fol. 7.

Au fol. 6 De Spiritu S., ch. i = τλζ'.

Fol. 7 et suiv. la suite de 268 ; 239 = ι' ; 127 = ια' ; 48, 145, 100, 136, 162, 98, 241, 95, 141, 198, 237, 128 (κγ') ; le fragment sur l'Eucharistie ; puis ep. 358 et 359 sans numéros ; puis 61 (κδ'), 66, 80, 67, 82, 69, 279, 280, 111, 110, 281, 104, 236, 150, 161, 176, 231, 202, 200, 191, 233, 234, 235, 182, 31, 146, 168, 157, 158, 282, 334, 5, 290, 6, 112, 90, 242, 263, 214, 99, 64, 72, 38, 58, 28, 207, 210, 204, 293, 299, 313, 284, 56, 323, 147, 304, 33, 196, 178, 75, 223, 257, 57, 68, 120, 129, 216, 89, 259, 192, 32, 272, 76, 96, 180, 177, 172, 219, 261, 277, 26, 229, 238, 240, 230, 247, 246, 29, 97, 154, 164, 165, 60, 59, 55, 65, 126, 245, 244, 250, 51, 203, 291, 54, 301, 121, 130, 254, 195, 122, 255, 184, 119, 79, 185, 132, 181, 253, 256, 208, 84, 271, 269, 134, 135, 160, 156, 123, 262, 276, 92, 243, 300, 228, 52, 105, 252, 174, 186, 137, 187, 328, 329, 194, 193, 212, 63, 94, 20, 21, 151, 189, 139, 102, 103, 152, 227, 260, 321, 324, 148, 149, 163, 74, 179, 62, 251, 118, 81, 3, 175, 226, 265, 224, 131, 211, 12, 13, 23, 302, 116, 17, 46, 133, 266, 101, 206, 10, 307, 85, 125 (avec l'apostille d'Eustathe), 86, 87, 183, 24, 225, 25, 18, 294, 113, 114, 205, 292, 159, 295, 73, 53, 16, 91, 258, 330, 332, 264, 267, 222, 221, 220, 124, 337, 338, 339, 340, 344, 345, 335, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 336, 341, 342, 347, 348, 343, 346, 170, 283, 296, 333, 365, 215, 15, 274, 49, 153, 50, 286, 142, 143, 144, 311, 201, 190, 107, 78, 273, 275, 315, 318, 316, 319, 320, 70, 317, 322, 326, 327, 77, 209, 36, 285, 309, 314, 305, 308, 117, 298, 35, 310, 249, 11, 331, 155, 213, 88, 270, 287, 288, 37, 289, 115, 40, 41, 45, 326, 173, 44, 97, 19, [Grég. Naz. 114 ; M. 37. 209], 14, 2, [Grég. Naz., ep. 46, 80 ; M. 37. 96, 153] ; τοῦ μεγάλου Βασιλείου πρὸς ἀσκητὰς ἀρχαίους

[1] Cf. H. Omont, *Fac-similés des mss. grecs datés de la Bibl. Nat.*, pl. 97.

Digitized by Google

παραίνεσις (cf. Garnier, t. ii, p. 211 E), 42 ; avec une doxologie suivie de ces mots : τέλος σὺν θεῷ ἁγίῳ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν τοῦ μεγάλου Βασιλείου.

Ce ms. contient en outre fol. 229^{v} et suiv. d'autres ouvrages de divers auteurs, dont on trouve l'énumération dans l'inventaire d'Omont.

Le Parisinus 1021 Suppl. Paris, Bibl. Nat.

XIII^{e} siècle. Parchemin. 129 folios. Palimpseste. Provient de la bibliothèque de S. Germain-des-Prés. C'est l'ancien Coislin. 288. 250 × 175 millim. La Correspondance de S. Basile finit au verso du folio 128. Le fol. 129 est rempli de grimoires illisibles. La table (fol. 1 πίναξ σὺν θεῷ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν τοῦ μεγάλου Βασιλείου) annonce 325 lettres (ὁμοῦ αἱ πᾶσαι ἐπιστολαί τκε'). Mais ce chiffre ne concorde point avec le contenu primitif, d'où l'on peut conclure que cette table a été dressée après que se fut produite la lacune signalée plus loin. On peut restituer cette lacune à l'aide du Parisinus 967, qui procède d'un même ancêtre que le 1021 S. Il y a toutefois une différence extérieure frappante entre les deux mss. Dans le 1021 S les lettres n'ont pas de numéro d'ordre. Le copiste reproduit un classement par correspondants et donne simplement aux lettres un numéro qui en indique la place dans la série adressée à un même correspondant. Au contraire le 967, tout en reproduisant le même ordre que le 1021 S, numérote les lettres d'après la place qu'elles occupent dans l'ensemble. Le 1021 S n'est autre que le 'Coislinianus secundus' des Mauristes. Il porte des traces de corrections d'ailleurs adroites dans le texte. Les grattages sont à peine perceptibles. Il est à noter que ce ms. ne se trouve pas mentionné dans le catalogue de la bibliothèque Coislin par Montfaucon. Et, pour cette raison, il ne figure plus aujourd'hui dans le fonds Coislin, mais au Supplément grec. Il nous est impossible de lire quoi que ce soit du premier texte. C'est un palimpseste absolument effacé.[1] Les lettres se suivent dans l'ordre suivant : 1, 4, 9, 140, 34, 27, 30, 138, 268, 239, 127, 48, 145, 100, 136, 162, 98, 241, 95, 141, 198, 237, 128, 61, 66, 80, 67, 82, 69, 279, 280, 111, 110, 281, 104, 236, 150, 161, 176, 231, 202, 200, 191, 233, 234, 235, 182, 31, 146, 168, 157, 158, 282, 334, 5, 290, 6, 112, 197, 90, 242, 263, 214, 99, 64, 72, 38, 58, 28, 207, 210, 204, 293, 299, 313, 284, 56, 323, 147, 304, 33, 196, 178, 75, 223, 257, 57, 68, 120, 129, 216, 89, 259, 192, 32, 272, 76, 96, 180, 177, 172, 219, 261, 277, 26, 229, 238, 240, 230, 247, 246, 29, 97, 154, 164, 165, 60, 59, 55, 65, 126, 245, 244, 250, 51, 203, 291, 54, 301, 121, 130, 254, 195, 122, 255, 184, 119, 79, 185, 132, 181, 253, 256, 208, 84, 271, 269, 134, 135, 160, 156, 123, 262, 276, 92, 243, 300,

[1] Cf. A. Jacob, *Notes sur les mss. grecs palimpsestes du fonds Coislin et du Suppl. grec de la Bibl. Nat.* Revue des Bibliothèques, Nov.-Dec. 1899.

Digitized by Google

228, 52, 105, 252, 174, 186, 137, 187, 328, 329, 194, 193, 212, 63, 94, 20, 21, 151, 189, 139, 102, 103, 152, 227, 260, 321, 324, 148, 149, 163, 74, 179, 62, 251, 118, 81, 3, 175, 226, 265, 224, 131, 211, 12, 13, 23, 302, 116, 17, 46, 133, 266, 101, 206, 10, 307, 85, 125, 125 (avec l'apostille d'Eustathe), 86, 87, 183, 24, 225, 25, 18, 294, 113, 114, 205, 292, 159, 295, 73, 53, 16, 91, 258, 330, 332, 264, 267, 222, 221, 220, 124, 337, 338, 339, 340, 344, 345, 335, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 336, 341, 342, 347, 348, 344 (*bis*), 343, 346, 170, 283, 296, [ont disparu les numéros suivants : 333, 365, 215, 15], 274, 49, 153, 50, 286, 142, 143, 144, 311, 201, 190, 107, 78, 273, 275, 315, 318, 316, 319, 320, 70, 317, 322, 326, 327, 77, 209, 36, 285, 309, 314, 305, 308, 117, 298, 35, 310, 249, 11, 331, 155, 213, 88, 270, 287, 288, 37, 289, 115, 40, 41, 45, 22, 173, 44, 7, 19. Les trois derniers numéros sont d'une autre main que le reste. Le total est de 329 pièces, car l'apostille d'Eustathe fait partie de la lettre 125 et ne constitue pas une lettre à part, bien qu'un numéro spécial lui soit affecté dans ce ms. comme dans plusieurs autres.

§ IV. Famille Bo.

Le Parisinus 37 P. Paris, Bibl. de l'Arsenal. [Arsenal 234.]

XI^e^ siècle. Parchemin. i + 276 folios, mutilé et très endommagé par l'humidité. 230 × 172 millim. Ce ms. provient du Collège des Jésuites d'Anvers. Au fol. 1 on lit cette note : 'Joan. Sambuxii[1] pannonii Tyrna . . . emptus Lutetiae 7. d. 1561.' ('Lutetiae' d'après M. Omont, *Mélanges Graux*, p. 316.)

Les 22 premiers numéros sont perdus et une partie du n°. 23 qui est la lettre 203 ; ce qui en subsiste commence ainsi : . . . στηρίζουσι καὶ οἱ ὀφθαλμοί . . . (Garnier, 301 c).

Le premier quaternion actuel est mutilé d'un folio qui contenait la fin de κς′ = ep. 6 (dont il ne subsiste que le commencement fol. 6 jusqu'au mot συμβεβηκότος), κζ′, κη′, κθ′, soit les lettres 247, 246, 238. De cette dernière il reste la fin (fol. 7) à partir des mots κειμένων ἡμῖν. La numérotation passe de σπ′ à σπε′ sans qu'il y ait de lacune réelle. Le dernier quaternion est amputé d'un folio qui contenait les numéros τν′, τνα′, τνβ′ partiellement ; soit les lettres 166, 167, et l'homélie περὶ τῆς θείας οὐσίας jusqu'aux mots εὐσεβείας ἀπήγαγον. Le ms. a été confronté avec l'*Augustanus* (= *Monacensis* 497) et avec l'édition latine de Froben de 1551. Il offre une très grande ressemblance, pour l'écriture, avec le Coislin 237. En marge quelques variantes. Dans le texte on note la présence de l'iota adscrit.

[1] Ce Sambucus (appelé ici Sambuxius) est un collectionneur dont les mss. forment le fond de la bibliothèque de Vienne ; né à Tyrnau, il fut historiographe de Maximilien II et de Rodolphe II (1531-1585). Cf. *Onomasticon*, t. iii, p. 318.

Digitized by Google

Ce ms. donne l'ordre suivant, en comblant entre crochets les lacunes signalées — pour le début jusqu'à κγ′ se reporter à la liste du Coislin 237 (*infra*, p. 38) — κδ′ = 203 (le dernier tiers environ), 207, 5, 6, [247, 246, 238], 240, 229, 230, 121, 122, 130, 140, 135, 160, 55, 253, 256, 29, 25, 300, 101, 301, 227, 228, 26, 18, 106, 206, 139, 82, 80, 61, 69, 66, 67, 133, 266, 219, 156, 100, 136, 30, 162, 98, 241, 138, 27, 182, 183, 48, 128, 139, 127, 95, 141, 198, 237, 34, 268, 145, 31, 146, 28, 63, 210, 126, 204, 54, 291, 53, 244, 250, 216, 258, 245, 49, 50, 195, 184, 185, 181, 81, 79, 119, 223, 224, 212, 265, 131, 214, 175, 264, 267, 85, 123, 262, 45, 46, 323, 23, 22, 284, 205, 206, 113, 114, 57, 154, 164, 165, 68, 252, 197, 120, 129, 89, 159, 161, 176, 191, 150, 231, 202, 200, 201, 218, 232, 248, 190, 236, 233, 234, 235, 188, 199, 217, 260, 241, 335, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 347, 348, 344, 345, 346, 38, 105, 189, 7, 71, 169, 171, 170, 271, 84, 276, 148, 149, 74, 112, 279, 179, 73, 281, 86, 72, 225, 24, 15, 274, 286, 142, 143, 144, 311, 109, 303, 306, 278, 134, 194, 208, 329, 163, 20, 21, 151, 124, 261, 125, 90, 243, 263, 242, 91, 254, 92, 255, 132, 65, 97, 292, 193, 122, 282, 334, 333, 186, 187, 294, 137, 222, 221, 220, 94, 17, 328, 118, 116, 325, 324, 277, 293, 299, 313, 312, 83, 304, 196, 147, 33, 75, 178, 152, 153, 111, 104, 110, 280, 272, 96, 180, 76, 192, 177, 32, 172, 321, 52, 173 (incomplète), 174, 10, 283, 296, 297, 107, 108, 93, 103, 87, 78; 273, 275, 315, 318, 316, 70, 319, 320, 317, 322, 326, 327, 77, 209, 36, 285, 309, 314, 305, 308, 117, 298, 35, 310, 249, 11, 331, 155, 213, 88, 270, 287, 288, 307, 37, 289, 330, 332, 168, 157, 158, 290, 215, 257, 60, 59, 47, [166, 167], περὶ τῆς θείας οὐσίας[1] = τνβ′, incomplète; περὶ τοῦ σώματος τοῦ κυρίου = τνγ′; πρὸς τοὺς μὴ δεχομένους τὸ ὁμοούσιον = τνδ′; Libanios 1226, 1227, 1228, éd. Wolf; Grég. Naz. 136; Bas. 115; Grég. Nysse, ep. 2 (M. 46, 1009 et suiv.) = τξ′.

Le Coislinianus 237. Paris, Bibl. Nat.

XI^e siècle. Au fol. 2 on lit cette note tardive et à demi effacée: ἐτους ,ϛ. φ. λ. α. κύκλῳ ἡλίου ιη, σελήνης κύκλῳ ε. Si cette indication se rapportait à la date du ms. elle nous reporterait à l'année 1023, et le ms. serait du premier quart du XI^e siècle.[2] Le même folio porte le sceau du monastère des Météores. ii + 247 + ii folios. Le fol. 1 contient

[1] Éditée par Léopold Sébastiani à Rome en 1796, d'après le ms. grec n° 13 de la Bibl. Angelica. Cf. Introduction, p. 10 n.

[2] D'ailleurs les indications relatives aux cycles solaires et lunaires sont fausses. En 1023 (= ,ϛ, φλα) le cycle solaire est 7, le cycle lunaire 14. La mention ιη et ε ferait plutôt penser à 1033 (,ϛ, φμα), où le cycle solaire est 17 et le cycle lunaire 5. La suscription aurait donc été recopiée négligemment.

Digitized by Google

un fragment hagiographique.[1] La Correspondance de S. Basile commence au fol. 2 et finit au milieu du fol. 247^{v}. 230 × 165 millim. Le Coislin 237 a été sommairement décrit par Montfaucon dans sa Bibliotheca Coisliniana. 'Codex est praestantissimus et optimae notae. Huius ope epistolarum S. Basilii nova editio paratur.' Les variantes en sont relevées d'une manière assez complète dans l'édition Mauriste, et souvent elles ont passé dans le texte.

Voici dans quel ordre se suivent les Lettres dans le Coislin 237 : 14, [Grég. Naz. 6, 114], 2, 9, 4, 13, 211, 12, 3, 1, 40, 41, 19, 58, 295, 16, 259, 226, 62, 269, 51, 251, 99, 203, 207, 5, 6, 247, 246, 238, 240, 229, 230, 121, 130, 140, 135, 160, 55, 253, 256, 29, 25, 300, 101, 301, 227, 228, 26, 18, 106, 206, 139, 82, 80, 61, 69, 66, 67, 133, 266, 219, 156, 100, 30, 162, 98, 241, 138, 27, 182, 183, 48, 128, 127, 95, 141, 198, 237, 34, 268, 145, 31, 146, 28, 63, 210, 126, 204, 54, 291, 53, 244, 250, 216, 258, 245, 49, 50, 195, 184, 185, 181, 81, 79, 119, 223, 224, 212, 265, 131, 214, 175, 264, 267, 85, 123, 262, 45, 46, 323, 23, 22, 284, 205, 206, 113, 114, 57, 154, 164, 165, 68, 252, 197, 120, 129, 89, 159, 161, 176, 191, 150, 231, 202, 200, 201, 218, 232, 248, 190, 236, 233, 234, 235, 188, 199, 217, 260, 341, 335, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 347, 348, 344, 345, 346, 38, 105, 7, 71, 169, 171, 170, 271, 84, 276, 148, 149, 74, 112, 279, 179, 73, 281, 86, 72, 225, 24, 15, 274, 286, 142, 143, 144, 311, 109, 303, 306, 278, 134, 194, 208, 329, 163, 20, 21, 151, 124, 261, 125, 90, 243, 263, 242, 91, 254, 92, 255, 132, 65, 97, 292, 193, 122, 282, 334, 333, 186, 187, 294, 222, 221, 220, 94, 17, 328, 118, 116, 325, 324, 277, 293, 299, 313, 312, 83, 304, 196, 147, 33, 75, 178, 152, 153, 111, 104, 110, 280, 272, 96, 180, 76, 192, 177, 32, 172, 321, 52, 173, 174, 10, 283, 296, 297, 107, 108, 93, 103, 87, 78, 273, 275, 315, 318, 316, 70, 319, 320, 317, 322, 326, 327, 77, 209, 36, 285, 309, 314, 305, 308, 117, 298, 35, 310, 249, 11, 331, 155, 213, 88, 270, 287, 288, 307, 37, 289, 330, 332, 168, 157, 158, 290, 215, 257, 60, 59, 47, 166, 167 : *τμή*,

[1] Dans ce fragment de 2 pages il est question d'une jeune fille qui a quitté la maison paternelle pour embrasser soit la vie solitaire, soit la vie cénobitique. Son père, Paphnuce, désespéré, la cherche vainement. Puis il se rend au *κοινόβιον* situé dans le voisinage, se jette aux pieds de l'hégoumène nommé Ammas et lui demande des prières pour que Dieu lui rende sa fille. On prie et on jeûne toute une semaine dans le monastère. Mais en vain. Car la jeune fille de son côté a prié, et ce sont ses prières qui ont été victorieuses. La suite de l'histoire n'apparaît pas clairement. Le fragment débute ainsi :

. . . λοι . γείτονες, ἔρημοι, σπήλαια . καὶ τὸ ζητούμενον οὐχ εὑρίσκετο· ὡς οὖν διὰ πάσης ἐρευνήσεως ἀπετύγχανον καὶ ἀπέπιπτον τοῦ σκόπου, μεταβαλλόμενοι ὡς ἐπὶ νεκροῦ οὕτως ἐθρήνουν αὐτὴν . . . κτλ. Vers la fin il est question d'un moine revenu *ἐκ τοῦ παλατίου τοῦ βασιλέως Θεοδοσίου*. Voici la dernière phrase. *Λαβὲ τὸν κύριον Παφνούτιον καὶ ἀπάγαγε αὐτὸν πρὸς τὸν Ἀμμᾶν σμάραγδον ἵνα ὠφεληθῇ παρ' αὐτοῦ, καὶ λαβὼν αὐτὸν ὁ Ἀγάπιος ἤγαγεν πρὸς αὐτὸν* . . .

Digitized by Google

Ἀπολιναρίῳ περὶ τῆς θείας οὐσίας (éd. Sébastiani, déjà citée): τμθ΄, περὶ τοῦ σώματος τοῦ κυρίου, inc. οὔτε οὐράνιον ποίημα: τν΄, πρὸς τοὺς μὴ δεχομένους τὸ ὁμοούσιον, inc. ἡ ὀρθὴ πίστις αὐτή ἐστιν: τνα΄ = 115.

Le Monacensis 497. Munich, Bibl. royale et nationale (Hof- und Staatsbibliothek).[1]

Les parties anciennes de ce ms. paraissent être du XI^e siècle, bien que le catalogue le date du XII^e. iv + 314 + iii folios en parchemin. 215 × 160 millim. Les 36 premiers folios sont d'une main plus récente qui pourrait être assez tardive malgré l'élégance de sa forme qui la fait soupçonner d'être une écriture d'imitation. Le parchemin en est moelleux, fin et souple; une sorte de vélin. Sont encore insérés les folios 67, dont la moitié du verso est vide; 72, dont le verso n'a que huit lignes; 120, 122 et 123, dont le verso n'est écrit que jusqu'à mi-page; 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 313, 314. Les folios 67, 72, 120, 122, 123 sont d'un parchemin épais: l'écriture en est grosse et moins soignée que celle des autres folios insérés. On distingue donc trois mains dans ce ms., savoir:

1° Celle du XI^e siècle qui est la principale.

2° Celle à qui nous devons les parties sur vélin, c.-à.-d. les lettres α΄–ιθ΄ (inclus), ou bien 2, 1, 4, 14, 7, 19, 47, [Grég. Naz. 114], Bas. 361, 362, 363, 364, 242, 189, 102, 16, 226, 259; ensuite ρνϛ΄ = 235, à partir de ἡμᾶς ὁμολογοῦντας, jusqu'à ρνη΄ = 199, dont la dernière partie, à compter de μανθάνειν, est ancienne, soit les lettres 235, 188, 199 première partie; enfin τμϛ΄, τμζ΄, τμη΄, qui sont 115, 40, 41.

3°. Celle qui a écrit les folios 67, 72, 120, 122, 123, c.-à.-d. les lettres μα΄ = 29, à partir de ὦ ποσάκις . . .: μβ΄ = 25, jusqu'à ᾗ, εἰ μὴ ἐπίστευες τῇ γραφῇ . . . μϛ΄ = 227, à partir de τῆς περὶ τὸν ποιμένα ὑμῶν, jusqu'à ἡ ἐπιμέλεια: la fin de ϙ = 204 (à partir de κρύπτω τῇ ἐμαυτοῦ, κατ' ἐμαυτὸν στενάζων), ϙα΄ = 244, ϙβ΄ = 250, jusqu'aux mots καὶ παρέλαβον τὸ θυσιαστήριον.

Les folios 1–15^r sont remplis par une table des adresses avec les incipit des lettres, qui est de la 2^e main. 15^v est vide.

Les initiales des lettres sont en miniature.

Au fol. 1^r on lit cette note: 'Ex hoc codice magna est accessio facta ad editionem postremam a D. W. Musculo, Basileae 1540, facta'. Il s'agit de l'édition latine de Bâle.

Voici l'ordre des lettres que donne le *Monacensis* 497. Il y a lieu de noter que les 18 premiers numéros ne concordent pas avec le contenu primitif, qui serait plutôt à restituer d'après le Coislin 237.

2, 1, 4, 14 (avec cette scholie: αὐτὴ ἡ ἐπιστολή ἐστι προτέρα τῆς πρώτης

[1] Pour la description de ce ms. cf. Hardt: *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae regiae Bavaricae*, tome v, pp. 169 et suiv.

Digitized by Google

ἧς ἀρχή: ἐπέγνων σου), 7, 19, 47, [Grég. Naz. 114], 361, 362, 363, 364, 242, 189, 102, 16, 226, 259, 62, 269, 51, 251, 99, 203, 207, 5, 6, 247, 246, 238, 240, 229, 230, 121, 130, 140, 135, 160, 55, 253, 256, 29, 25, 300, 101, 301, 227, 228, 26, 18, 106, 206, 139, 82, 80, 61, 69, 66, 67, 133, 266, 219, 156, 100, 136, 30, 162, 98, 241, 138, 27, 182, 183, 48, 128, 239, 127, 95, 141, 198, 237, 34, 268, 145, 31, 146, 28, 63, 210, 126, 204, 244, 250, 216, 258, 245, 49, 50, 195, 184, 185, 181, 81, 79, 119, 223, 224, 212, 265, 131, 214, 175, 264, 267, 85, 123, 262, 45, 46, 323, 23, 22, 284, 205, 206, 113, 114, 57, 154, 164, 165, 68, 252, 197, 120, 129, 89, 159, 161, 176, 191, 150, 231, 202, 200, 201, 218, 232, 82, 190, 236, 233, 234, 235, 188, 199, 217, 260, 241, 235, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 342, 343, 347, 348, 344, 345, 346, 38, 105, 7, 71, 169, 171, 170, 271, 84, 276, 148, 149, 74, 112, 279, 179, 73, 281, 86, 72, 225, 24, 15, 274, 286, 142, 143, 144, 311, 109, 303, 306, 278, 134, 194, 208, 329, 163, 20, 21, 151, 124, 261, 125 (avec l'apostille d'Eustathe), 90, 243, 263, 242, 91, 254, 92, 255, 132, 65, 97, 292, 193, 122, 282, 334, 333, 186, 187, 137, 294, 222, 221, 220, 94, 17, 328, 118, 116, 325, 324, 277, 293, 299, 83, 312, 304, 106, 147, 33, 75, 178, 152, 153, 111, 104, 110, 280, 272, 96, 180, 76, 192, 177, 172, 321, 52, 173, 174, 10, 283, 296, 297, 107, 108, 93, 103, 87, 78, 273, 275, 315, 318, 316, 70, 319, 320, 317, 322, 326, 327, 77, 209, 36, 285, 309, 314, 305, 308, 117, 298, 35, 310, 249, 11, 331, 155, 213, 88, 270, 287, 288, 307, 37, 289, 330, 332, 168, 157, 158, 290, 215, 257, 60, 59, 47, 115, 40, 41.

Il est vraisemblable que ce ms. donnait anciennement, au lieu des trois derniers numéros ci-dessus, les lettres 166 et 167, peut-être le περὶ τῆς θείας οὐσιάς, le περὶ τοῦ σώματος τοῦ κυρίου, le πρὸς τοὺς μὴ δεχομένους τὸ ὁμοούσιον et l'ep. 115.

Le Vaticanus 713, fonds Vatican. Rome, Bibl. Vat.

XIII^e^ siècle. 364 folios en parchemin. 267 × 193 millim. Ce ms. a été formé par la réunion de deux, dont le premier embrasse les 48 premiers folios, le second de 49 à la fin. Les marges ont été coupées et remplacées par d'autres en papier. Une sorte de papier pelure transparent a servi à recoller les nouvelles marges, en les débordant et en s'étendant de côté et d'autre sur toute la largeur du folio. Au XVI^e^ s. les folios 203, 204, 235 ont été insérés et copiés par la main qui a écrit les folios 1–18. Au XVII^e^ s. a été inséré le folio 75. En outre il y a lieu de restaurer l'ordre ancien des folios suivants, qui primitivement offraient la suite 290, 289, 292, 291, 293, 295, 298, 296, 301, 300, 299, 302. De même 364, 360, 363. L'écriture est menue, très serrée, très abrégée, une sorte de sténographie. Les 8 premiers folios contiennent une table des *incipit*.

Digitized by Google

Outre la Correspondance de S. Basile on lit dans ce ms., à partir du fol. 282 :

Grég. Nysse, ep. 2 (M. 46, 1009–1016).

Athanase à Jean et Antiochus (M. 26, 1165).

Divers écrits de Grégoire de Nazianze, parmi lesquels est égarée une lettre (la 14ème) de S. Basile.

Des lettres de Théophylacte.

Des lettres d'Isidore de Péluse.

Les lettres de S. Basile sont les suivantes :

[Grég. Naz. 114 avec une fausse adresse Γρηγορίῳ Βασίλειος], 2, 335, [Grég. Naz. 6], 19, 195, 279, 13, 40 (mutilée de la dernière phrase), 58, 295, 16, 259, 226, 62, 102, 302, 269, 51, 251, 99, 203, 207, 5, 6, 247, 246, 238, 240, 229, 230, 121, 130, 140, 135, 160, 55, 253, 256, 29, 25, 300, 101, 301, 227, 228, 26, 18, 106, 206, 139, 82, 80, 60, 69, 66, 67, 133, 266, 219, 156, 100, 136, 30, 162, 98, 241, 138, 27, 182, 183, 48, 128, 239, 127, 95, 141, 198, 237, 34, 268 (1ère partie, jusqu'à *δεόμεθα αὐτοῦ* M. 32, 997 B, l. 12), 145, 268 (2ème partie, depuis *ἃ μὲν οὖν μέχρι*), 64, 31, 146, 28, 63, 210, 126, 204, 54, 291, 53 (avec cette scholie : *ἔν τισι γράφεται* ⟨*πρὸς*⟩ *τοὺς ὑφ' ἑαυτὸν ἐπισκόπους ὥστε μηδένα χειροτονεῖν ἐπὶ χρήμασι· αὕτη ἐστὶν ἀληθεστέρα ἐπιγραφή*), 244, 250, 13 (qui a été grattée et remplacée par un passage sur le St-Esprit avec ce titre : *ὅτι δοξολογία πνεύματός ἐστιν ἡ τῶν προσόντων αὐτῷ ἀπαρίθμησις*, inc. *ἐγὼ δὲ οὐδὲ ἄλλο*, qui est le ch. XXIII du De Spiritu Sancto : Garnier, tome iii, p. 46 C), 4, 211, 12, 116, 17, 179, [Grég. Naz. 113], 223, 224, 212, 265, 131, 214, 175, 264, 267, 85, 123, 262, 45, 46, 323, 23, 22, 284, 205, 113, 114, 57, 154, 164 (le début manque), 165, 68 (le début manque), 252, 197, 120, 129, 89, 159, 161, 176, 191, 150, 231, 202, 200 (le début manque), 201, 218, 232, 248, 190, 236, 233, 234, 235, 188, 199, 217, 260, 341, 335, 349, 356, 336, 340, 342, 343, 347, 348, 344, 345, 346, 38, 105, 189, 7, 71, 169, 171, 170, 271, 84, 276, 148, 149, 74, 112, 279, 73, 281, 86, 72, 225, 365, 24, 15, 274, 286, 142, 143, 144, 311, 109, 303, 306, 278, 134, 194, 218, 329, 20, 21, 151, 124, 261, 125, 90, 243, 263, 242, 91, 254, 92, 295, 132, 65, 97, 292, 193, 122, 282, 334, 333, 186, 187, 137, 294, 222, 221, 220, 94, 17, 56, 328, 118, 116, 325, 324, 277, 293, 299, 313, 312, 83, 304, 196, 147, 33, 75, 178, 152, 153, 111, 104, 110, 280, 272, 96, 180, 76, 192, 177, 32, 172, 321, [Grég. Naz. 57], 52, 173, 174, 10, 283, 296, 297, 107, 108, 93, 103, 87, 78, 273, 275, 305, 318, 316, 70, 319, 320, 317, 322, 326, 327, 77, 209, 36, 285, 309, 314, 305, 308, 117, 298, 35, 310, 249, 11, 331, 155, 213, 88, 270, 287, 288, 307, 37, 289, 330, 332, 168, 156, 157, 290, 215, 257, 60, 59, 47, 166, 167, 280 : Ἀπολιναρίῳ Ἐδεξάμην τὸ γνώρισμα . . . (Sébastiani, Rome, 1796.) : *περὶ τοῦ σώματος τοῦ κυρίου : πρὸς τοὺς μὴ δεχομένους τὸ ὁμοούσιον.*

Digitized by Google

Libanios 1226, 1228.

Bas. 115, jusqu'à *ἃ νῦν οὗτοι οὐ βλέπουσιν.*

περὶ τοῦ μὴ δεῖν τρεῖς θεοὺς καταγγέλλειν (M. 31, 1488–1496).

4 lettres de Grég. Naz.

Bas., ep. 14.

Grég. Naz. epistolae variae. On y lit cette scholie à l'ep. 48 : *σταθμός ἐστιν* (il s'agit de Sazime) *ἐν μέσῳ λεωφόρῳ τοῦ Καππαδόκων ᾗ σχίζεται εἰς τρισσὴν ὁδον, ἔρρημον (sic), ἄχλοον, ἄβλαστον, ἄνυδρον.*

Lettres de Théophylacte : ' Plurimae lectiones variae ab Herchero ne memoratae quidem '. Mercati dans une note manuscrite qu'il nous a communiquée.

Lettres d'Isidore de Péluse.

Le Mediceus IV. 14. Florence, Bibl. Laurentienne.

'Codex x° saeculo conscriptus' lit-on au fol. 1. Écriture penchée, dont l'aspect général ressemble beaucoup à celle du Coislin 237. A noter la présence de l'iota adscrit et d'onciales nombreuses parmi lesquelles on remarque surtout Γ. Ε. Η. Μ. Ν. Π. C. Ce ms. serait plutôt à dater du début du XI^e siècle.

iii + 363 + iii folios. Les 363 sont en parchemin, les autres en papier ; le 362^v est vide.

Correspondance de S. Grégoire de Nazianze et de S. Basile. Au verso du iii° folio de tête on lit :

Τῷ μεγάλῳ Βασιλείῳ Ἐπαινῶ σου τῆς ἐπιστολῆς τὸ προοίμιον· τί δὲ τῶν σῶν οὐκ ἐπαινετόν· καὶ σὺ ἑάλως ὥσπερ καὶ ἡμεῖς γεγραφότες· ἐπειδή γε εἰς τὸν πρεσβυτέρου βαθμὸν ἐβιάσθημεν, καιτοίγε οὐ τοῦτο . . . Le reste manque. Ce début est d'une main récente.

Fol. 1. Correspondance de S. Grég. Naz. La première lettre est numérotée *θ'*. Elle est précédée par un fragment de *η'*. Ce ms. est donc mutilé de son début.

Au fol. 85. La lettre *σλα'* de Grég. à Libanios[1], commençant par ces mots : ΜΗΡ ΠΡΙ *πέπομφα*, est attribuée à S. Bas. par certains ms. La lettre *σλβ'* avec la suscription *Συμπλικίᾳ αἱρετικῇ* Βασίλειος est la 115ème de S. Basile : quelques mss. l'adjugent à Grégoire, et celui-ci la fait figurer parmi les lettres de Grégoire tout en l'attribuant à Basile.

Cette lettre se termine au milieu du fol. 85^v. Le reste de la page est en blanc. Le fol. 86 débute par une fin de lettre qui est Bas. 14 à partir de *τῶν ἀστικῶν θορύβων ἀπήλλακται, ἀλλ' ὅτι.* La Correspondance de S. Basile débutait par cette lettre. On a donc l'ordre suivant :

14, [Gr. Naz. 6 = *β'* : Grég. Naz. 114 = *γ'*], 2 = *δ'*, 19, 7, 169, 171, 170, 47, 9, 4, 13, 211, 12, 3, 1, 40, 41, 58, 295, 16, 259, 226, 62, 102, 302, 269, 51, 99, 203, 207, 5, 6, 247, 246, 238, 240, 229, 230, 121, 122,

[1] Grég. Naz., ep. 236.

Digitized by Google

130, 140, 135, 160, 55, 253, 256, 29, 25, 300, 101, 301, 227, 228, 26, 18, 106, 206, 139, 82, 80, 61, 69, 66, 67, 133, 266, 219, 156, 100, 136, 30, 162, 98, 241, 138, 27, 182, 183, 48, 128, 239, 127, 95, 141, 198, 237, 34, 268, 145, 31, 146, 28, 63, 210, 126, 204, 54, 291, 53, 244, 250, 216, 258, 245, 49, 50, 195, 184, 185, 181, 81, 79, 119, 223, 224, 212, 265, 131, 214, 175, [224, 212, 265, 131, 214, 175],[1] 264, 267, 85, 123, 262, 45, 46, 323, 23, 22, 284, 205, 206, 113, 114, 57, 154, 164, 165, 68, 252, 197, 120, 129, 159, 161, 176, 191, 150, 231, 202, 200, 201, 218, 232, 248, 190, 236, 233, 234, 235, 260, 335, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 347, 348, 344, 345, 346, 38, 105, 189, 271, 84, 276, 148, 149, 74, 112, 279, 179, 73, 281, 86, 72, 225, 365, 24, 15, 274, 286, 142, 143, 144, 311, 109, 303, 306, 278, 134, 194, 208, 329, 163, 20, 21, 151, 182, 124, 261, 125, 90, 243, 263, 242, 91, 254, 92, 255, 132, 65, 97, 193, 282, 334, 333, 186, 187, 137, 294, 222, 221, 220, 94, 17, 56, 328, 118, 116, 325, 324, 277, 293, 299, 313, 312, 83, 304, 196, 147, 33, 75, 178, 152, 153, 111, 104, 110, 280, 272, 96, 180, 76, 192, 177, 32, 172, 321, 52, 173, 174, 10, 296, 297, 107, 93, 87, 78, 273, 275, 315, 318, 316, 70, 319, 320, 317, 322, 326, 327, 77, 209, 36, 285, 309, 314, 305, 117, 298, 35, 310, 249, 11, 331, 155, 213, 88, 270, 288, 307, 37. Ici il y a eu un déplacement de folios qui a amené une perturbation dans la suite des lettres. On a en effet la suite τλα′ (37), τμα′, τμβ′, τμγ′, τμδ′, τοη′, puis trois pièces sans numéro qui se trouvaient primitivement à la fin du ms., puis τλβ′, τλγ′, τλδ′, τλε′, τλς′, τλζ′, τλη′, τλθ′, τμ′. Cette dernière série doit être replacée immédiatement après τλα′, qui est 37; on a alors la suite régulière 289, 330, 332, 168, 157, 158, 290, 215, 257. Ensuite τμα′ et ce qui suit, et on a 60, 59, 167, 64. Doit-on supposer une lacune réelle entre τμδ′ (64) et τοη′ (περὶ τοῦ μὴ δεῖν τρεῖς θεοὺς καταγγέλλειν, Garnier, t. iii, p. 609 A)? Nous l'ignorons. Ensuite vient un fol. vide; puis fol. 363 les trois pièces suivantes sans numéro: Libanios 1226, 1227, 1228. Il est possible qu'anciennement l'ep. 2 de Grég. de Nysse ait terminé ce ms., comme il arrive pour le Parisinus 37 P (Arsenal 234) et pour le Marcianus 79.

§ V. Famille Bu.

Le Vaticanus 2209 (fonds Vatican). Rome, Bibl. Vaticane.

x/xie siècle. iv + 235 + iv folios en parchemin. 250 × 163 millim. Écriture penchée où figurent les onciales suivantes: α. η. ε. δ. κ. π. c. Les formes abrégées de καί et de δέ portent l'accent: ϛ̀, ϗ̀. Mais celles de l'article τ̂ = τῶν, τ̂ = τῆς, ne sont pas accentuées. Ce ms. doit être antérieur comme date à tous les Bo. On peut hésiter entre la fin du xe

[1] [These six letters are repeated, probably by a slip of M. Bessières' pen: I have therefore enclosed them in square brackets.]

Digitized by Google

et le commencement du XI^e siècle. La première partie de la Correspondance de S. Basile, c'est-à-dire les 164 premiers numéros, sont classés suivant l'ordre Bo, spécialement suivant l'ordre du Mediceus iv 14. La deuxième partie suit un ordre incohérent qui n'est pas sans rapports avec une section qu'on trouve dans Bz. Ces rapports seront étudiés plus loin.[1] Outre la Correspondance de S. Basile le *Vaticanus* 2209 contient encore le traité du Saint-Esprit du même auteur, dédié à Amphilochios, évêque d'Iconium. Les lettres se présentent dans l'ordre suivant :

14, [Grég. Naz. 6, 114], 2, 19, 7 (avec le lemme suivant à la suite de l'adresse : *ὅτι οὐκ ἱκανὸς ὁ λόγος πρὸς παράστασιν τῆς νοουμένης εὐσεβείας καὶ ἵνα συνηγορῇ τῇ ἀληθείᾳ*), 47 avec le lemme qu'on lit en note dans Migne, 9, 4, 211, 12, 3, 1, 40, 41, 58, 295, 16, 259, 226, 62, 102, 302, 269, 51, 251, 99, 203, 207, 5, 6, 247, 246, 240, 229, 230, 121, 122, 130, 140, 135, 160, 55, 253, 256, 29, 25, 300, 101, 301, 227, 228, 26, 18, 106, 206, 139, 82, 80, 61, 69, 66, 67, 133, 266, 219, 156, 100, 136, 30, 162, 98, 241, 138, 27, 182, 183, 48, 128, 239, 127, 95, 141, 198, 237, 34, 268, 145, 31, 146, 28, 63, 210, 126, 204, 54, 291, 53, 244, 250, 216, 258, 245, 49, 50, 195, 181, 81, 79, 223, 224, 212, 265, 131, 214, 175, 264, 267, 85, 123, 262, 45, 46, 322, 23, 22, 284, 205, 206, 113, 114, 57, 154, 164, 165, 68, 252, 197, 120, 129, 159, 161, 176, 191, 150, 231, 202, 200, 218, 201, 232, 248, 190, 236, 233, 234, 235, 260, 111, 104, 110, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 347, 348, 304, 293, 174, 186, 187, 329, 118, 196, 321, 330, 331 : *περὶ τοῦ σώματος τοῦ κυρίου*, inc. *οὔτε οὐράνιον ποίημα* : Libanios 1228 : [Grég. Naz., ep. 136, ms. *Βασίλειος Λιβανίῳ*, inc. *Μήτηρ πατρὶ πέπομφα*] : 249, 94, 20, 163, 21, 87, 137, 72, 115, 97, 173, 65, 59, 134, 271, 60, 194, 299, 84, 147, 276, 152, 277, 17, 56, 208, 163 (*bis*), 148, 272, 96, 151, 180, 116, 76, 193, 280, 324, 149, 75, 74, 313, 325, 52, 112, 105, 279, 90, 10, 356, 261, 179, 64, 292, 172, 73, 192, 168, 158, 290, 91, 243, 281, 177, 178, 32, 189, 71, 263, 282, 334, 257, 132, 307, 24, 225, 242, 294, 103, 222, 221, 220, 89, 124, 38, 125, 188, 199, 217 : De Spiritu Sancto.

Le numéro σϙδ΄ = ep. 125 ne porte pas l'apostille d'Eustathe. Il est muni de la scholie suivante : *σχο- τὸ σύμβολον τῶν τιη ἁγίων πρων ἰδίᾳ χειρὶ γεγραμμένον εὑρέθη τοῦ μεγάλου ⟨π⟩άπα Ἀθανασίου ἐν ⟨Ἀ⟩λεξανδρείᾳ οὕτως ἔχον.*

Le n°. σϙε΄ = ep. 188 est accompagné de la scholie suivante : *σχο. οἱ τοὺς τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων κανόνας ἔτι δὲ καὶ τοὺς ὑπὸ διαφόρων ἐκτεθέντας ἁγίων συνόδων εἰς ἓν διελόντες τίτλους παρέθεντο, καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Βα⟨σιλείου⟩ κανόνας τὸν ἀριθμὸν η̄ καὶ ξ̄, οὕστινας ἐκ μόνων φαίνονται τῶν β̄ τῶν κατὰ πόδας κειμένων ἐπιστολῶν ἀναλεξ⟨ά⟩μενοι, παραδραμόντες καθόλην*

[1] Cf. ch. iii tableau ix.

Digitized by Google

τὴν παροῦσαν ἐπιστολὴν καίτοι κανόνας περιέχουσαν οὐκ ὀλίγους· ἵνα οὖν μήτε τὸ ἐντελὲς παρῶμεν ἡμεῖς ⟨μήτε⟩ καινίζειν τῇ προσθήκῃ τι νομισθῶμεν ἢ τοὺς ἀριθμοὺς τῶν αὐτῶν κανόνων ἀμείψωμεν ἢ ἄλλως διορθωταὶ τῶν πρὸ ἡμῶν δόξωμεν γένεσ⟨θαι⟩, ὑποδιελεῖν μὲν αὐτὴν τοῖς εἰρημένοις οὐ συνείδομεν τίτλοις, ἐν δὲ τῷ παρ' ἡμῖν κανονικῷ βιβλίῳ μετὰ τὸ πέρας ἐξ ὁλοκλήρου παραθέσθαι βέλτιον ἡγησάμεθα.

Le nº. *σϛ΄* = ep. 199 est accompagné de la scholie suivante: *σχο. ἐκ ταύτης καὶ τὴν (sic) μετ' αὐτὴν ἀνελήφθησαν οἱ τοῦ ἁγίου κανόνες καθὰ προδεδήλοται οἱ τοῖς ν̄ τίτλοις τῆς κανονικῆς ὑποδιαιρούμενοι βίβλου.*

Le nº. *σϛ΄ζ΄* = ep. 217 porte la même scholie. 199 contient les canons *α΄*–*λδ΄*; 217 *λε΄*–*ξζ΄*.

Le Parisinus 971. Bibl. Nat.

XVI^e siècle. iv + 176 folios. 225 × 165 millim. Papier. 'Emptus Romae 1715' lit-on au fol. 1^a. C'est l'ancien Regius 2897; c'est-à-dire le *Regius secundus* des Bénédictins. Mais nous lisons dans l'"elenchus" du tome iii de leur édition que le Reg. secundus contient 334 lettres. Or notre ms. n'en donne que 163. Il est vrai qu'il est noté comme le tome second d'une collection plus complète. Mais qu'est devenu le tome 1^er? En outre, son ordre est calqué, sauf de nombreuses omissions, sur le *Vat.* 2209. La première lettre est numérotée *ζ΄*, qui est bien la 7^ème du *Vat.* 2209; la 2^ème *θ΄*, qui est la 9^ème de ce même ms.; la 3^ème *ιζ΄* = la 17^ème du *Vat.*; la 4^ème *ιη΄* = la 18^ème du *Vat.* Viennent ensuite *κ΄*, *κα΄*, *κβ΄*, *κγ΄*, qui sont respectivement les numéros 20, 21, 22, 23 du *Vat.* Si, comme il est probable, notre ms. est une copie avec de nombreuses omissions du *Vat.* 2209, rien ne fait supposer qu'il soit le tome ii d'une collection plus complète. Il y a donc désaccord entre son contenu réel et la notice des mauristes.[1] Voici une autre difficulté. Le 971 ne contient pas la série des *ἀνεπίγραφοι*. Or, pour ces lettres les mauristes citent souvent le *Regius secundus* dans leur apparat. Voici son contenu: 169, 170, 40, 41, 295, 16, 259, 226, 62, 102, 302, 269, 5, 6, 247, 238, 240, 229, 230, 122, 130, 140, 253, 256, 29, 300, 101, 301, 227, 228, 26, 18, 106, 206, 133, 219, 156, 100, 162, 241, 27, 182, 183, 48, 128, 127, 141, 198, 237, 34, 145, 31, 146, 63, 126, 54, 291, 216, 258, 245, 49, 50, 195, 184, 185, 181, 81, 79, 119, 224, 212, 265, 131, 214, 175, 264, 267, 85, 123, 262, 45, 46, 323, 23, 22, 284, 205, 113, 154, 164, 165, 252, 159, 161, 176, 191, 150, 231, 202, 200, 201, 218, 232, 248, 190, 236, 234, 235, 304, 33, 186, 174, 187, 328, 329, 118, 196, 321, *ριη΄* = *περὶ τοῦ σώματος τοῦ κυρίου*, 94, 20,

[1] Les difficultés signalées ici nous induisent à supposer quelque confusion de fiches ou de sigles dans le travail préparatoire de l'édition bénédictine en ce qui concerne le Parisinus 971.

Digitized by Google

137, 72, 173, 65, 134, 194, 299, 84, 147, 276, 152, 277, 17, 56, 208, 163, 148, 75, 313, 325, 52, 105, 279, 179, 64, 73, 192, 168, 157, 158, 290, 91, 178, 32, 257, 132, 225, 294, 222, 124; 93, 63, ces deux dernières d'une autre main.

L'Ambrosianus 604. Milan, Bibl. Ambrosienne.

XVI^e siècle. i + 146 folios en papier. Le 146^ème est vide en partie. 257 × 205 millim. 'Manu quam dixeris Ioannis a Santa Maura' lit-on dans le catalogue de Martini et Bassi, tome ii des *Studi italiani di filologia classica*. Ce ms., comme le précédent, paraît avoir été copié sur le *Vaticanus* 2209, mais il est moins complet. En voici le contenu : ep. 169, 171, 170, 40, 41, 295, 259, 62, 102, 302, 269, 99, 5, 6, 247, 240, 229, 230, 121, 122, 130, 160, 253, 256, 300, 101, 301, 227, 228, 26, 18, 206, 133, 266, 219, 156, 100, 136, 162, 98, 241, 182, 183, 48, 128, 127, 95, 141, 198, 237, 145, 31, 146, 63, 126, 54, 291, 216, 258, 245, 49, 50, 195, 184, 185, 181, 81, 79, 119, 212, 265, 131, 214, 175, 264, 267, 85, 123, 262, 45, 46, 323, 23, 22, 284, 205, 206, 113, 114, 154, 164, 165, 252, 159, 161, 176, 191, 150, 231, 202, 200, 201, 218, 232, 248, 190, 236, 233, 234, 260, 111, 65, 134, 194, 299, 84, 147, 276, 152, 17, 56, 208, 163, 148, 272, 96, 151, 180, 116, 76, 193, 280, 324, 149, 75, 74, 313, 325, 52 (cod. *κανὼν περὶ τοῦ ὁμοούσιον εἶναι τὸν υἱὸν τῷ πατρί*), 105, 279, 89 (incomplète), 179, 64, 104, 110, 304, 33, 174, 186, 187, 328, 329, 118, 196, 321, 249, 94, 163, 21, 125 (seulement l'apostille d'Eustathe), 87, 137, 72, 173, 292, 172, 73, 192, 168, 157, 158, 290, 91, 281, 177, 178, 282, 257, 132, 307, 24, 225, 242, 294, 103 (cod. *τοῖς Ἰταλιεῦσιν*), 222, 221, 220, 89, 124.

§ VI. Famille Bz.

Le Vaticanus 435, fonds Vatican. Rome, Bibl. Vaticane.

XIII^e siècle. xix + 279 folios en papier. 305 × 207 millim. Ce ms. n'est pas homogène. Une main du XIV^e siècle environ a suppléé les folios 17–22, 27–39, 43–55, 76, 141, 142, 218. Une autre main a suppléé les folios 227, 228. Une autre main encore a écrit certains fragments aux folios 42^v, 148, 182^v, 184^v. Enfin un scribe du Vatican a suppléé au XVI^e siècle les folios 148, 276–279, à savoir les lettres de S. Grég. Naz. λϵ′–με′. Ont péri la fin du premier index, le dernier folio du quaternion κδ′, les deux premiers folios du quaternion λϵ′, tous les folios du quaternion λς′ sauf le premier. L'ordre des folios suivants est à rétablir comme suit : 19, 23–26, 20–22, 27, . . . 75, 74, . . . 121, 128, 129, 122–127, 130 . . ., 183, 182. Sont vides les folios 1^v, 124^v, 126^v, 228^v, 279, et dans les *additamenta* du début i^v, xix^v.

Voici le contenu du *Vaticanus* 435 :

Digitized by Google

ii–xix, deux index dont l'un ancien, mutilé de la fin, l'autre du XVI^e–XVII^e siècle.

Extraits de Maxime le Confesseur jusqu'à fol. 7.

Michel Psellos, sur les titres des Psaumes, jusqu'à fol. 14.

Grég. Naz., Apologeticus ad patrem, fol. 15, avec scholies.

„ „ , in Consecratione Eulalii episcopi, fol. 16.

Basile, lettres, à partir du fol. 17. Savoir : 14, [Grég. Naz. 114], 2, 9. 4, 13, 211, 12, 3, 1, 40, 41, 19, 58, 295, 16, 259, 226, 102, 302, 269, 62, 51, 251, 99, 203, 207, 5, 6, 247, 246, 140 (écourtée dès ἐλπίδος στέφανον), 29, 139, 219, 82, 28, 54, 244, 250, 223, 323, 65, 59, 156, 134, 224, 135, 271, 123, 262, 57, 154, 164, 197 (incomplète dès ἀπῳκίσμεθα), 7, 60, 252, 194, 212, 299, 84, 94, 63, 187 (avec cette note : Ἡ ταύτης προηγουμένη ἐστὶν ⟨ἔμ⟩προσθεν τθ'), 304, 147, 276, 152, 277, 100, 17, 56, 328, 118, 208 (non numérotée dans ms.), 260, 111, 104, 110, 300, 163, 148, 272, 96, 20, 151, 180, 116, 76, 33, 193, 80, 61, 127 (Meletio), 68, 280, 324, 149, 75, 74, 313, 325, 21, 265, 245, 34, 268 (incompl. dès δεομένους αὐτοῦ), 145, 160, 52 (tit. sic : κανονικὴ περὶ τοῦ ὁμοούσιον εἶναι τὸν υἱὸν τῷ πατρί), 214, 291, 48, 55, 112, 293, 105, 279, 210, 173, 90, 161, 176, 191, 150, 231, 202, 200, 10, 341, 337, 338, 339, 340, 356, 335, 261, 131, 179, 97, 115, 236, 92 (avec omission des noms et de la salutation), 128, 130, 64 (avec addition à la fin de ces mots : ἐρρωμένος καὶ εὔθυμος ἐν κυρίῳ φυλαχθείης ἡμῖν σὺν παντὶ τῷ οἴκῳ), 101, 69, 113, 114, 205, 206, 133 (avec une scholie sur Pierre d'Alexandrie : οὗτος ὁ Πέτρος μετὰ τὸν μέγαν Ἀθανάσιον. ἡ παροῦσα ἐπιστολὴ τοῦ μεγάλου Βασιλείου), 292, 159, 172, 81, 79, 301, 216, 266, 238, 73, 192, 53, 136, 30, 162, 98, 241, 138, 27, 182, 31, 146 (tit. : ἑτέρῳ Εὐσεβίῳ ἐπισκόπῳ), 168, 157, 158, 227, 228, 290, 91, 240, 258, 243 (om. salutation), 66, 67, 281, 177, 178, 32, 26, 229, 230, 189, 31, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 347, 348, 86, 183, 119, 72, 225, 263, 25, 283, 296, 242, 333, 365, 215, 126, 24, 15, 274, 49, 153, 50, 286, 142, 143, 144, 311, 165, 201, 107, 109, 108, 303, 312, 18, 306, 278, 297, 83, 106, 175, 218, 232, 248, 190, 121, 254, 122, 255 (Τίτῳ), 184, 185, 132, 181, 253, 256, 103, 87, 78, 273, 275, 315, 318, 316, 70, 319, 320, 317, 322, 326, 327, 77, 209, 36, 285, 309, 314, 305, 308, 117, 298, 35, 310, 249, 11, 331, 155, 213, 88, 270, 287, 288, 307, 37, 289, 195 (Σωφρονίῳ), 46, 45, 121 ; contra Sabellianos et Arium et Anomaeos, M. 31, 600–617 ; τγ' adversus calumniatores S. Trinitatis, M. 31, 1488–1496. Les numéros τδ', τε', τϛ', τζ' manquaient dans l'ancêtre du Vat. 435, comme on peut le conclure de l'espace laissé vide à cette place et aussi dans la table. Viennent ensuite : 169, 186, 329, 208, 196, 321, 174, 170, 171. A la suite des lettres de S. Basile nous avons encore :

Grég. Naz., De pace, in seipsum.

Grég. Naz., in Aegyptiorum adventum.

Digitized by Google

Grég. Naz., Correspondance. La lettre σλα′ de S. Grégoire Naz. est ainsi conçue : Βασιλείῳ τῷ μεγάλῳ. ὁ παρ᾽ ὑμῖν μίμος, παρ᾽ ἡμῖν δὲ εὐλαβής, ᾔτησέ με γράφειν πρὸς ὑμᾶς λαμπρῶς ἀκουσθῆναι. Réponse : σλβ′. Γρηγορίῳ Βασίλειος ὁ μέγας. ὁ παρ᾽ ἡμῖν μίμος, παρ᾽ ὑμῖν δὲ εὐλαβής, ἐλθὼν πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐν εὐκταίᾳ καὶ λαμπρᾷ ἡμέρᾳ ἀπελύθη ὡς ἀληθῶς θεοπρεπῶς.

Ep. σλη′. Εὐσταθίῳ, inc. λόγον ἐρῶ πρὸς τὴν σὴν λογιότητα θαυμαστὸν μὲν ἴσως ἀλεθῆ δέ . ἐγὼ κατέλιπον . . . C'est la lettre 1 de S. Basile dont les trois premières phrases ont été remplacées par cette plate formule de début, qu'on retrouve dans le ms. 7 de la bibliothèque communale de Palerme (cf. *Studi italiani*, t. vi, p. 459 et suiv.), et dans le ms. 627 de la Badia (cf. Rostagno e Festa *Indice dei codici greci Laurenziani non compresi nel Catalogo del Bandini*, dans le tome iv des *Studi italiani*).

Gregorii Nazianzeni vita brevior.

Lettres de Synésios.

Divers écrits de Themistios et de Plutarque.

Le Berolinensis 23. Bibl. de Berlin.

XVIe siècle. 192 folios en papier. 327 × 223 millim. Ce ms., qui a été successivement le *Claromontanus* 96, le *Phillippicus*[1] 1427, a fourni quelques variantes à l'édition bénédictine. Il semble être une copie du *Vaticanus* 435. En effet, par suite des interversions de folios survenues dans le *Vat.* 435, certaines lettres se trouvent déplacées. Or le *Berolinensis*, tout en modifiant parfois l'ordre du *Vat.* 435, se rapproche cependant de celui qui résulte par places des folios intervertis. On précisera plus loin ces rapports. Voici le contenu du *Berolinensis* 23 :

1° 53 lettres de Grég. Naz.

2° S. Basile, ep. 102, 302, 269, 62, 40, 41, 295, 259, 99, 5, 6, 247, 219, 54, 323, 65, 156, 134, 123, 262, 154, 164, 252, 212, 299, 84, 94, 63, 186, 187, 304, 147, 276, 81, 153, 50, 152, 100, 17, 56, 328, 118, 208, 260, 111, 104, 110, 280, 300, 163, 148, 272, 96, 180, 177, 76, 33, 193, 127, 324, 149, 75, 74, 313, 325, 21, 265, 245, 145, 160, 52, 214, 291, 48, 55, 105, 279, 173, 161, 176, 191, 150, 231, 202, 200, 201, 236, 218, 232, 248, 190, 131, 179, 128, 130, 64, 101, 113, 114, 205, 206, 133, 266, 292, 159, 172, 79, 301, 216, 238, 73, 283, 296, 136, 162, 98, 241, 182, 31, 146, 168, 157, 158, 227, 228, 290, 91, 240, 258, 281, 178, 26, 229, 230, 71, 183, 119, 72, 225, 242, 365, 215, 126, 15, 274, 49, 286, 142, 143, 144, 311, 165, 107, 109, 108, 303, 312, 18,

[1] Puisqu'il s'agit de la bibl. de Sir Thomas Phillipps, ce ms. serait mieux dénommé *Phillippsianus* 1427. Le catalogue de Studemund et Cohn le dénomme Phillippicus 1427.

Digitized by Google

306, 278, 297, 83, 106, 175, 121, 254, 122, 255, 184, 185, 132, 181, 253, 256, 103, 87, 78, 273, 275, 315, 318, 316, 70, 319, 320, 317, 322, 326, 327, 77, 209, 36, 285, 309, 314, 249, 305, 308, 117, 298, 35, 310, 11, 331, 155, 213, 88, 270, 287, 288, 307, 37, 289, 195, 46, 45, 329, 208, 196, 169, 321, 174, 170, 171, 282, 95, 141, 189, 237, 85, 284, 71, 137, 294, 257, 233, 234, 235, 153, 93, 264, 267, 222, 221, 220, 89, 124, 268.

Sont insérées aux fol. 162[r] et 167[r] les deux homélies *κατὰ Σαβελλιανῶν Ἀρείου καὶ τῶν ἀνομίων* (*sic*) et *πρὸς τοὺς συκοφαντοῦντας αὐτὸν ὅτι τρεῖς θεοὺς λέγει*, M. 31, col. 600 sq. et 1488 sq.

§ VII. Famille Bx.

Le Parisinus 1020 Suppl. Paris, Bibl. Nat.

XI[e] siècle. ii folios de garde + 258 en parchemin, + i vide à la fin en papier. 230 × 170 millim. Au fol. 1 on lit cette mention : 'Ex dono illustrissimi Achillis Du Harlay bibliothecae Sancti Germani a Pratis.' C'est l'Harleianus des Mauristes, ms. dont ils font grand cas. Il n'y a pas de table. Le titre général ne s'applique guère qu'aux 20 premières lettres : *Τοῦ μακαρίου Βασιλείου ἐπισκόπου Καισαρείας Καππαδοκίας πρὸς Γρηγόριον ἐπίσκοπον Ναζιάνζου*. Encore dans ces 20 numéros y a-t-il plus de lettres de Grégoire à Basile que de Basile à Grégoire. Il est vrai que les folios 7–14, d'insertion tardive, ne répondent peut-être pas absolument à l'ancien contenu. Le titre est encore inexact en qualifiant Grégoire d'évêque de Nazianze. Dans tout le corps du ms. il y a beaucoup de grattages et de corrections d'une main tardive, qui a substitué aux leçons de l'embranchement B beaucoup de leçons de l'embranchement A.

Voici l'énumération des lettres du Parisinus 1020 S : Bas. 14 (*α'*), Grég. Naz. 4, 5, 114 (*β'*, *γ'*, *δ'*), cette dernière jusqu'aux mots *τῆς φλυαρίας*. Manquent le numéro *ε'* et le début de *ς'*, qui est Bas. 19 (de cette dernière il ne subsiste que la fin à partir de *παρέχοντες. πάντως δὲ οὐδείς . . .*), Grég. Naz. 6 (*ζ'*), Bas. 2 (*η'*). Les derniers mots du fol. 6[v] sont *ὑπόδημα τὸ εὐτελές* : puis, fol. 7, la suite d'une main récente qui doit être du XIV[e] s., à partir de *κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν* : Grég. Naz. 1, 8, 47, 58, qui ne sont pas numérotées dans le ms. : Bas. 71, 7 (cette dernière numérotée *ιδ'*) : Grég. Naz. 40, 45, 59, 48, 49, 50, qui sont *ιε'*, *ις'*, *ιζ'*, *ιη'*, *ιθ'*, *κ'* : Bas. 169 (*κα'*) jusqu'au mot *πολιτεία* (fol. 14[v]) ; la fin, à partir de *καὶ ἡλικία αἰδέσιμον* (fol. 15), est ancienne : 171 (*κβ'*), 170, 59, 60, 58, 26, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 342, 341, 356, 347, 348, 349, 357, 350, 351, 352, 353, 361, 362, 363, 364, 135, 160, 224, 250, 265, 90, 92, 243, 263, 197, 91, 82, 80, 61, 69, 66, 67, 132, 266, 260, 25, 154, 164, 165, 121, 130, 185, 254, 195, 122, 255, 184, 223, 132, 181, 253, 256, 257,

Digitized by Google

120, 129, 216, 57, 89, 68, 239, 136, 30, 100, 162, 98, 241, 138, 27, 48, 128, 271, 34, 268, 145, 168, 157, 158, 31, 146, 258, 205, 206, 51, 245, 118, 161, 176, 191, 150, 231, 202, [ρκη', Ἀμφιλοχίου ἐπισκόπου Ἰκονίου, inc. καὶ πρὶν κομίζεσθαι, Migne, 39, ep. 93], 200, 236, 252, 81, 203, 54, 53, 291, 156, 134, 55, 259, 182, 219, 113, 114, 247, 246, 238, 240, 229, 230, 140, 29, 62, 227, 228, 139, 261, 251, 28, 207, 8, 210, 97, 102, 295, 45, 123, 262, 23, 20, 21, 9, 301, 277, 1, 290, 5, 6, 302, 300, 101, 304, 196, 147, 269, 33, 75, 178, 276, 179, 65, 126, 152, 159, 151, 79, 119, 17, 208, 272, 96, 180, 76, 192, 177, 32, 172, 111, 280, 281, 104, 110, 279, 163, 99, 214, 105, 148, 149, 211, 4, 13, 12, 131, 324, 193, 299, 313, 3, 73, 56, 292, 323, 329, 116, 328, 74, 175, 186, 187, 63, 84, 112, 94, 307, 103, 52, 173, 174, 10, 321, 115, 16, 334, 40, 41 : σξα', ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ δεῖν τρεῖς θεοὺς καταγγέλλειν (Migne, 31, 1488–1496), 38, 282, 343, 344, 345, 346, 95, 141, 198, 237, 354, 355, 85, 125, 86, 87, 183, 137, 284, 24, 72, 225, 204, 18, 294, 233, 234, 235, 330, 332, 264, 267, 222, 221, 220.

Le *Parisinus* 1020 S est isolé quant à l'ordre qu'il représente. Il semble pourtant que la partie récente du *Monacensis* 497, c'est-à-dire la partie insérée au début, dépende, soit du *Parisinus* 1020 S, soit d'un autre ms. semblable. Car le *Monacensis* 497 et le *Parisinus* 1020 S sont les seuls à nous donner la pseudo-Correspondance entre S. Basile et Apollinaire de Laodicée. Le *Parisinus* 1020 S épuise donc pour nous la famille Bx ; nous ne lui connaissons pas de frères.

[NOTE. The important treatise of which the first part is here printed is the work of a French priest who died as a result of war hardships before arrangements could be made for its publication: and as it seemed impossible under present conditions to secure this in France, the JOURNAL has undertaken the responsibility. A brief outline of the abbé Bessières' life and labours will, it is hoped, be added at the close of the last of the three further instalments which will complete the work.]

Digitized by Google

THE BEARING OF THE RABBINICAL CRIMINAL CODE ON THE JEWISH TRIAL NARRATIVES IN THE GOSPELS.

SUMMARY OF THESIS.

The problem stated.

(I) The customary methods and conclusions, and the premisses on which they are based.

(II) (*a*) External evidence on the Sanhedrin's powers under the Romans to hold a criminal trial: Josephus, New Testament, procedure in Egypt.

(*b*) Whether the Gospels point to such a trial. The Marcan versus the Lucan tradition.

(III) Value of evidence afforded by the Rabbinic sources.

Conclusion.

. . . . . .

THE last century has seen the growth of a voluminous literature around the question of the justice of the trial and condemnation of Jesus.[1] The method and results of every fresh study of the available evidence have, with the fewest exceptions, never varied. The descriptions which the Gospels give us of the trials before the Jewish and Roman authorities are placed side by side with such information as can be gathered elsewhere concerning Jewish and Roman law and procedure; by this means the Jewish trial is easily demonstrated to be the veriest travesty of justice, and the sentence of Pilate that of a man deliberately going against his own conscience in a cowardly attempt to placate a threatening mob. The conduct of the Roman trial, owing to the almost entire absence of evidence as to criminal procedure in the Roman provinces, does not, like the supposed Jewish trial, lend itself to such clear-cut comparison between what should have happened and what did happen; but the Gospel accounts, in their vivid portraiture of the Procurator, provide abundant matter for passing judgement on Pilate's conduct, which 'beginning with indecision and complaisance, passed through all the stages of alternate bluster and subserviency; persuasion, evasion, protest, and compromise; superstitious dread, conscientious reluctance, cautious duplicity, and sheer moral cowardice at last; until this Roman remains photographed for ever as the perfect feature of the unjust judge'.[2]

The present study is, however, restricted to our Lord's examination before the Jewish authorities; and even so, it is not primarily

[1] See bibliography in R. W. Husband *The Prosecution of Jesus*, 1916, pp. 283 ff.

[2] A. T. Innes *The Trial of Jesus*, 1899, p. 93.

Digitized by Google

concerned with the justice or injustice of the method and the result, but simply with the question: How far can evidence contained in the Mishna and kindred literature as to the Sanhedrin's procedure in cases of crimes punishable by death be regarded as of value for the criticism and illustration of the Gospel narratives?

. . . . . .

(I) The usual way of investigating the judicial fairness of our Lord's trial may be seen in such works as H. A. Bleby *The Trial of Jesus Christ considered as a Judicial Act*, London 1880; Giovanni Rosadi *Il Processo di Gesù*, Florence 1904; A. T. Innes *The Trial of Jesus Christ: a Legal Monograph*, Edinburgh 1905; Septimus Buss *The Trial of Jesus, illustrated from Talmud and Roman Law*, S.P.C.K., 1906; M. Brodrick *The Trial and Crucifixion of Jesus Christ of Nazareth*, London 1908.

The narratives of the proceedings before the Jewish authorities (Mt. xxvi 57–68, xxvii 1; Mk. xiv 53–65, xv 1; Lk. xxii 54, 63–71, xxiii 1; Jn. xviii 12–14, 19–24, 28) are assumed to be complementary, and are roughly harmonized. The main outlines of the episode are then found to be as follows:—

Those who arrested Jesus brought Him first to Annas (Jn.) who, after a private examination, sent Him, bound, to the High-priest Caiaphas (Jn.), in whose house the scribes and elders were assembled (Mt. Mk.). This is regarded as a formal sitting of the Sanhedrin. The whole council sought evidence on which to put Jesus to death, but at first were unsuccessful (Mt. Mk.). At last certain witnesses accused Him of saying that He would (Mt.; but Mk. has 'could') destroy the Temple and rebuild it in three days (according to Mk. even in this their evidence did not agree). The High-priest asked Jesus if He had any reply to make to this (Mt. Mk.) and, on getting no answer, demanded outright whether He were the Christ (Mt. Mk.). Jesus acknowledged the claim in such terms that the High-priest rent his clothes and accused Him of blasphemy. When he appealed to the rest of the council they all condemned Jesus to death (Mt. Mk.). They (the members of the council according to Mt.; the guards and perhaps the members of the council according to Mk.; but only the men who had arrested Jesus according to Lk.) then reviled and buffeted Him. As soon as it was morning, the chief priests, elders, and scribes met a second time in consultation (Mt. Mk.), and Jesus was questioned afresh as to His claims to be the Christ (Lk.). He again admitted the claim (Lk.), whereupon, without more ado, He was led away to Pilate (Mt. Mk. Lk.), whose duty it was to confirm and carry out the death penalty.

The sum-total of this composite narrative is (*a*) a private examination before Annas, (*b*) a trial before the Sanhedrin during the same night, as a result of which Jesus is condemned to death for blasphemy, and (*c*)

Digitized by Google

quite early in the morning a second sitting of the Sanhedrin preparatory to handing over the Prisoner to the Roman court.

This, then, was the treatment meted out to Jesus by the highest legislative court of the Jews. Was the mode of trial fair? and was the condemnation justified? All but two or three of the innumerable writers on the subject answer both questions with an emphatic negative, and appeal to the Jews' own system of law as set forth in the Mishna.

In the Mishna we possess what it has become customary to describe as a *corpus iuris* of Judaism. It deals with the greatest minuteness with every legal enactment in the Pentateuch, codifying scattered details, reconciling apparent contradictions, working out general principles, interpreting and explaining difficulties, and pressing home to their logical conclusions every item of the Mosaic legislation. One of the tracts of the Mishna is entitled *Sanhedrin*, which, as its name implies, treats of the Jews' supreme court of law, its constitution, authority, and method of procedure. It is to this document that recourse is had for testing the regularity and legality of the proceedings as described in the Gospels.

Taken as it stands, the tract purports to be a manual drawn up to control the procedure of the greater and lesser Sanhedrin. Just as *Sota* is a book of instructions for the correct carrying out of the trial of a woman accused of adultery, and *Yoma* a manual for the service and details connected with the Day of Atonement, so *Sanhedrin* is a judge's hand-book regulating the proceedings of the courts charged with the conduct of capital trials.

Here is a short summary of the contents of the tract.

Those cases are first passed in review which can be settled on the basis of a money payment [דיני ממונות]; they are dismissed with just the briefest mention. They do not come within the real scope of the tract—the functions of the major and minor Sanhedrins—since they can be adjudicated by a court or jury consisting of as few as three members. The constitution of the greater and lesser Sanhedrins is then given, with a brief outline of the types of case which come before each—ordinary capital cases before the latter with its minimum of twenty-three judges, and those of national importance (such as communal apostasy [עיר הנדחת], condemnation of a High-priest, a false prophet, or a whole tribe) before the former, a body of not less than seventy-one members. Then follows a section on the relations which were to hold between the greater Sanhedrin on the one hand, and the High-priest and the King on the other. The real subject of the tract is now entered upon. First comes the question of judges and witnesses—who are eligible to serve as such? Then there is described the method of legal procedure in non-capital cases, followed by that in capital cases; a comparison of

Digitized by Google

the two serves to bring out the special features which are peculiar to, and which emphasize the importance of, the latter. The mode of carrying out the four death penalties is next discussed, in the order of their relative severity—stoning, burning, decapitation, and strangulation. This is followed by a catalogue, arranged in four corresponding divisions, of the criminals who are liable to these capital punishments.

Here, then, would seem to be adequate material for basing a comparison between the accepted methods of dealing out Jewish law and the action of the Jewish authorities in the case of Jesus. The material has been used time and again. Salvador,[1] one of the earliest investigators of the problem, who accepted the above composite story drawn from all four Evangelists, and believed the Mishna rules to have held good for the early part of the first century, satisfied himself that the condemnation of Jesus was according to law. Another, a Hindu writer,[2] arguing from the same premisses, comes to the same conclusion. But these are veritable *tours de force*, almost isolated, and not altogether free from dishonesty in their manipulation of the facts.[3] The bulk of the remaining writers, eager to discover irregularities, have no difficulty in finding what they want. Assuming the Gospel narratives to be complementary and the regulations contained in the Mishna to be valid for the period in question, they lay bare the grossest examples of illegality.

Thus they point out that Annas had no right to examine Jesus alone (Jn. xviii 19, *Pirk. Ab.* 4, 8) nor to seek to make Him incriminate Himself[4]; both sittings of the Sanhedrin violated the rule according to which (*Tos. Sanh.* 7, 1) 'the court sat from the time of the morning offering till the evening burnt-offering'; a capital charge may not be tried on the eve of a Sabbath or festival (*Sanh.* 4, 1), nor may it be tried

[1] J. Salvador *Histoire des Institutions de Moïse et du Peuple hébreu* (3rd ed.), 1862, i 383–393.

[2] Aiyar and Richards *The Trial of Jesus*, 1915.

[3] Cf. Salvador *op. cit.* p. 391 : 'Un fait certain, c'est que le conseil se rassembla de nouveau dans la matinée du lendemain *ou du surlendemain*, comme la jurisprudence l'exigeait, pour confirmer la sentence ou l'annuler : elle fut confirmée.'

[4] This same assertion is made in every study of the subject, and seems to be copied each time without verification. There is no trace of such a prohibition in the Mishna or Tosefta. It is first put forward as a principle of rabbinical jurisprudence in the commentary of Maimonides, followed by Bartenora and Cocceius (all of whom were made accessible to Christian students for the first time in Surenhusius's Latin translation of the Mishna, Amsterdam, 1698) on *Mish. Sanh.* 6, 2 : 'Lex nostra neminem condemnat mortis propria ipsius confessione.' Salvador (p. 373) quotes this as a final authority—'Le principe des docteurs sur ce point est précis'—and since his time every writer on the Trial has brought this 'rule' forward, and made great play with it as a standing indictment against the conduct of the High-priest in demanding what might be a confession of guilt from the Accused.

Digitized by Google

by night (*ibid.*); the Sanhedrin was prejudiced in favour of conviction, taking the initiative in the prosecution, and deliberately seeking out witnesses who should give hostile testimony (Mt. xxvi 69; Mk. xiv 55), and therefore they were ineligible as judges (*Tos. Sanh.* 7, 5); a verdict of conviction must not be reached the same day, nor may such a verdict be uttered by night (*Sanh.* 4, 1); the witnesses were not admonished (*Sanh.* 4, 5), nor, when their evidence was found false, did they suffer the penalty to which the accused was liable (*Sanh.* 11, 6); no attempt was made to find witnesses or arguments for the defence (*Sanh.* 5, 4); the admission by Jesus (Mt. xxvi 64; Mk. xiv 62) was not technically blasphemy, since He did not expressly utter the Divine Name (*Sanh.* 7, 5); the High-priest, as chief judge, had no right to offer first his opinion as to the verdict (Mt. xxvi 65; Mk. xiv 64; *Sanh.* 4, 2); a unanimous verdict of conviction (Mk. xiv 64) was null and void (*Sanh.* 4, 1); though a second sitting of the Sanhedrin was in accordance with correct procedure when the sentence was to be one of conviction, it ought to have been postponed for a whole day (*Sanh.* 4, 1); it is regarded as highly doubtful whether the necessary quorum of twenty-three members (*Sanh.* 1, 5) could have been present at such a hurried, midnight trial; and, lastly, it was illegal to pass sentence of death anywhere except in the Hewn Chamber [בית הגזית] (*Sanh.* 37 *a*, *Ab. Zar.* 8 *b*).

Of the items in this long arraignment many are but dubious arguments from silence, others are drawn from the later stratum of the *Talmud Babli*, and another is but an expression of opinion; but even so, sufficient is left to condemn the conduct of the Jewish trial as utterly irregular and unjust. The best and most restrained of the many investigators along these lines can, granted his presuppositions, quite fairly sum up the case in such terms as:

'Our conclusion on the question of Hebrew law must be this: that a process begun, continued, and apparently finished, in the course of one night; commencing with witnesses against the accused who were sought for by the judges, but whose evidence was not sustained even by them; continued by interrogatories which Hebrew law does not sanction, and ending with a demand for confession which its doctors expressly forbid; all followed, twenty-four hours too soon, by a sentence which described a claim to be the Fulfiller of the hopes of Israel as blasphemy —that such a process had neither the form nor the fairness of a judicial trial.'[1]

Obviously the soundness of this and the like conclusions turns on the soundness of the two premisses: (*a*) that the Gospels combined give us

[1] Innes *op. cit.* pp. 58 f.

Digitized by Google

an essentially complete description of a formal process before a Sanhedrin which had power to condemn to death (though not to carry out the death penalty, Jn. xviii 31), and (*b*) that what Jewish scholars at the end of the second century thought to be correct law and procedure was necessarily the accepted practice at the beginning of the first. If either of these points fails to be established the comparison breaks down: the Hebrew sources will no longer be available as a criterion for the Greek. If the Gospel narratives will not bear the interpretation traditionally given to them—that Jesus was formally condemned to death as a direct result of a trial by the highest Jewish legislature—the rabbinic codes which governed such a trial cannot be adduced as evidence; nor, even if the Gospel narratives will bear such an interpretation, can the usual indiscriminating use be made of the Mishna regulations unless we can be assured that its provisions were valid at a period some two hundred years earlier.

And there are reasonable grounds for questioning both premisses.

. . . . . .

(II) The first premiss assumes two things: (*a*) that the Sanhedrin under the Romans had power to condemn to death, and (*b*) that the Gospel records treat of a formal trial by the Sanhedrin ending with such a death penalty. These two points may be taken separately.

(*a*) The question whether the Jews could actually *inflict* the death penalty does not here concern us[1]; the point is whether they had criminal jurisdiction at all. *A priori* it might fairly be assumed that with the coming of the Roman procuratorship in A. D. 6 after the deposition of Archelaus, powers over life and death would be taken out of the hands of the Jews and invested in the person of the governor. This applies not merely to the infliction of the death penalty, but also, naturally, to the examination of the evidence justifying the penalty; the Romans would try as well as execute the prisoner. The reasonableness of this is never disputed; such powers constitute a weapon which every conquering nation seeks to preserve to its own use. But since our knowledge of Roman usage in this matter is of the scantiest, and, until recently, almost non-existent, it has always been tacitly taken for granted that the Jews were more privileged in this respect than other provinces, and that, e. g., the Romans would not interfere in a religious dispute, even though it were a capital charge, except to carry out the sentence themselves.[2] Actually, however, there is no evidence to prove

[1] It is now generally accepted that they could not. The arguments hitherto brought to bear on the question have not been altogether conclusive: by use of the same evidence diametrically opposite conclusions have been reached. See Stephen Liberty *The Political Relations of our Lord's Ministry*, Oxford 1916, pp. 141–157.

[2] See Mommsen *Provinces of the Roman Empire*, London 1886, ii 187–188.

Digitized by Google

this, except what may be inferred, whether rightly or wrongly, from the New Testament and Josephus.

Most of the evidence brought forward is of little value. Josephus, *Ant.* XVIII i 4, speaks of the Sadducees holding magistracies (ὁπότε γὰρ ἐπ' ἀρχὰς παρέλθοιεν); but, judging from the context, these were petty offices depending on popular favour, and the term is too general to be restricted to the highest judicial positions. *Bell.* II viii 9 says of the Essenes that 'they do not pass sentence in a court of less than a hundred men'; but we have no reason to suppose that this refers to anything beyond private quarrels and minor disputes touching their own internal affairs. *Ant.* XVIII iii 5 speaks of a man who fled from Palestine to Rome to escape punishment for an offence against the law; but it does not follow that he was to have been judged by a Jewish rather than a Roman court. *Ant.* XX ix 1 tells how Annas summoned the Sanhedrin and had James, the brother of Jesus, stoned. He admittedly exceeded his powers; but whether by the fact of executing the sentence, or by the actual trying of the case, is not stated; we gather further, from the same passage, that the Sanhedrin could not be summoned except by the Procurator's consent, but we have no right to assume that even when so summoned it could pass judgement in capital cases.

When we turn to the New Testament (leaving out of account for the moment the trial narratives of the Gospels) the evidence is equally slender or ambiguous. It is difficult to believe that the stoning of Stephen (Acts vii 57–60) was the result of a formal trial and sentence; the description reads much more like an outbreak of mob law. The case of Peter and John (Acts iv 3) certainly proves that the Sanhedrin had powers to arrest, but the examination which followed cannot be construed as a formal trial, but only an attempt to discover whether or not there was a charge for which they could be placed on their trial before a court empowered to inflict sentence. The second arrest (Acts v 17–18) was followed by their release; this, again, did not resemble an acquittal by a properly constituted court of law so much as a decision not to carry the case further, i. e. perhaps to the Roman court. The episode of St Paul and the Sanhedrin (Acts xxi ff) is not a case in point, since he was never out of the control of the Romans, and was, further, a Roman citizen. Again, Jn. xviii 31 (ἡμῖν οὐκ ἔξεστιν ἀποκτεῖναι οὐδένα) denies the right of the Jews to carry out sentence of death, but it does not follow that they had therefore the right of trying such a case or of passing sentence.[1] Stronger proof may

[1] If is in itself conclusive evidence as to the Jews' rights to pass judgement on lesser offences, but not in more serious, capital cases. Pilate had asked (λάβετε αὐτὸν ὑμεῖς κτλ.) why it was not within their power to judge Him themselves.

Digitized by Google

be derived from Mk. x 33 (*παραδοθήσεται τοῖς ἀρχιερεῦσιν καὶ τοῖς γραμματεῦσιν, καὶ κατακρινοῦσιν αὐτὸν θανάτῳ καὶ παραδώσουσιν αὐτὸν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν*), though the form that this saying takes may have been influenced by the trial narrative as given in the same Gospel. *Yer. Sanh.* 18 *a*, 24 *b* (קודם לארבעים שנה עד שלא חרב הבית נוטלו דיני נפשות 'The Jews were deprived of the right of trying capital cases forty years before the destruction of the Temple') does not help. It cannot be concluded that if the Jews had lost this power forty years before the destruction of the Temple, they therefore possessed it at the date of our Lord's trial. 'Forty years' is a round number, and may well refer to the change brought about in A. D. 6 when the procuratorship was introduced.

Such evidence, then, as we can glean from these sources is of a neutral character. There is nothing in it to nullify the traditional view of the Sanhedrin's powers, and, in default of further and opposing evidence, the traditional view might stand; but, on the other hand, there is in it nothing positive or decisive against good evidence to the contrary.

A certain amount of the obscurity which hitherto surrounded the question of treatment of criminal cases in the Roman provinces has, in the case of Egypt, been removed. Among the papyri found in recent years a few deal with criminal procedure. The knowledge to be derived from them is still slight, but sufficient to enable us to understand roughly the general outline of the system adopted by the Romans in one at least of their provinces. The results of the information so far accumulated from this source may be summed up briefly as follows[1]:—

At the head of the province was the prefect (*ἡγεμών*, *ἔπαρχος*), appointed by and answerable to the emperor. The country was divided into three judicial districts over each of which was an *ἐπιστράτηγος* also appointed by the emperor, but responsible to the prefect. The country was further divided into smaller districts called *νόμοι*, and at the head of each of these was an inferior official, the *στρατηγός*. So

'We cannot', they answered, 'because the charge against Him is a capital charge, involving His death if He be found guilty.' Pilate's immediately subsequent interrogation shews what was the charge they preferred against Him. Pilate, however, does not then say that they should themselves find Him guilty of this, but himself, to all appearances, starts the trial *de novo* on this charge, without accepting the verdict of the Jewish authorities—which he presumably would have done on the accepted hypothesis that it was for the ecclesiastical authorities to pass sentence and the civil arm to carry it out.

[1] For the points here summarized, see *Corp. Inscr. Graec.* 5089; *Aegyp. Urkunden aus den K. Museen zu Berlin, Griechische Urkunden* 1, 5; 1, 168; 2, 17, 256, 33; 2. 58 a; 3, 871, 10; *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* 237, v 7; 486 ? 37; *Greek Papyri in the British Museum* ii p. 172; Mitteis-Wilcken *Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyruskunde* ii n. 93. A more detailed discussion is to be found in R. W. Husband *The Prosecution of Jesus*, Princeton 1916.

Digitized by Google

far as our information goes the latter were generally chosen from the subject-race. Periodically the prefect used to make the round of the province to settle such points as required his authority. For our present purpose, the important facts which emerge in this connexion are: (1) owing to the stress of business the cases were prepared in advance, (2) cases of only minor importance were handed over to the local authorities, who were also possessed of police powers, while (3) graver matters were decided by the prefect personally.

It does not of necessity follow that Egyptian methods were applied in every detail to Judaea; but it is improbable that the general principles varied very much in the two neighbouring provinces, and, in the entire absence of any other direct evidence to the contrary, we are justified in assuming that what held good for Egypt may, with some variation of local detail, have held good for Judaea also.

Exactly to what extent the Romans would recognize the rights of the Sanhedrin it is not possible to determine. Such a passage as John xviii 31 *λάβετε αὐτὸν ὑμεῖς, καὶ κατὰ τὸν νόμον ὑμῶν κρίνατε αὐτόν* (cf. Acts xviii 15 *εἰ δὲ ζητήματά ἐστιν περὶ λόγου καὶ ὀνομάτων καὶ νόμου τοῦ καθ' ὑμᾶς, ὄψεσθε αὐτοί· κριτὴς ἐγὼ τούτων οὐ βούλομαι εἶναι*) points to the not improbable course that minor matters affecting the Jewish religion would be left to the Jewish court, who, moreover (cf. Acts v 40), were empowered to inflict lesser penalties. The Sanhedrin would thus hold very much the same position as the Egyptian strategi; like them they could be native officials, with the power to arrest, and the duty of examining and preparing the evidence which, if the case were of sufficient gravity, would be submitted to the Roman governor. If we are right in assuming these points, the proceedings taken by the Jewish authorities, as recorded in the Gospels, will fit without difficulty into the scheme of things as we find them in Egypt.

Possessed of police powers, the delegates of the Sanhedrin were able to seize the person of Jesus on the ground that He was either a breaker of the law or a menace to the public peace. They examined such witnesses as offered themselves, and made it their business, by examining the Prisoner and searching out whatever testimony was available, to prepare an adequate case against the Accused to present to Pilate on the occasion of his visiting Jerusalem in the course of his circuit through the province.[1]

(*b*) We come now to the evidence, hitherto purposely left out of account, of the Gospel narratives themselves. We at once notice that the method of procedure before the Jewish officials is put forward in

[1] The wording of the interpolation in Josephus (*Ant.* XVIII iii 3) favours this limited view of the Jewish power: . . . *καὶ αὐτὸν ἐνδείξει τῶν πρώτων ἀνδρῶν παρ' ἡμῖν σταυρῷ ἐπιτετιμηκότος Πιλάτου* . . .

Digitized by Google

two forms, Matthew and Mark agreeing in one, and Luke and John, though with differences, giving us the other. According to Matthew and Mark, immediately after the arrest, Jesus was taken before a court of the chief priests and scribes and elders, presided over by the High-priest, and found guilty of blasphemy; in the morning the court re-assembled, and, after consultation, delivered Jesus up to Pilate. According to Luke, after the arrest, Jesus was taken to the High-priest's house, but there was no midnight trial. As soon as it was day He was led away into their council before the chief priests and scribes, and examined as to His claims. As a result of His confession they disclaimed the need of further witnesses, and, without any passing of sentence, took Him at once to Pilate. According to John, after the arrest, Jesus was taken before Annas, who again passed Him over to Caiaphas; by one of them—the narrative leaves it doubtful whether it was Annas or Caiaphas—He was subjected to a private examination concerning His teaching, but there is no mention of anything resembling a trial by the Sanhedrin. Then, early in the morning, Jesus was taken to the Praetorium.

The moment we begin to criticize or harmonize these different forms of the proceedings, or attempt to revise or restate what happened, or prefer one of the Gospels' evidence to the detriment of the others, we are in the realms of mere conjecture, and any conclusions arrived at must be to a marked extent subjective and precarious. We can only be guided by probabilities. The more conservative way of looking at the variations is to regard Matthew and Mark as giving only what was at an early period more or less public knowledge, Luke as giving only the second sitting of the Sanhedrin, because it was that second sitting alone which, according to rabbinic details of Sanhedrin procedure, could utter the final condemnation, while the fourth Gospel, with its description of a private examination, is assumed, after its customary fashion, to supplement the earlier Evangelists' account by information unknown to them at the time. Those who adopt a more critical attitude suggest that 'the placing of the trial at night is possibly due to a corruption of the tradition, preserved more accurately in John, of the hasty, informal questioning in the house of Annas; the description of the proceedings, on the other hand, was derived from the tradition of the morning trial, preserved by Luke, of which the mention of the morning meeting [in Mt. and Mk.] was a further reminiscence'.[1]

At bottom, these rival interpretations turn on whether we accept the Marcan version of a formal trial and condemnation by night, followed by ratification by a fuller court in the morning; or whether we accept the Lucan version, which implies that there was no night trial nor any

[1] A. H. McNeile *Gospel of St Matthew* p. 397.

Digitized by Google

trial at all in a real sense, but only a preliminary examination of the prisoner, and (perhaps) examination of witnesses, which aimed at ascertaining whether sufficient evidence was forthcoming to condemn the prisoner when brought before the Roman tribunal.

The objections to the Marcan version mostly turn on the general improbability of such a midnight trial and the difficulty of summoning witnesses and judges at such an hour. The defence that an exceptional case called for exceptional methods, and that the night trial was prearranged and witnesses and judges warned beforehand, does not wholly account for the breakdown of the witnesses. If the witnesses were false the likelihood is that the evidence was carefully worked up in advance, and that witnesses and judges were in collusion.

Objections are also brought on textual grounds. In Mark the verses describing the midnight trial are interwoven with the account of Peter's denial, and bear, so it is alleged, marks of being an interpolation. The original account is assumed to have contained only the arrest, the taking of Jesus to the High-priest's house, the denial, the mocking, and then the morning trial or examination. The verses describing the night trial are introduced in such a way in Matthew and Mark as to make it appear that the members of the Sanhedrin were the men who indulged in the mocking. But if the trial section is omitted the offenders will be the soldiers who made the arrest, who would be far more likely to indulge in such rough horse-play. Wendling,[1] again, argues for the omission of these verses on the ground that the section was not a part of the primitive tradition (the *Ur-Marcus*), but was composed later out of material drawn from the description of the trial before Pilate.

Much more cogent is the general objection to a state of things according to which, if we accept the Marcan account in its entirety, the Sanhedrin convicted Jesus on a charge of blasphemy, and then asked Pilate to put Him to death for treason—a charge on which they had never even examined Him.

Although the arguments brought forward are by no means such as wholly to condemn it, it may perhaps be admitted that the Marcan account is not altogether free from improbabilities. On the other hand, the Lucan version in itself is free from any suspicion of unreality, and a respectable body of evidence can be brought up in support of it as against the opposing Marcan account.

In the first place, that Luke is to some extent verbally dependent on the Marcan version throughout this section (Lk. xxii 54–xxiii 1) can scarcely be denied (cf. Lk. xxii 54 b with Mk. xiv 58; xxii 61 with xiv 67; xxii 71 with xiv 63 b); yet the outstanding fact remains that Luke treats this particular source, both at this point and throughout

[1] E. Wendling *Urmarcus*, Tübingen 1905.

Digitized by Google

the whole of the Passion-narrative (xxii 14–xxiv 10), in a way strikingly different from his own treatment of it in every other portion of his Gospel which has any appearance of being grounded on Mark.[1] This bare fact, of course, by itself, is no argument against the Marcan version, yet the traditional explanation, that 'Luke does not exclude the possibility of the midnight trial and condemnation, but gives only the morning meeting of the fuller council, because their condemnation only was formally valid', has nothing to support it; for at the morning meeting Luke refrains from mentioning the fact of any passing of sentence. The examination ends by the council's decision, 'What further need have we of witnesses?'

Again, that Luke's version is not a casual abbreviation but a deliberate emendation is borne out by a comparison of Lk. xviii 32 with Mk. x 33 (= Mt. xx 18–19). According to the Marcan version, our Lord, forecasting His Passion, says: 'They [the chief priests and scribes] shall condemn Him to death, and shall deliver Him unto the Gentiles'; and the course of the trial in the second Gospel is in agreement with this. In Luke, however, the forecast is modified to suit his particular version of the event, and our Lord is made to say simply: 'He shall be delivered up to the Gentiles.' Luke seems consistently to present a state of things according to which the Jews could carry out initial investigations but could not pass sentence; he tacitly maintains that they could not condemn—a state of things confirmed by John (xviii 31; cf. p. 57, note 1).

It may be noted further that it is Mark alone who gives the technical expression for condemnation (*κατέκριναν*). Yet though Matthew omits it in the account of the trial, he uses the word in the forecast (xx 18–19).

Yet again, it is no longer possible to ignore the fact that when St Luke intervenes with a new detail in the Gospel story, especially when it relates to official dealings between the Jews and the Romans, his evidence must not be summarily rejected; wherever means have been discovered for checking his statements on these occasions he has hitherto been proved to be correct.[2] In his version of the proceedings against Jesus he introduces two fresh features: the modification in the Marcan Jewish trial, and the Herod episode. That it is unwise to dismiss the latter as a legendary accretion has more than once been shewn[3]; and though the former cannot be said to introduce any new fact, the modification bears signs of being deliberate, tantamount

[1] See Hawkins *Oxford Studies in the Synoptic Problem* p. 84 f.

[2] See W. M. Ramsay *The Bearing of Recent Discovery on the Trustworthiness of the New Testament*, 1915, *passim*, especially chs. 18 ff.

[3] See B. H. Streeter *Oxford Studies in the Synoptic Problem* pp. 229 ff, and A. W. Verrall *J.T.S.* vol. x pp. 321 ff.

Digitized by Google

to a correction of the existing tradition in the light of better information.

A point of difficulty in the Marcan tradition, already pointed out, is corrected (or elided) in Luke. Mark makes the Jewish officials condemn Jesus for blasphemy, and straightway accuse Him before Pilate on a new charge, not mentioned in their own proceedings, of treason. There is no mention of blasphemy in Luke. The council tax Jesus as to His pretensions to be the Messiah—a claim which would be looked upon as treasonable by the Romans. To this they get no definite reply, but when He confesses Himself to be 'the Son of God' they accept this as sufficient, apparently regarding the title as embracing Messianic claims, and making further investigation uncalled for.

There is another point, though of a less tangible nature, which can be urged in favour of the Lucan presentation. The Church very early began to lay the chief blame for our Lord's death on the Jewish people (1 Th. ii 14–15; cf. Acts xiii 27–28) rather than on Pilate, and this tendency to compare Pilate favourably with the Jews gradually became more marked until it reached its culminating point in the *Acta Pilati*. It is argued that this same tendency must have played its part even in the earliest traditions. Thus Loisy[1] explains the emphasis placed on the Jewish condemnation as a piece of necessary apologetic when preaching the Gospel to the Roman world. 'Il importait à la nouvelle religion que son fondateur ne parût pas avoir été condamné par une juste sentence de Pilate; d'autre part, il était fort délicat d'accuser de prévarication Pilate lui-même, et il était impossible de nier que la sentence de mort eût été rendue par lui; restaient les dénonciateurs et les accusateurs du Christ, les Juifs, adversaires du christianisme naissant, détestés eux-mêmes dans le monde païen; rien n'était plus facile que d'élargir leur rôle, de façon à transporter de Pilate sur eux la responsabilité entière du jugement rendu contre Jésus. . . . Ainsi le supplice du Christ n'était pas une action de la justice romaine: ce n'était que le crime des Juifs.' It is therefore extremely unlikely that St Luke, whose work, it is supposed, was intended more definitely than the others to meet the needs of the Gentile world, would so weaken the force of this apologetic as to omit the formal condemnation, unless in the interests of historical accuracy.

[1] *Les Évangiles synoptiques* ii 610; Goguel *Juifs et Romains dans l'histoire de la Passion* ('Revue de l'Histoire des Religions' lxii pp. 165–182, 295–322) would even insist that in the primitive tradition the arrest also was carried out entirely on the initiative of the Romans, and that the Jews had no part whatever at any stage of the prosecution. See also the same writer's *Les Sources du Récit Johannique de la Passion*, Paris 1910.

Digitized by Google

Even if we leave out of account the presuppositions aroused by the new light from Egyptian sources as to criminal procedure in the Roman provinces, and judge solely from internal evidence contained in the Gospels, the case on behalf of Luke's version is not negligible; but when we find that the external evidence from every available quarter either directly supports, or is in complete harmony with, that version, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that in the third Gospel we are nearer the truth of the matter than in the Marcan tradition.

. . . . . .

(III) The *second* premiss, that in the *Tract Sanhedrin* we have a code valid for the first half of the first century, indicating the correct lines which governed the Sanhedrin's proceedings when confronted by such a case as that of Jesus, cannot, any more than the first premiss, be passed over unquestioned.

A few summary details should be borne in mind as to the origin of this compilation which we call the Mishna.

After the fall of Jerusalem, whatever measure of self-government the Jews may have possessed was abolished, and the Sanhedrin, the embodiment of their surviving political independence, such as it was, ceased too. A new court was, with very little loss of time, set up at Jabne, a court perhaps modelled on, and certainly regarding itself as the true successor of, the old national council. In its beginnings, however, it was nothing more than a body of teachers of the Law. It could pretend to no legal title; its powers depended solely on the moral influence which it held over the pious remnants of Judaism. For two hundred years the Pharisees had been making steady progress in popular favour, and, with the end of the Temple and priesthood, they passed naturally to the position of leaders of the people. Even at its best this 'Sanhedrin' never seems to have outgrown its position of an influential but purely academic body. Under a succession of famous rabbis its members undertook the interpretation and preservation of their law and customs. No tradition was too unimportant, and no law too antiquated. They omitted nothing. The attempt at codification seems to have been begun by Rabbi Akiba (*circ.* 130) and continued by his pupil Rabbi Meir. The Mishna, as we now have it, is, with the exception of a few and unimportant later additions, the work of Rabbi Yehuda ha-Nasi, who presided over the Jabne 'Sanhedrin' at the close of the second century. 'Taking the unfinished work of R. Akiba and R. Meir as basis, and retaining, in general, its divisions and arrangement, he examined and sifted the whole material of the oral law, and completed it by adding the decisions which his academy gave concerning many doubtful points. Unanimously adopted opinions he recorded without the names of their authors or transmitters, but where

Digitized by Google

a divergence of opinions appeared the individual opinion is given in the name of its author, together with the decision of the prevailing majority, or side by side with that of its opponent, and sometimes even with the addition of short arguments *pro* and *con*.'[1]

We can best arrive at some estimate of the value of the Mishna *Tract Sanhedrin* as a criterion for early first-century jurisprudence, by comparing its provisions, when it is possible to do so, with the facts as we know them from other available sources. We can most readily do this by a comparison of the authority, the constitution, and the procedure of the court as we find them described in the rabbinic literature on the one hand,[2] and in Josephus and other non-rabbinic sources on the other hand.

According to the Mishna the Great Sanhedrin is all-powerful. We receive not the slightest hint that its doings were ever subject to the control of any person or external power. It was the sole arbiter in home and foreign affairs. Changes in the Temple, the Holy City, and local government could only be carried through by their permission; and war could be waged only by their express sanction (*Sanh.* 1, 5). The doings of the King and the High-priest fell within the scope of the court's control, and even their appointment was subject to the Sanhedrin's consent (*Tos. Sanh.* 3, 4). The High-priest was of no greater importance than any ordinary member, and could also be made to stand his trial before them (1, 5; 2, 1). The King has higher privileges. He is beyond the reach of the law, yet at the same time he has no power to interfere with its course. 'He can neither judge nor be judged, bear witness nor be witnessed against.' Further, both his family and public life were subject to certain restrictions (2, 2–3). Though nominally head of the state, his foreign policy must be guided by the views of the Sanhedrin. The Mishna knows nothing of combination in the one person of the royal and high-priestly offices. Thus, according to the Mishna, the Jerusalem court is su preme alike in matters sacred and secular.

A study of the history of the Sanhedrin[3] makes it evident that the authority exercised by this court might vary within very wide limits. So far as the scanty evidence allows us to come to any conclusions, it may be said that the Sanhedrin reached its maximum power at two periods: during the reign of Salome (78–69 B.C.), and during the rule of the procurators (6–70 A.D.). In the age of the early Hasmonaeans we seldom hear of its existence; under Aristobulus II and Hyrcanus II

[1] See M. Mielziner *Introduction to the Talmud*, New York 1903, p. 5.

[2] See H. Danby *Tractate Sanhedrin, Mishnah and Tosefta*, London 1919.

[3] See Schürer *History of the Jewish People* II i 163 ff; Bacher on 'Sanhedrin' in Hastings's *Dictionary of the Bible*.

Digitized by Google

it does not appear to have been able to exert any effective authority; while under Herod it seems to have been all but suppressed. The rabbinic writings looked back on the reign of Alexandra Salome as the golden age,[1] an age when pharisaic ideals obtained such recognition as they received neither before nor after until the Jews ceased to be an organized nation.

During the procuratorship, however important the Sanhedrin may have been, it still was confined within very definite limits. There was no native king, only a Roman governor who could interfere at pleasure in the nation's affairs. Cases affecting life and death must be submitted to him. Also, the Sanhedrin could have had no control over the High-priest, since he was a creature of the Procurator, who could appoint him or remove him at will. And it would seem that the court could not even assemble without the Procurator's permission.[2]

It follows, therefore, that the Mishna picture, if it can ever have been true to facts at all, can only relate to the state of things during the former of the two stated periods, a short space of nine years.

The High-priest Hyrcanus was a negligible quantity, *διὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν, πολὺ μέντοι πλέον διὰ τὸ ἄπραγμον αὐτοῦ*, while the queen *πάντα τοῖς Φαρισαίοις ἐπέτρεπεν ποιεῖν . . . τὸ μὲν οὖν ὄνομα τῆς βασιλείας εἶχεν αὐτή, τὴν δὲ δύναμιν οἱ Φαρισαῖοι.* But even so, she appears to have reserved to herself a measure of power hardly consonant with the Mishna's conception of what a monarch should be: *ἐποιεῖτο μέντοι καὶ ἡ γυνὴ τῆς βασιλείας πρόνοιαν, καὶ πολὺ μισθοφορικὸν συνίστησιν, καὶ τὴν ἰδίαν δύναμιν ἀπέδειξεν διπλασίονα, ὡς καταπλῆξαι τοὺς πέριξ τυράννους καὶ λαβεῖν ὅμηρα αὐτῶν.* She was also able to secure the safety of the party who had aroused the murderous hostility of the Pharisees, and appears to have undertaken an expedition against Ptolemy Menneus of Damascus, without, so far as we can gather, any consultation with the Senate (*Ant.* XIII xvi 3). Towards the end of her reign Josephus gives us the impression that though she relegated considerable powers to the 'Elders of the Jews', it was not so much constitutional as physical disabilities which prompted her policy (*Ant.* XIII xvi 5).

In view of what is laid down in *Sanh.* 2, 2, prohibiting the marriage of a king's widow, it should be noticed that the ideal monarch Salome was the wife of King Aristobulus before marrying Alexander Jannaeus, Aristobulus's eldest brother (*Ant.* XIII xii 1). R. Jehuda (ben Ilai), however, opposes the Mishna, holding that a king may marry a king's

[1] See *Taanith* 23 *a*.

[2] *Ant.* XX ix 1 *τινὲς δ' αὐτῶν καὶ τὸν Ἀλβῖνον ὑπαντιάζουσιν . . . καὶ διδάσκουσιν, ὡς οὐκ ἐξὸν ἦν Ἀνάνῳ χωρὶς τῆς ἐκείνου γνώμης καθίσαι συνέδριον.* See also *Ant.* XX ix 6.

Digitized by Google

widow—instancing the case of King David. According to Maimonides and Bartenora the *halaka* is according to R. Jehuda.

The tract gives us but the most meagre details as to the constitution of the court. We are told no more than that the Greater Sanhedrin consisted of seventy-one, and the Lesser of twenty-three members (*Sanh.* 1, 6), that this latter might, as occasion required, be increased to seventy-one (5, 5), that certain disreputable members of society could not sit as judges (3, 3), that only 'priests, Levites, and Israelites who could marry into priestly families' can try capital cases (4, 2), and that, as the need arose, the Sanhedrin was recruited by the appointment (lit. 'ordination' סמיכה), in regular order of seniority, of those who made up the ranks of the 'students of the learned' תלמידי חכמים (4, 4). There are many other things we should expect to learn from a tract which lays itself out to describe the Sanhedrin, such as the period of tenure of membership, and the qualifications which were necessary for a seat in the highest national court. But what is most extraordinary is the entire omission of any mention of who is the president of this council. We hear, only once, of the 'chief judge' (הגדול שבדיינים) who is to announce the verdict (3, 7). This may mean either the 'eldest' or the 'most important' of the members, and affords us no definite data.

Examination of other Tannaitic material provides us with more definite titles of presidents of the Sanhedrin. We find ראש בית דין (*Yom.* 7, 5, mentioned immediately after the king; but the text is dubious, and probably בית דין alone should be read). He is again mentioned by the same name in *Ta'an.* 2, 1, where he is next in order to the נשיא. Here by *Nasi* is meant the head of the state, as in Ezekiel (cf. *Horayoth* 3, 3: ואיזהו הנשיא זה המלך). In *Pirke Aboth* 1, 4–15 we find mentioned five pairs (זוגות) of prominent rabbis, Jose ben Joezer and Jose ben Jochanan, Joshua ben Perachya and Nittai (or Mattai) the Arbelite, Judah ben Tabbai and Shimeon ben Shatah, Shemaia and Abtalion, Hillel and Shammai, who received and handed on the 'tradition' in succession during the last two hundred years B.C.; and of these same rabbis it is said (*Hag.* ii 2) הראשונים היו נשיאים ושניים להם אב בית דין; but this statement stands isolated in the whole of the Mishna. In *Shabb.* 15*a* a Baraitha is quoted to the effect that הלל ושמעון נמליאל ושמעון נהגו נשיאותן לפני הבית מאה שנה; in *Tos. Sanh.* 2, 6 there are three letters attributed to Gamaliel I, in which he writes in an authoritative manner to certain Jewish communities on matters connected with tithes and the arrangement of the calendar; and in *Tos. Pes.* 9 mention is made of the appointment of Hillel as *Nasi*. In the Amoraitic literature we find fully established the system of the *Ab Beth*

Digitized by Google

Din sitting side by side with the *Nasi*, the latter as president and the former as vice-president of the Sanhedrin (cf. *Horayoth* 13 *b*), but these refer to the Jabne period and later.

But all this gives us no hint of the state of things as we find them in the New Testament, Josephus, or the Maccabaean books. Nowhere else do we hear of such an office as that of the *Nasi* or *Ab Beth Din*. Where individuals, who, according to rabbinic views, held such offices, are mentioned, it is only as ordinary, though it may be more or less prominent, members of the Sanhedrin: cf. 'Pollion and Sameas' (Abtalion and Shemaia) *Ant.* XVI i, and Gamaliel, Acts v 34 'a certain Pharisee in the Sanhedrin, Gamaliel by name'. Josephus several times (*Vita* 38, 39, 44, 60; *Bell.* IV iii 9) mentions Shimeon ben Gamaliel, and once (*Vita* 38) speaks of him as *γένους δὲ σφόδρα λαμπροῦ*; but we receive no impression that he was president of the court, nor can we conclude from his distinguished birth that the Hillel family held the position of *Nasi* over the nation by hereditary right.

Throughout the whole course of the history of the Sanhedrin, from the time of its problematic existence in the Persian period till its abolition by the Romans, the non-rabbinic sources constantly and unanimously describe the High-priest as the chief member of the national council.

The High-priest's position is clear from 1 Macc. xiv 44 (*καὶ οὐκ ἔξεστιν οὐδενὶ τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ τῶν ἱερέων ἀθετῆσαί τι τούτων καὶ ἀντειπεῖν τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ῥηθησομένοις, καὶ ἐπισυστρέψαι συστροφὴν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ ἄνευ αὐτοῦ*), Josephus *Apion.* ii, 23 (*φυλάξει τοὺς νόμους, δικάσει περὶ τῶν ἀμφισβητουμένων, κολάσει τοὺς ἐλεγχθέντας*), *Ant.* IV viii 14 (in cases where there is an appeal, the parties are to go up to Jerusalem *καὶ συνελθόντες ὅ τε ἀρχιερεὺς καὶ ἡ γερουσία τὸ δοκοῦν ἀποφαινέσθωσαν*), *Ant.* XX x 5 (*τὴν δὲ προστασίαν τοῦ ἔθνους οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς ἐπεπίστευντο*). The High-priest is directly spoken of as occupying the presidency of the court in *Ant.* XIV ix 3–5 (Hyrcanus II), XX ix 1 (Ananos), and consistently in the New Testament. We hear of him presiding at the trials of our Lord (Mt. xxvi 62–65), the Apostles (Acts v 17–40), St Paul (Acts xxiii 2 ff), St Stephen (Acts vii 1), in all things taking the leading part (cf. Acts ix 1–2; xxii 5; xxiv 1).

On the question, therefore, of the president of the Sanhedrin, the Mishna is misleading and inadequate, and, whenever it makes a definite statement on the matter, it is unhistorical.

There exists but little material for comparing the other constitutional points mentioned by the Mishna tract. The traditional number, seventy-one, who sat in the court, need not be doubted. [In the Mishna itself, on three occasions, *Zebah.* 1, 3; *Yad.* 3, 5; 4, 2, the number 'seventy-two' is given. But none of these passages bears

Digitized by Google

directly on the subject of the national judicial court.] Josephus gives the number as seventy (*Bell.* II xx 5, treating of the court which he extemporized to take charge of affairs when organizing the rising in Galilee; cf. IV v 4, where the Zealots oust the existing authorities and establish in their place a court of seventy members), and this is the number given by R. Jehuda (*Sanh.* 1, 6). The difference of one will depend on whether or not the president is included in the total.

There is evidence in the Greek sources for the existence of local courts, but not, as is assumed in the Mishna (*Sanh.* 1, 4). courts of sufficient authority to undertake the trial of capital cases. Provincial Sanhedrins seem to be referred to in Mk. xiii 9 (= Mt. x 17), where believers are spoken of as being delivered εἰς συνέδρια; cf. Josephus *Bell.* II xiv 1, where Albinus τοὺς ἐπὶ λῃστείᾳ δεδεμένους ὑπὸ τῆς παρ' ἑκάστοις βουλῆς ἢ τῶν προτέρων ἐπιτρόπων ἀπελύτρου τοῖς συγγενέσι. From *Ant.* IV viii 14, 38 it appears that these local courts consisted of seven persons, a number for which Josephus even claims Mosaic command; and when (*Bell.* II xx 5) he tried to introduce what was apparently a model Jewish constitution into Galilee, he set up courts of seven judges in each town. But they had jurisdiction only over lesser crimes, τὰ μείζω πράγματα καὶ τὰς φονικὰς δίκας concerned the court of seventy.

Nowhere outside of the Mishna do we find the mention of any court consisting of twenty-three members, the number required for the Lesser Sanhedrin. Yet it is difficult to imagine that this number had not some basis in actual practice, considering the Mishna's heroic effort to find scriptural sanction for it (*Sanh.* 1, 6). Perhaps it was the number necessary to form a quorum of the 'court of the one and seventy' (cf. *Sanh.* 5, 7; *Tos. Sanh.* 7, 1). The same explanation may also underlie the number, three, competent to judge non-capital cases (*Sanh.* 1, 1–3), as opposed to Josephus's court of seven. (Cf. *Sanh.* 1, 2, where the number three, when required, can be raised to seven.)

As to the qualifications for membership the tract tells us nothing definite: it only gives us the impression (*Sanh.* 4, 3; 5, 4) that the position was the reward of rabbinical learning.

The later strata are, as usual, more explicit. Cf. *Sanh.* 17 *b*, 88 *a*, *Sifre* on Num. xi 6. The would-be candidate must be humble, learned, popular, strong, courageous, of tall stature, of dignified bearing, of advanced age, acquainted with foreign tongues, and initiated into the mysteries of magic.

The Greek sources are likewise silent as to the mode of election and the tenure of office. As for the latter point, it can be safely argued, from the non-democratic nature of the Sanhedrin, that a seat would be held for a lengthy period, if not for life; also, from its normal lack

Digitized by Google

of independence, that new members were probably appointed by the supreme authority—the reigning native ruler, or the Roman governor.

The Mishna tells us nothing of different parties, priests, Sadducees and Pharisees, who made up the council. (The rules laid down in *Sanh.* 1, 3, as to the need of a priest in deciding certain matters, are self-evidently theoretical only, and even so are concerned merely with non-capital cases.) But the evidence provided by Josephus and the New Testament is plentiful. Thus we find sitting in the Sanhedrin ἀρχιερεῖς, γραμματεῖς καὶ πρεσβύτεροι (Mt. xxviii 41; Mk. xi 27; xiv 43, 53; xv 1; cf. Mt. ii 4; xx 18; xxi 13); and ἄρχοντες, πρεσβύτεροι καὶ γραμματεῖς (Acts iv 5, 8), where ἄρχοντες is synonymous with ἀρχιερεῖς (cf. Acts iv 23). Josephus speaks of οἵ τε ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ δυνατοὶ τό τε γνωριμώτατον τῆς πόλεως (*Bell.* II xiv 8), τούς τε ἀρχιερεῖς σὺν τοῖς γνωρίμοις (*Bell.* II xv 3), οἱ δυνατοὶ τοῖς ἀρχιερεῦσιν καὶ τοῖς τῶν Φαρισαίων γνωρίμοις (*Bell.* II xvii 3). That Sadducees sat together with Pharisees is abundantly clear from the constant collocation of 'chief priests' and 'scribes', not to mention such an outstanding instance as Acts xxiii 6.

On the procedure of the court there is no lack of detail in the tract (cf. *Sanh.* chs. iii–v), but unfortunately it is just here that our non-rabbinical authorities fail us. It might be imagined, on the other hand, that the New Testament trials, and especially the trial of our Lord, would afford us ample material for comparison, but as has been already shewn they are but a very uncertain criterion.

We have no external authority which can act as a means of checking the contents of the latter part of the tract—the four death penalties and those who are subject to them.

In the *pericope adulterae*, Jn. viii 5, the Pharisees say that according to the law of Moses the woman is to be 'stoned', whereas according to *Sanh.* 11, 1 she is to be 'strangled'—unless τὰς τοιαύτας is arbitrarily taken to mean 'betrothed virgins'. Then, as laid down in *Sanh.* 7, 5, 'stoning' would apply. Stephen's case does not afford us any help, for there, it would seem, the crowd took the law into their own hands.

A few slight parallels can be culled from Philo and Josephus, but these only touch on the most immaterial points. Cf. Philo *De Humanitate* 14 with *Sanh.* 11, 2 ('kidnapping'); *De Specialibus Legibus* 2 (p. 211, ed. Wendland) with *Sanh.* 8, 9 ('the burglar'); III 19 (p. 180) with *Sanh.* 9, 3 ('delayed death') agreeing with R. Nehemia, not with Mishna; p. 190 with *Sanh.* 1, 4 ('owner of goring ox'); Josephus *Ant.* IV viii 17 with *Sanh.* 2, 5 f ('king and Sanhedrin'); IV viii 21 with *Makk* 3, 10 ('forty stripes save one'; according to Josephus it is the punishment inflicted on those who refuse to allow the poor and strangers to glean).

But though such external means are so unsatisfactory for our purpose,

Digitized by Google

the internal evidence which the Mishna provides is of a nature which can give us but little confidence in the laws as a practical working code governing the life of the nation before or after the fall of Jerusalem. We find great attention given to the theoretical working out of Pentateuchal enactments, which for long must have been obsolete (if indeed they ever were practicable), side by side with a quantity of misapplied erudition having as its object the finding of scriptural sanction for usage not obviously ordained by Scripture.

It is worth while examining the method by which the Rabbis attached a definite punishment to a particular crime where Scripture itself is silent as to what means of death is to be adopted.

Eighteen offences (*Sanh.* 7, 5) are punishable by stoning: —

(1) Blasphemy, Lev. xxiv 16.
(2) Idolatry, Dt. xvii 2–7.
(3) Sabbath-breaking, Nu. xv 32–36.
(4) Seduction of betrothed virgin, Dt. xxii 23–24.
(5) Rebellious son, Dt. xxi 18–21.
(6) The Ba'al 'Ob. Lev. xx 27.
(7) The Yidd'oni, Lev. xx 27.
(8) Enticing to idolatry, Dt. xiii 7–12.
(9) Offering children to Moloch, Lev. xx 1.
(10) Bestiality by a man, Lev. xx 15.
(11) Bestiality by a woman, Lev. xx 16.
(12) Connexion with daughter-in-law, Lev. xx 12.
(13) Connexion with mother, Lev. xx 11.
(14) Connexion with step-mother, Lev. xx 11.
(15) Cursing parents, Lev. x 9.
(16) Witchcraft, Ex. xxii 17.
(17) Enticing to communal apostasy, Dt. xiii 1–6.
(18) Pederasty, Lev. xx 13.

Against the first nine of these the Pentateuch issues the direct sentence that they should be stoned. But since in (6) and (7) there is added to this direct sentence the expression דמיהם בם, it follows, according to the rabbinic law of *gezera shawa*, that wherever the same expression is attached to the mention of any other crime stoning must be applicable there also. Therefore (11), (12), (13), (14), (15), and (16) are punishable in this way. In the case of (11), besides this same expression 'their blood is upon them', the verb הרג is used; therefore in (10) the use there of this same verb, 'he slew', implies that stoning is applicable to that case too. In (8) the verb הדיח is used of a crime for which stoning is prescribed; therefore since the same root is used again in describing (17) stoning there must be the penalty. Yet again, since the sentence against the witch (16) is לא תחיה 'she shall not live' she likewise must be stoned, because we find in Ex. xix 13, לא יחיה 'he shall not live', used side by side with the root סקל 'he stoned'.

As for the sentence of 'burning with fire', we find it issued directly against the priest's daughter (Lev. xxi 9), and the case given in Lev. xx 14. And since this latter crime is further specified as זמה 'lewdness', it follows that all crimes which are so described must also be punished in the same way as Lev. xx 14. Cf. Lev. xviii 10, xviii 17.

Digitized by Google

'Decapitation' is regarded as the penalty attaching to all those who are guilty of communal apostasy; cf. Dt. xiii 13–16, 'Thou shalt smite the inhabitants of that city with the edge of the sword.' The only others who are to be so punished are 'murderers'. They are mentioned in Ex. xxi 12 and Lev. xxiv 17. But there we are not told of the means of death. Yet in the passage in Ex. xxi 20, also relating to murder, it is said נקם ינקם; and in Lev. xvi 25 we find the expression חרב נקמת; therefore it follows that the act signified by the verb נקם 'be avenged' must be carried out by means of the 'sword'!

'Strangulation' is not mentioned in the Pentateuch, but in the rabbinic code it is applied to those criminals for whom death is decreed without specifying the mode of death. In regard to these it is argued (*Sanh.* 52 *b*, 53 *a*) that since the Law must not be construed with severity the most lenient form of death, i.e. strangulation, must be applied. Another line of argument is: Sometimes 'death at the hands of Heaven' is ordained (Gen. xxxviii 7, 10; Lev. x 7, 9); and as death from Heaven leaves no visible marks, so must the death inflicted by the tribunal leave no mark. And such is only possible by death from strangulation.[1]

The post-mortem 'hanging' of the blasphemer and the idolater (*Sanh.* 6, 7 f) is self-evidently a rabbinic fiction to fulfil the letter of the law given in Dt. xxi 22.

Stress should be laid on the fact that since the first decade of the first century the Jews had lost the right of carrying out the death sentence; and even if the Romans recognized the validity of the Jewish capital laws (Jn. xix 7) they always, so far as our evidence takes us, carried out at least the punishment in accordance with their own rules. Therefore the Mishna tract, throughout most of its pages, is discussing modes of capital punishment which had been in complete disuse for two centuries past. It is exceedingly doubtful how far their tradition can be trusted in bridging this gap.

What makes the abstract character of Mishnaic jurisprudence still more clear is the incessant opposition of opinion expressed in the name of some one or other demurring teacher. This is sufficiently conspicuous in the Mishna alone. If the contents of the Tosefta and numerous Baraithas are taken into account the differences will be still more striking and numerous. Nor can we overlook the fact that these opposing opinions are not concerned with what was thought to have been the ancient usage; they differ in what they imagine to have been the custom because of the conclusions they, personally, find themselves able to draw from some biblical text. Instances of this can be found on almost every page of the Mishna. Ancient precedents counted for

[1] See Art. 'Capital Punishment', *Jewish Encyclopedia* vol. iii.

Digitized by Google

little or nothing (cf. *Sanh.* 6, 8 ; 7, 2) ; they could easily be set aside on the ground of some rabbinic scruple, or passed by as invalid owing to the ignorance of former times.

It passes belief that a penal code with any claim to actual utility can ever have been drawn up on such a basis of literary criticism and interpretation. We have the rabbinic principles of hermeneutics and logical discussion—so obviously the laborious product of students with more love for the minutiae of vocabulary than recognition of practical needs or even of prosaic possibility—applied to a code whose provisions had in mind the requirements of the nation as it existed long ago, some six or eight hundred years past ; and the result of this effort is offered, at the end of the second Christian century, as a manual of Jewish legal administration as it was any time from the return from Babylon to the fall of Jerusalem.

Though not constituting a fair argument against the historicity of the Mishna's contents, there is another feature which must, to say the least, have coloured the whole presentation of its subject. One of the rabbinic canons of truth seems to have been that their code must 'shew mercy in judgement' to the highest degree. This *middath r'hamim* 'quality of mercy' is carried to lengths which it is difficult to believe can ever have been possible in practice. We certainly find no example of its working in what we know of Jewish criminology from non-rabbinic sources. But according to the Mishna the judicial body was imagined as best fulfilling its functions when it sought to act as 'counsel for the defence'. If there seemed to be no extenuating circumstances in the prisoner's favour, the judges were to do their utmost to find some. The whole scheme of judicial procedure is characterized by the same attitude. The verdict of acquittal can be reached quickly, but that of conviction only as a result of the most leisurely deliberation. The prisoner must be robbed of no chance which might in any way tell to his advantage. The excessive mercifulness of the rabbinic ideal finds its strongest expression in *Makkoth* 1, 10 : 'The Sanhedrin which condemns to death one man in seven years is accounted murderous. According to R. Eleazar ben Azariah it would be a murderous court even if it condemned one man in seventy years. R. Tarphon and R. Akiba assert that if they had been in the Sanhedrin no man would ever have been condemned to death by it.' Rabban Shimeon ben Gamaliel may well have replied : 'Then they would simply have multiplied bloodshed in Israel.'

Enough has been said to shew the marked disparity between our two sets of sources, a disparity so marked, indeed, as to leave but little room for doubt concerning the unhistorical nature of most of the Mishna's picture.

Digitized by Google

An able and ingenious defence of the latter's presentation has been urged by Büchler (*Das Synhedrium in Jerusalem*, Vienna 1902), who, while admitting the truth of the Josephus and New Testament versions, and the gulf which lies between their account and that of the Mishna, explains the problem by the simple theory that they describe two distinctly different courts; according to his hypothesis there were two Sanhedrins, each having its own separate history, constitution, and authority. The one which we find in Josephus and the New Testament was a political body, possessed of civil jurisdiction; while the other, the 'Great Beth Din' of the Mishna and Talmud, was concerned exclusively with religious matters. The former necessarily came to an end with the Jewish state, while the latter was enabled to continue its existence unbroken throughout the whole of the nation's vicissitudes. Neither Josephus nor the Gospels speak of their Sanhedrin as passing decrees dealing with the priests, the Temple service, ritualistic purity, or anything touching on matters of a purely religious nature; they ascribe to it cases dealing only with ordinary judicial processes, penal sentences, and matters of definitely political interest. With these, Büchler holds (p. 36), the Sanhedrin of the Talmud never concerns itself. While the former was the supreme court, the highest political authority, alone empowered to deal with criminal cases, and to inflict the sentence of capital punishment, the latter was the highest court dealing with the religious law, and the body entrusted with the religious instruction of the people.

However much this dual government would explain, there is a conspicuous lack of evidence for proving its existence. Neither in the Gospels nor in Josephus is there any suggestion, much less proof, of such a state of things; while in the Talmud, the hints, even if they can be described as hints, are of the slenderest value. Granted a purely religious Sanhedrin, the total lack of any reference to it in the Gospels is inexplicable. Also Josephus, in his survey of the Jewish constitution (*Ant.* IV viii), must surely have made some definite allusion to it. Büchler (pp. 36 f) quotes two passages from Josephus as proving his point, *Bell.* II xvii 2–4, *Ant.* XX ix 6, but they are scarcely such as to carry conviction. Equally unconvincing is the supposed proof derived from the rabbinic literature (*Yer. Sanh.* 19*c*) that the 'mention of "Sanhedrin" without the epithet "great" presupposes another body than the Great Sanhedrin that met in the Hall of Hewn Stone' (*J. E.* vol. xi p. 42a).

This dual system, a sort of 'House of Convocation' side by side with a national parliament, each working independently of the other, seems especially out of place in the Jewish constitution. The Jews' outstanding claim to national distinction was the theocratic nature of their

Digitized by Google

government, in which civil and religious matters were everywhere interpenetrating, and for all practical purposes identical. Finally, this hypothesis lands us into the contradictory state of things in which we find essentially civil affairs presided over by a priest, while it is a layman who takes the lead in religious disputes!

The obvious explanation of the differences between the Hebrew and Greek sources must surely be the true one. The Mishna fails to agree with the earlier accounts of the Sanhedrin because the historical Sanhedrin had ceased to exist, and the Sanhedrin which it did know, on which it based its description, was a purely academic institution, having purely academic powers and purely academic interests. It had no national territory to govern, only a national literature to expound.

It was almost inevitable that R. Jehuda ha-Nasi and his brother rabbis should, in drawing up an account of the Jewish Sanhedrin, regard it as a glorified, all-powerful reproduction of the tribunal as it was known to them. The three or four generations which had passed by, while providing the substance for the Mishnaic tradition, served as a solvent modifying in a most marked way the historical facts of more than a century ago. The Jews have always idealized their past history and institutions, and naturally in an account of their judicial court would make it embody all of what to them was highest and best in legal theory and practice. That which had a genuine basis of fact, and that which, in their pursuit after the ideal, they had evolved from a mixture of piety and artificial scriptural exegesis, would become inextricably mingled. What to them did not appear perfect was therefore not true. Excellent though such a method may be in the drawing up of a new code, it has its drawbacks as a historical process.

. . . . . .

It can only follow from all this that such a summary of our Lord's trial or examination before the Jews as 'The trial and condemnation from first to last violated every canon and principle of Jewish jurisprudence', or 'The whole trial before the Sanhedrin, therefore, being conducted contrary to Jewish law, was null and void' (Buss *The Trial of Jesus, illustrated from Talmud and Roman Law*, London 1906), must be subjected to considerable modification. The two premisses on which such a conclusion is based are by no means sound enough to bear the weight imposed on them. That our Lord was in the literal sense placed on His trial by the Jews is at least questionable; but that we have at our disposal authentic matter for testing the legality of the forms of that trial, if trial it was, is still more questionable. It is not a matter which admits of absolute proof, but the bulk of our evidence points to the probability that the Jewish authorities in Jerusalem were empowered to carry out no more than a preliminary investigation of the

Digitized by Google

evidence against their prisoner, and a study of the Gospel narratives makes it doubtful whether they can justly be said to have overstepped this permission. Consequently, to measure the justice of these inconclusive proceedings by a code which is supposed to lay down rules and regulations for the conduct of a capital trial before an all-powerful Sanhedrin, is pointless.

Furthermore, even if, in face of all the evidence to the contrary, we go so far as to admit the existence of a genuine trial by the Sanhedrin, a Sanhedrin possessed of full powers of uttering sentence of death, we have no criterion enabling us to check the validity of its methods. The compilation which has been habitually brought forward with this object is of such a nature that it is of little or no value as a picture of native law as practised during the period in question.

H. DANBY.

THE THRENUS SEILAE.[1]

THE high authority of Dr Montague James has added to the interest of this Latin document by his judgement that it is a 'version of a comparatively early Greek document, dating perhaps from the first century'. Short as it is its problems are numerous. From its title down to almost the last word of its text of about thirty lines long, these questions make their appearance. The title reads: 'Threnus Seilae Iepthitidis in Monte Stelac'; and its opening sentence: 'Venit filia Iepte in montem Stelac et cepit plorare'. The phrase 'in montem Stelac' has raised an insoluble problem in geography; and as such it can only be solved on the ground that it is a mountain on the maps of Fantasy, whence, sometimes, material is drawn for the composition of apocryphal literature. Such a conclusion could be said to be a safe one; and it would not help a jot towards the understanding of the document for or upon which it had been made. The *Threnus* itself offers another solution. Twice in this short threnody the daughter invokes the mother: 'O mater, inuanum peperisti unigenitam tuam, et genuisti eam super terram, quoniam factus est infernus thalamus meus. Confectio omnis olei quam praeparauit mihi mater mea effundatur' etc. For 'in montem' it is suggested to read 'in matrem'. The Greek prepositional clause can be seen in the Latin. What of the name 'Stelac'? One of Lamech's wives was *Tselah* צִלָּה,[2] and these folk were grandparents to

[1] James *Texts and Studies*, 1893, ii 3, 182.

[2] Gen. iv 19f.

Digitized by Google

Jephthah and his daughter. The initial '*St*' of the name in the Latin is a euphonic transposition of the Hebrew initial letter with its need to be transliterated as *Ts*. For the hardening of the final ה into a *k* sound the Lucianic reading Σελακ for Zelah in Jos. xviii 28 is an exact parallel.

Again, the daughter's name, Seila, is unknown elsewhere in literature, except for a possible occurrence in an Onomasticon, Σείλα ἐλπίς.[1] Did she not, however, bear her grandparent's name? *Tselah* comes from צֵל, that is 'shade' or 'shadow'. And the daughter closes her lament with the words 'et tempus uitae meae in tenebris inueterauit'. *Sella* is a common Latin form of the name; and it suggests its own palaeographical reason for the form *Seila*. Σελά is its form in the Ἱστορία Παλαιοῦ.[2]

An old and anonymous chronicle known as the *de Genealogiis Patriarcharum*,[3] leads to the further suggestion that the child is bearing the burden of her ancestors, where it records concerning Lamech's second wife: 'alia nomine Sella quae interpretatus adumbrans se ipsam. Ipse est Lamech qui dixit mulieribus suis: Audite vocem meam mulieres Lamech, et continete auribus vestris verba mea, quia virum occidi invulnerem et iuvenem in libore meo, virum dicendo Christum Christianos dictas iuvenem autem populum esse a Iudaeis Christum a paganis et haereticis Christianum occidi vel uti reum versa vici videmus (*sic*) ut pro Abel Cain dicitur, qui pro Christi nomine laniatur'. Is there not here also the reason why such an apocryphal piece should appear in the first century?

VACHER BURCH.

NOTE ON ST LUKE XIII 6–9 AND ST MATTHEW III 10 || ST LUKE III 9.

IN *The Golden Bough* Sir J. G. Frazer relates that 'on Christmas Eve many a South Slavonian and Bulgarian peasant swings an axe threateningly against a barren fruit-tree while another man standing by intercedes for the menaced tree saying, "do not cut it down; it will soon bear fruit". Thrice the axe is swung, and thrice the impending

[1] James, 186. [2] Vassiliev ed., 1893, 194.

[3] *P. L.* lix 524 A. This document has a notice as well: 'Origo autem Gothoniel haec est: filius fuit Genez fratres Chaleb fratris Jephone.' Compare *Visio Zenez* (James, 178). But it offers no reasons why the prophetic gift came to this relation of Caleb.

Digitized by Google

blow is arrested at the entreaty of the intercessor. After that the frightened tree will certainly bear fruit next year. So at the village of Ucria in Sicily, if a tree obstinately refuses to bear fruit, the owner pretends to hew it down. Just as the axe is about to fall a friend intercedes for the tree, begging him to have patience for one year more and promising not to interfere again if the culprit has not mended his ways by then. The owner grants his request, and the Sicilians say that a tree seldom remains deaf to such a menace. The ceremony is performed on Easter Sunday. In Armenia the same pantomime is sometimes performed by two men for the same purpose on Good Friday' (Part I vol. ii p. 21).

It would be interesting to know whether these practices were followed before the conversion of the several countries to Christianity. They are known in the East Indies, and in Japan, but are not described as taking place in Palestine, though it is said that a custom of tying stones to fruit-trees in order to ensure a crop of fruit is followed in both Syria and Sicily (*op. cit.* Part I vol. i p. 140) The choice of Holy Days of the Church suggests that the peasants learnt the story from their Christian teachers and made their own use of it—with the important alteration that the steward's active measures drop out, and only the tree has to exert itself. Yet there would have been an added point in the parable if its first hearers had believed that the tree could really hear and understand; and it would be easier to see how there could be time to bring forth fruits of repentance after St John Baptist's warning that the axe was already laid to the root of the tree.

H. M. SLEE.

Digitized by Google

REVIEWS

Westminster Commentaries, edited by WALTER LOCK, D.D. *The Book of Jeremiah* with Introduction and Notes by L. ELLIOTT BINNS, M.A. (Methuen, London, 1919.)

'THE primary object of these Commentaries is to be exegetical, to interpret the meaning of each book of the Bible in the light of modern knowledge to English readers.' So writes the General Editor of this series, and Mr Binns has kept this aim faithfully in view. His style (with occasional lapses) is good, and his matter should generally prove interesting to the thoughtful English reader. Mr Binns is well read, and his reading shews itself in some apt and excellent quotations from English writers.

The work consists of a full Introduction of seventy-eight pages, some good 'Additional Notes', and the Commentary proper. There are adequate sections on the teaching of Jeremiah and on his style. 'Even in the prose passages of Jeremiah', writes Mr Binns, 'there may always be detected, to use the phrase of Sir Philip Sidney, the movement of "poetical sinews".' There is perhaps even poetical form as well as 'sinews' in such a passage as the following:

> I beheld the earth, and, lo, it was waste and void;
> And the heavens, and they had no light.
> I beheld the mountains, and, lo, they trembled,
> And all the hills moved to and fro.
> I beheld, and, lo, there was no man,
> And all the birds of the heavens were fled.
> I beheld, and, lo, the fruitful field was a wilderness,
> And all the cities thereof were broken down
> At the presence of the LORD
> And before his fierce anger.

Mr Binns shews a good knowledge of Hebrew and also of recent work, English and German, on the Old Testament, e. g. of Driver, Streane, Kennett, Wade, and Duhm. But he singles out Cornill's book (*Das Buch Jeremia*, 1905) for a degree of special praise which is perhaps excessive, and he assigns (from time to time) an importance to the textual suggestions of modern scholars which they hardly deserve. At other times Mr Binns is duly on his guard. The discussions on the genuineness of several 'doubtful' sections of Jeremiah are carefully and

Digitized by Google

judicially conducted, though the reader will not always agree with the editor's conclusions.

The notes as a whole are both concise and adequate. A curious slip is made on xlix 2, where the 'daughters' of Rabbah are apparently taken to mean the female population of Rabbah instead of the daughter-cities. On p. 50 the Arabic epithet given to Marwān II 'the Ass', should be al-*Himār* not Al-Hamar. Other slips are 'St' Clem. Alex. on p. 2, and Ashtoroth (with two o's) on p. 72. On p. 28 תאזלו is a misprint, and *shākêd* has an incorrect sh'va on p. 7. On p. 134, footnote, the reference should be 'Thuc. Book II, ch. lii', and on p. 220 the Hebrew word cited lacks one letter. It is a pity that a Tractate of the Talmud should be called *Qiddushin* on p. 62, but *Kidushim* on p. 86. These, however, are small blemishes in a meritorious book.

Translations of Early Documents: (*a*) The Longer *Commentary of R. David Kimhi* on the First Book of Psalms, by R. S. FINCH, B.D., (*b*) *Tractate Sanhedrin*, Mishnah and Tosefta, by HERBERT DANBY, M.A. (S.P.C.K., London, 1919.)

BOTH books are interesting, but it may be doubted whether the easy Hebrew of Kimhi is quite worthy of translation. Still the non-Hebrew reader is now enabled to see how a Rabbi of the Middle Ages (1160–1235 A.D.) could argue against the Christian application of Psalms ii and xxii. There are misprints to be corrected on a reprint of the book; p. 37 (German), p. 38 (Hebrew), p. 42 (Arabic).

The translation of Sanhedrin is more likely to be useful than that of Kimhi. The Mishnah is indeed difficult to render into clear English, but Mr Danby has overcome the chief difficulties. Only, when the literal meaning is made clear, the question remains How far does the text place us in touch with realities? Were the acts described ever done? If so, were they done under the Greek supremacy or under the Roman rule? The tractate *Sanhedrin* recognizes many crimes as capital, it describes four different methods of execution with particularity, so that a careless reader would pronounce it a bloody code. But then, what do we read in *Makkoth*, the tractate which follows? 'The Sanhedrin which condemns one man to death in seven years is accounted murderous, or as R. Eleazar ben-Azariah saith, if it condemn one man in seventy years.' (*Makkoth* i 10). Further, the most elaborate precautions are taken to prevent an innocent person suffering the extreme penalty. Circumstantial evidence counts for nothing: it is regarded only as an 'opinion'. Such a statement as the following was not received as evidence: 'We saw the defendant sword in hand pursuing his fellow: his fellow ran into a shop followed by the defendant:

Digitized by Google

we went in after them and found the one slain, and in the hand of the other a sword dropping blood' (*Sanhedrin*, Tosefta viii 3). Two witnesses at least who had seen the fatal stroke were required. So, too, a capital case could not be decided in one day, except with a verdict of acquittal. Condemnation had to be pronounced on the day after the trial, and by daylight.

Many suggestive passages might be quoted from Sanhedrin, but it is sufficient to give three. 'If a man say, Hast thou slain my ox? the other may answer *No* or *Yes* to mystify his questioner. For there is a nay that is a yea, and a yea that is a nay' (Tosefta, given on p. 62). No man must be induced to incriminate himself. 'When the condemned is ten cubits from the stoning-place they say to him, *Confess. . . Every one who confesses has a share in the world to come*' (Mishnah vi 2). 'It is more serious to offend against the decrees of the Scribes than against the decrees of the Law. One who says, *There should be no phylacteries*, thereby transgressing against the words of the Law, is innocent; but he who says, *There should be five passages of Scripture in them*, adding to the words of the Scribes, is guilty' (Mishnah xi 3). On p. 101 read ἐγγαστρίμυθος 1mo, and on p. 108 read Samekh for final Mem *bis*. In Mishnah x 1 the text followed by Mr Danby runs, 'These are they who have no share in the world to come: those who say that there is no resurrection of the dead', &c. It would have been well to give in a note the important variant to the second clause, 'Those who say that the doctrine of the resurrection of the dead is not to be deduced from the Torah'. Mr Danby's book should prove both useful and interesting.

Shekel Hakodesh. Now edited for the first time with an English translation, &c., by HERMANN GOLLANCZ, M.A., D.Lit. (Oxford University Press, 1919.)

THIS is a book of considerable interest, if not for its own sake, at least for its literary relationships. It is the work of Joseph Kimhi of Narbonne (fl. 1150–1170 A.D.), the father of the better known David Kimhi the commentator. It is written in parallelism with rimes (or rather assonances) between couplet and couplet, and the author ventures to call his work 'poems' (שירים). He gives it the title 'Holy Shekel', because he has 'measured' (by weight) the Holy Language in composing his book. But the true interest of his work lies in the fact that its roots go back to the canonical Book of Proverbs. The same spirit which moved Ben Sira after studying the Scriptures 'to write somewhat pertaining to instruction and wisdom' (Prologue to Sirach) moved Joseph Kimhi to compose the *Shekel Hakodesh*. The instinct for

Digitized by Google

ethical writing has indeed manifested itself in the Jewish race through almost all the centuries of the existence of the race.

After a brief preface the work begins quite in the tone of the Book of Proverbs:

> Wisdom giveth life to her possessor;
> She payeth God's reward and His recompense for work.
> By her shall a man gain in the days of his life
> A good name, and glory after his death.
>
> The rain of heaven giveth life to the seeds
> In the time of its coming down, but if it increase, it bringeth them to death.
> And Wisdom giveth life to the heart of the wise,
> And if she increase, she bringeth them to eternal life.
>
> Be not anxious when thy wealth perisheth,
> If thy understanding remain and thine honour.
> For how canst thou be anxious for the sheath of the sword,
> When the sword is in thy hand?

(I have ventured to correct the Editor's version.)

Our best thanks are due to Dr Gollancz for making this work accessible in the original and for supplying an apparatus criticus. Perhaps we ought to have received more frequent warnings of the uncertainty of the text. The English translation, moreover, leaves something to be desired: surely the style of the A.V. should have been followed closely in a book which contains so much Biblical language. In verse 430 the Editor gives, 'When kindly fortune waiteth on man, the very stones on the road shall yield him (reading תשיב) bdellium and gold.' A more literal rendering is

'In the time of a man's prosperity the stone of the streets turneth (תשוב) for him into ivory (שן) and bdellium.'

The Old Testament: Its meaning and value for the Church to-day. By RICHARD HENRY MALDEN. (Macmillan & Co., London, 1919.)

THE purpose of this book is sufficiently indicated by its title. It is the work of a thoughtful and vigorous writer, who faces fairly the difficulties of the subject he has chosen. It is a 'popular' book, but even the advanced student will find much that is fresh both in the thought and in the style. Sometimes, perhaps, Mr Malden is over-colloquial, e.g. on p. 117, but much may be forgiven an author who writes with so much power and freshness on an old subject. The book should prove

Digitized by Google

very useful to all who, starting from a modern standpoint, find the Bible full of literary, historical, and moral difficulties. Mr Malden deals with his problem fairly and ably.

W. EMERY BARNES.

Les premières controverses jansénistes en France. By ALBERT DE MEYER. (Louvain, 1919.)

THIS book derives a peculiar and pathetic interest from its place and date of publication. It is fitting that a study of Jansenism should come from Louvain, for it was there that Cornelius Jansen laid the foundation of his theology. It is remarkable, and of high augury for the future of Belgian erudition, that within four years of the Great Crime, and amid all the difficulties resulting therefrom, so substantial a piece of work should have been carried to a successful end. M. de Meyer's dissertation is apparently the first doctor's thesis published at Louvain since the reopening of the University; it will be welcome, on this score alone, to all lovers of learning. But students of theology and of Church history will find it a most valuable help to the understanding of a controversy which in interest and importance yields only to the great christological and trinitarian debates and the crisis of the Reformation. For the problems raised by Jansenism, although the particular form has changed in which they were presented 300 years ago, are with us still—Grace and Freedom, Predestination and Election, the ascetic life, the virtue of the sacraments, the essential notes of the Church. And although the Jansenist solution of this and that moral and doctrinal difficulty is one to which we may thank God we are as little bound as we are to the opposite extremes of laxity and Pelagianism, still it has in every case for English Churchmen a special interest. There is a strangely Anglican ring in many of the utterances attributed to Saint-Cyran; we have first-hand experience of a Puritanism similar to that of his school; we all feel the Romance of Port-Royal, and the enigmatic figure of Blaise Pascal compels an attention on this side of the Channel which few of his fellow-countrymen have commanded.

Romance is not M. de Meyer's business; he is a 'positive' historian, concerned with marshalling facts. But he knows his writers so well that he is able to make them live. Pascal indeed stands outside his canvas. But indications are not wanting to shew that he is ready to cope with him; e. g. reasons are hinted which explain the change of neutrality into hostility against Arnauld on the part of the Sorbonne. We trust that when, as is much to be desired, M. de Meyer comes on to the later history, he will not fail to consult the priceless but somewhat unfamiliar volumes in which M. Ernest Jovy has enshrined

Digitized by Google

discoveries which throw fresh light upon Pascal and his relations to the Jansenists (cf. *Pascal inédit* 5 vols., Vitry-le-François 1908–1912).

In the work before us M. de Meyer deals with the events of ten years, 1640–1649. After an Introduction of sixteen pages containing general remarks on Jansenism and its historians, he traces in Book I the origins of the movement and describes the atmosphere into which it was born (pp. 1–85). Book II ('Les grandes luttes' pp. 86–342) has two sections centring round two books, the *Augustinus* and the *Fréquente Communion*. The analysis of them is particularly valuable. Some day we may hope to have M. de Meyer's opinion on the still unsolved question whether the Five Propositions are really in the *Augustinus*. The section on the *Fréquente*, i.e. on Jansenist morality, leads to the conflict between the University of Paris and the Company of Jesus, and the famous debate on the origins of Roman supremacy. This is treated with admirable clearness and mastery of detail. Book III ('La Détente' pp. 415–489) brings Rome to the forefront of the scene with its examination of the two great books, and carries the story down to the discovery of the Propositions by Nicolas Cornet. Then follows a conclusion in which the author 'places' Jansenism in the history of ecclesiastical controversy and compares it with modern theories, protestant and liberal. There are finally four appendixes: on the accusers of Saint-Cyran in 1638; on Jansenist education; on the sources of Arnauld's *Théologie morale des Jésuites*; and the text of Lugo's judgement on *La Fréquente Communion*.

The narrative portion of the work is deliberate and pleasant to read. It is not free from repetitions; it is not always free from ambiguity, e.g. we have to turn the page in order to discover who precisely is the 'jeune Jésuite' of p. 197. But the book is solid and deeply interesting, and when the author allows himself the expression of individual opinion it is generally sound and singularly unprejudiced. He is thoroughly well equipped for his task, adding to erudition, sympathy and sobriety, qualities which are especially necessary and rather rare in dealing with Jansenism and the Jesuits. M. de Meyer turns them to good account on many occasions, e.g. when he handles the delicate question of Saint-Cyran's orthodoxy and his relations with St Vincent de Paul, or in his estimate of the character of Antoine Arnauld. He holds the balance fairly between the great contending parties of his period, and is sincerely anxious to give to each its due. His psychology is as a rule acute, though in accounting for the general unpopularity of the Jesuits in France he gives less weight than it deserves to what must surely have been a determining factor, viz. their ultramontane and anti-Gallican sympathies. On the other hand when he describes the power of the Jansenist's party he is hardly self-consistent. Thus he begins by attri-

Digitized by Google

buting their hold upon the masses to the novelty of their doctrine, and to 'une pratique religieuse en somme plus commode à l'endroit des Sacrements'. But on the very next page (80) he says: 'La morale janséniste . . . préconisait une pratique religieuse trop dure, inaccessible à la plupart des chrétiens.' The truth would seem to be that the Jansenists, whatever we may think of them, practised what they preached, and this will always attract even those who have no intention of following the example set. All to whom the Christian ideal is familiar like to see it carried out by others if not by themselves.

M. de Meyer's views on 'Probabilism' are, I believe, correct, and on this account I wish, for the sake of English and Protestant readers, he had developed them more fully. The undoubtedly evil results of the unscrupulous application of Probabilism have given a bad name to what is in itself an innocent thing, and indeed an inevitable accompaniment of the system of universal and compulsory confession. And one may hazard the opinion that, in a last resort, it is rather the doctors of the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215 when Confession was rendered obligatory, than Bartolomé de Medina, the inventor of Probabilism, who must be held responsible for any laxity which has crept in through the Confessional. M. de Meyer deserves thanks for the fullness of his references which render his book indispensable to students of the subject. But a word of protest must be permitted against his Index. He has followed that bad easy habit of recording every occurrence of a name without stating the context. What possible help is it to know that Arnauld figures on 100 and Hermant on 130 pages?

Slight misprints, over and above those noted in the *Errata*, occur on pp. 107, 187, 260, 263, 269, 352, 402, 443, 503.

H. F. STEWART.

The Origin of the Doctrine of the Trinity: A popular exposition, by RENDEL HARRIS. (Longmans, Green & Co., Manchester University Press, 1919.)

THIS short, very interesting, and in some respects highly illuminating, book is a sequel to Dr Harris's recent studies on the *Testimonies* and the Prologue to St John's Gospel. It is intended as a popular account of the results he has reached in them, and it will certainly serve to bring them before the notice of a wider public. That is all to the good.

As to the *Testimonies* first. Dr J. B. Gregory's original and *bahnbrechend* work *The Oracles of Papias* (1894) was disregarded; but the idea that a collection of Messianic proof-texts from the Old Testament existed early and might be the Matthaean Logia to which Papias refers got into the air and was current before Dr Harris turned his attention

Digitized by Google

to the subject and *more suo* threw fresh light on it. The Matthaean Logia of Papias were, he contends, a collection of *Testimonies* against the Jews, drawn from the Old Testament, yet not primarily Messianic, but covering a much wider field and largely dependent on the Sapiential books: a collection that may well have been made by Matthew and was in the hands of St Paul and other writers of the New Testament. It is in every way probable that such a collection would be made at the earliest moment for use in controversy with the Jews; and inasmuch as the later collections of *Testimonies* known to us identify Christ with the Wisdom of God, and the eighth chapter of Proverbs (including the LXX mistranslation in verse 22) played a dominant part in all the great controversies as to the Person of Christ, Dr Harris is on strong ground in arguing that the primitive collection included such passages, and that the identification of Christ with the Wisdom of God is the background of the high Christology of St Paul and of the Epistle to the Hebrews and the Gospel of St John. The persistence of proof from the Old Testament, rather than from the New, was due to the fact that the proof was made in the first instance for Jews, and drawn, accordingly, from the only Scriptures which existed and were regarded as authoritative by Jews and Christians alike. All the New Testament writers are themselves dependent on the Old Testament; it was from the Old Testament that they derived their doctrine and drew a whole series of proof-texts which are the backbone of their theology.

If this has not been said so plainly before, it ought to have been. It is no doubt true as regards the Wisdom passages which in particular Dr Harris has in mind. Yet we know little of Matthew and much of St Paul. St Paul was surely as likely as Matthew to have been first in the field in applying these passages to Christ. And historians of the origins of the doctrine of the Trinity have always recognized the 'preparation' for it in the Old Testament; all the Sapiential passages, I think, are cited and discussed, for example, in M. Lebreton's *Les Origines du dogme de la Trinité*. Yet Dr Harris puts the case so vigorously and freshly that the familiar and rather dull study of the use of the Old Testament in the New springs to life again at his beck and we owe him our gratitude for this tonic.

Again, it is common ground that the Logos Christology was preceded by the Pauline; and St Paul wrote of Christ as the Wisdom and the Power of God. That identification may well have been made in the first edition of the Testimony Book. If so, it is no doubt true that in later editions 'where Logos and Sophia come together, it is Logos that is the afterthought and the intruder' (p. 30). But why the 'intruder'? The Wisdom literature of the Old Testament is not purely Hebraic, and the Logos theology as applied to the interpretation

Digitized by Google

of the Person of Jesus is not purely Greek. Two philosophies coalesced in something greater than either alone. The Logos theology as we have it in the New Testament and later is not quite the same as the Wisdom theology, and to say that 'all statements in which Christ is affirmed to be the Word of God' may be replaced 'by an earlier series of statements in which He is equated with the Divine Wisdom' (p. 31) is surely to say far more than the evidence warrants, and to miss the true instructiveness of the process by which the finest fruits of Gentile thought were brought into the treasury of Christian doctrine.

But there are other statements in this popular exposition of the origin of the doctrine of the Trinity which seem to me to be even more misleading and fundamentally dangerous, because they take us away from the solid historical ground on which Christian doctrine rests in the consciousness and the experience of Jesus Himself and the impression he made on His contemporaries. They take us away from the *terra firma* of history, on which we can tread safely, to the unsubstantial region of speculative thought.

Dr Harris has the point in mind. He writes at the end of his book: 'we have to stop and ask ourselves whether it is at all likely that such a title [as the Wisdom of God] was assumed by our Lord, or given Him by His disciples' (p. 36); but he does not deal with the question. I wish he had put it to himself sooner. The answer must surely be unreservedly, No. Not one of the titles under consideration was 'assumed by our Lord' (the very phrase implies a false start for the enquiry), and none of the evidence in the Synoptic Gospels (not even that of the so-called 'Johannine' passage Lk. x 21, 22 || Mt. xi 25–27) suggests that He could have thought of Himself as the Wisdom of God. The concept is altogether too impersonal: it belongs to the philosophy of history; whereas with the titles 'Son' and 'Messiah' we are on the plane of actual human life. In writing the following words 'historically, the first impression He made upon His disciples and His compatriots was that of an abnormal, supernatural Wisdom', Dr Harris plays truant from the evidence just when he ought to sit at its feet most closely, and reverses the actual order of the process of the developement of Christian doctrine. He emphasizes the fact that the Deity of Jesus is the central point of the Trinity, and he allows, of course, that the primitive confession included the recognition of Jesus as the Messiah and as the Son of God; but he would relegate this twofold recognition to a secondary place. Yet the evidence of Epistles and Gospels goes to shew that this recognition was primary, that it carried in its train belief in His Deity, and that only in dependence on this primary recognition did any relating of Him to the Wisdom of God occur. It is never 'Jesus' but always 'the Christ' who is so related (Dr Harris notes this fact but

Digitized by Google

turns his back on it, p. 27). There is no evidence adduced by Dr Harris that bids us abandon the view that our Lord's own consciousness of His Sonship and Christhood was the original basis of the doctrine of His Deity (which is the presupposition of the doctrine of the Trinity). Then the Wisdom passages suggested other categories under which He could be thought of, and other functions; and the Logos philosophy enriched the early established belief. These later conceptions can hardly be said to have confirmed the belief: rather, they enlarged it. And it must be observed that they did not lead at all directly to the doctrine of the Trinity. In the New Testament that doctrine is not at all clear, and indeed its formulation is impeded rather than helped by the close identification of the Christ or the Son of God with the Divine Wisdom or the Logos. As long as that identification exists we have a duad rather than a triad. The real triad—the real doctrine of the Trinity—only came when some of the characteristics of the Wisdom and the Logos were transferred from the Incarnate Son, and hypostatized as the Spirit of God. It was by differentiation of Christ from the Wisdom of God that the doctrine of the Trinity was reached. Dr Harris's quick eye has discerned in the Mosque of St Sophia evidence for his case. I do not wish to dispute it; but in order to keep pace with the developement of doctrine the dedication of the Church of the Holy Wisdom by Justinian ought to have been to the Holy Ghost.

This then, I submit, is the way in which the identification of Christ with the Wisdom of the Sapiential literature is connected with the doctrine of the Trinity. Its real basis is to be sought elsewhere. So, while admiring the freshness of Dr Harris's outlook and heartily accepting many of the results of his work, I cannot but dissent from the particular application he has made of it and regret the summary manner in which he presents it as a popular exposition of the origin of the doctrine of the Trinity.

Charis: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des ältesten Christentums. Von GILLIS P:SON WETTER. (Oscar Brandstetter, Leipzig, 1913.)

Phōs (ΦΩΣ): eine Untersuchung über hellenistische Frömmigkeit, zugleich ein Beitrag zum Verständnis des Manichäismus. Von GILLIS P:SON WETTER. (Uppsala, Akademiska Bokhandeln, and O. Harrassowitz, Leipzig, 1915.)

THESE books, published respectively six and four years ago, have only just come into my hands. Their author is a young Swedish scholar, whose theological studies have been pursued mostly in Germany,

Digitized by Google

though he has also paid visits to England and expresses his obligations to Dr J. H. Moulton. He has been Docent at Upsala and has now been appointed Professor of the History of Religions at Stockholm. Of two other works of his, an earlier (*Der Vergeltungsgedanke bei Paulus,* 1912) and a later (*Der Sohn Gottes,* 1918), reviews will, I hope, appear in a subsequent number of the JOURNAL.

In the first of these two works he gives us a very full and careful study of the word χάρις which, philological in part as it must be, is prompted by the purpose of getting light on Pauline and later Christian conceptions. His aim is to discover the main lines on which the thought of the earliest Christians about 'grace' travelled, and he carries down his researches to Irenaeus, halting there because at that point in the history all the notions which were associated with Grace in the Church of later times have already come into view. Indeed, he finds in the various books of the New Testament itself the roots, at least, of them all. There is no one idea of Grace in the New Testament: the word does duty for a whole series of dissimilar notions which belong to different conceptions of the whole structure of mankind and the world. (This is, perhaps, one of the over-statements to which I refer below.) To students of Doctrine I suppose the most obvious change in the use of the word is that by which it comes to be dissociated from its personal religious connexion with Christ or God, and either, as it were, hypostatized, or treated as a force or power in its own right. Dr Wetter has a good deal to say on this 'concrete' or 'realistic' use, and here, as elsewhere, he draws largely on the Hermetic writings and the magical papyri for his illustrations. There is so much that is interesting in his study, and also so much repetition, that I can only aim at giving a general impression of the argument.

Dr Wetter begins by maintaining that the conception of χάρις as found in St Paul was not Jewish and that it has no equivalent in Hebrew. Though the word occurs frequently in the LXX, the meaning is always different: men may find 'favour' in the eyes of God, but they look to Him for 'mercy' towards them. The Jewish conception, he argues, is always 'ethical', concerned with man's conduct towards God and the judgement He passes on it. St Paul's, on the other hand, is 'religious': it is no question of man and his works: it is all God's doing. So he finds the origin of the Pauline sense of the word in Greek usage (Philo, Epictetus, inscriptions and the like referring to benefactions of Emperors), where it denotes either an act or deed of gift or favour, or the beneficent disposition from which such beneficent action flows, on the side of a free sovereign power occupying a relation external to the recipient, who is not conceived as being affected otherwise than externally.

In contrast with this 'Greek' conception Dr Wetter sets the 'Hellen-

Digitized by Google

istic' or 'oriental' conception, according to which, he argues, χάρις is a mystical power bestowed on men, working inwardly in them or with them and effecting a change of being, as a God-given new equipment or endowment. This is the origin of the Pauline sense of the word as a power which has mastery over the inner life of the Christian.

Dr Wetter accepts as St Paul's only the 'undisputed' epistles, and all through this part of his study he discusses many passages with the fresh clues to their meaning that he conceives he has found, and gives his reasons for discarding the interpretations of most previous commentators as failing to appreciate St Paul's fundamental thoughts. He thinks that, on the one hand, Jewish influences tended to 'psychologize' the original Pauline thought and so to treat χάρις as an attribute of God, making it synonymous with ἔλεος; and, on the other hand, that it was due to Hellenistic notions that it came to be regarded from an educational point of view as an aid to Christian life, guiding the development of the Christian in the right direction. So, as I understand him, we can trace a transition from the Pauline conception of a single act of God of a revolutionary character to the idea of Divine stimulus of an evolutionary process, with the further idea that the Church is the proprietor of all Grace which it is able to convey and to transmit through its various 'means of grace'. So 'grace' is partly given and partly won, and the idea of quantitative differences comes in.

Each of the points I have touched on is dealt with at length by Dr Wetter. In such a study it is difficult to avoid over-emphasizing the differences of conception that disclose themselves and assigning them too unreservedly to watertight compartments of their own. For instance, Dr Wetter gives us, among many interesting sections devoted to special notions, one on χάρις conceived spatially, or identified with salvation, as a realm into which the Christian is transplanted and thereafter lives in it—a conception which he regards as typical of St Paul's 'eschatologische absolute Weltanschauung'. It seems to me that this conception, translated into practical life in the world as it is, and adapted to its needs, gives us at once the church as the monopolist of grace, with even 'magical' channels for its use, so that the idea of *gratia infusa* is not so alien. But in any case Dr Wetter, I believe, is the first to attempt a study of the history of early Christian thought on the subject. He draws on materials, many of which have only lately become available; and in his use of them he is always interesting.

Phōs is a worthy companion volume to *Charis*. It seeks to find the true historical background of the Christian conception of Baptism as φωτισμός and the baptized as φωτιζόμενοι. In *Charis* much stress was laid on the physical conceptions with which early religious thought is associated, from which it was only gradually disconnected by a spiri-

Digitized by Google

tualizing process. 'We moderns are all too ready to psychologize Religion and its facts' is the refrain of *Phōs*: early Christianity is to be explained and seen in its true colour and proportions only against the background of popular piety and Hellenistic religiosity; its victory was due as much to its power to absorb as to its power to adapt.

This is a familiar thesis to-day, and the special application of it to the conception of 'light' which Dr Wetter makes is full of interest. What has to be accounted for is the connexion of 'light' with the idea of consecration or initiation and salvation. Classical Greek religion offers no parallel, and the use the philosophers make of the imagery of the Mysteries shews that the mystery-rites are the background of the philosophers' thoughts. By careful study and comparison of references to the Mysteries, pagan and Christian, and to the symbolism of Light in other connexions, Dr Wetter reaches what he regards as the highly probable conclusion that in the Mysteries the Light, regarded as substantial, was the actually present Deity who 'enlightens' the initiated and thereby divinizes them, the process being semi-physical: the divine substance is poured into the adept as a fluid and builds up his new self. For the Hellenist he thinks Religion is the implanting of new heavenly potencies in man whereby he becomes spiritual, 'pneumatic'. The identification of the *Gnosis* with 'light' implies, he argues, the same conception—that of a complete transformation of the man, whereby he is filled with a new divine element by which all darkness is dispelled and it becomes possible for him to see the truth. Dr Wetter finds further confirmation of his theory in relation to Manichaeism and its connexion with Mandaeism, to which he devotes a special section in the light of the latest discoveries and researches, arguing that the really new element in Manichaeism was the personality of the prophet, Mani, himself, and finding the source of the Hellenistic conception in oriental religious ideas of great antiquity.

The two books are a valuable contribution to knowledge, not to be overlooked by students of the New Testament and early Christianity. Dr Wetter's method of approach, from different sides, of his subject involves inevitably a good deal of repetition; but the lines are clear, if the results are not always decisive, and he writes a German that is easy to read.

Digitized by Google

The Pohle-Preuss Series of Dogmatic Text-Books.

Grace actual and habitual, The Sacraments in general: Baptism, Confirmation, The Holy Eucharist, The Sacrament of Penance, Extreme Unction, Holy Orders, Matrimony, Eschatology. (B. Herder, 68 Great Russell Street, London, 1917, 1918.)

In a notice of the first six volumes of this series (*J. T. S.* xvi p. 574) I described it as of value to all English students of Doctrine inasmuch as it provides them with an authorized statement of the official teaching of the Church of Rome in systematic form. The six volumes named above complete the series. Any one who is not in sympathy with the working out of a system of Doctrine in all its minutiae, providing answers to every question that can suggest itself to the most curious imagination, would find much in all twelve volumes (and not least in the last six) that would be wholly unedifying to him. In any case there are, I think, some statements and arguments that would be much better omitted[1] and a good deal that would be more effective if it was presented in a different phraseology,[2] as it might be without departing from the general method of treatment and the position of a Church that knows and has criteria of knowledge that are not available to others. But I make this comment partly in order to call attention to the fact that in some cases Dr Pohle can frankly and fully recognize changes of belief due to the advance of modern science. For example, his discussion of 'the location of Hell', and his reference to the 'erroneous notions' which the Fathers and Scholastics entertained about it, and to 'the unfortunate Galileo case' as 'a warning to theologians' (*Eschatology* pp. 49 ff), point the way to a sounder apologetic than all non-Roman divines are ready to adopt. But his task is easier here because the Church has never actually defined that Hell is a *place*, though, as he says, 'the dogma of the Resurrection seems to entail this conclusion', and, as he implies, the conclusion was universally assumed. The Resurrection of *the flesh*, on the other hand, has been defined, and in this case Dr Pohle's exposition can concede almost nothing to modern beliefs.

Throughout the books Dr Pohle is careful to shew what points have been in dispute in the past or are still open, and always he supplies references to the fathers and the schoolmen, and to modern discussions of the points at issue. It is this scholarly presentation and treatment of

[1] For example, the extraordinarily circular argument about the seven sacraments (*The Sacraments* i pp. 33 ff).

[2] For example, the last sentence of p. 433 of the volume *Gra*

Digitized by Google

the subject as a whole that makes the twelve admirably printed and handy volumes a desirable possession for all students of Doctrine.

In *Belief and Creed* (Macmillan & Co., 1918) the Bishop of Ely deals with a good many questions of current controversy of a kind with which the JOURNAL does not concern itself. Scholarship is only interested at two points. One of these is the possibility of the use of a subtle εἰρωνεία by the author of the Fourth Gospel, as to which scholarship must, I conceive, be content to return an open verdict, with the result that it neither confirms nor bluntly disallows the Bishop's conclusions. The other has to do with St Paul's views about the Resurrection, and the various images he uses to describe the nature of the 'body' and its relation to the body borne in this life. For purposes of scholarship it is unfortunate that Dr Chase's exposition is controlled by a controversial aim. Dr Glazebrook, against whom he writes, had noted three distinct stages in St Paul's thought on the subject. So Dr Chase is led to maintain that no change can be detected and that St Paul was entirely consistent throughout. This, I think, is a more static view than scholarship will confirm. The background of St Paul's thought has not yet been sufficiently explored. Ideas of the 'seed', and the 'garment', and transformation, and divinization, played a large part in the popular Hellenistic piety and the philosophical thought with which St Paul, the Jew and the Christian, was in contact—in relation to which he often expressed himself. It is a thankless task to set about detecting inconsistencies in the thought of a great religious thinker like St Paul; but to attribute to him from first to last a systematized and entirely coherent scheme that is all his own is to defend him on lines that can hardly be made good. They do not seem to me to be the lines of living scholarship.

Women in the Apostolic Church, by T. B. Allworthy (W. Heffer & Sons, Cambridge, 1917), is a study of the evidence furnished by the New Testament as to the position of women in early Christianity. Mr Allworthy's treatment of the subject is careful and thorough. He shews that the 'equality of the sexes in the spiritual sphere' was fully recognized and he accounts for the fact that the practical consequences of this recognition were limited in range. Mr Allworthy gives us for the first time a connected and critical account of the evidence, with adequate scholarship and sound judgement, and his book is a valuable contribution to the early history of the Church in relation to women.

Using perforce the same evidence, but coming to it with a different type of mind, Dr A. J. Mason in the appendix he writes to *The Ministry*

Digitized by Google

of Women (S.P.C.K., 1919) reaches somewhat different conclusions. Mr Allworthy thinks that the New Testament shews us 'the first attempts of Christians to translate principles into practice', and looks forward to 'the presence in the Church of the Divine Spirit' as the guarantee of further developements. Dr Mason writes as if the limitations of practice noted by Mr Allworthy were themselves dependent on permanent principles ('so long as the race continues, men must be men, and women must be women, and it is upon this truth that St Paul rests when he asserts that women are to be "subject"'), and the whole Committee are responsible for the statement that some of these limitations 'originated in a generation which was guided by the special gifts of the Holy Spirit'. The theological interest of this report of the Archbishop's Committee is concentrated in that sentence, indeed in the phrase 'the *special* gifts of the Holy Spirit'. For readers of the JOURNAL I need not enlarge on its implications. As a contribution to Church history the whole volume is of the highest value and interest. It covers ground which is unfamiliar to ordinary students, who will derive much illuminating information from the appendices by Mr A. H. Thompson and Mr Eeles on the mediaeval period, besides being grateful to the Dean of Wells, the Bishop of Moray, Miss Gardner, and Dr Turner for their help on the earlier period, and to all the writers who describe the present position of the institution of Deaconesses in England, Scotland, and America. The appendix on liturgical forms relating to deaconesses and a number of illustrations add to the value of the book.

J. F. B-B.

Digitized by Google

RECENT PERIODICALS RELATING TO THEOLOGICAL STUDIES

(1) ENGLISH.

The Church Quarterly Review, July 1919 (Vol. lxxxviii, No. 176: Spottiswoode & Co.). A. C. HEADLAM The Ecclesiastical Commission —A. E. GARVIE The Pauline Christology—J. C. PRINGLE Methods of social work—E. BEVAN The problem of new Germany—J. COOPER Present position of negotiations for Presbyterian reunion in Scotland—D. STONE The present prospects of reunion with the East—ARCHBISHOP OF ATHENS Miraculous Ikons—The terms of peace—BISHOP OF MORAY The place of the laity—A. NAIRNE The Fourth Gospel—A. NAIRNE Modern English poetry—Short notices.

The Hibbert Journal, July 1919 (Vol. xvii, No. 4: Williams & Norgate). C. D. BROAD The antecedent probability of survival—G. M. D. MARKER Isaac Taylor's 'physical theory of another life'—I. ABRAHAMS The revival of casuistry—G. PAISH The financial danger —W. K. LETHABY Memorials of the fallen—E. HOLMES Freedom and growth—C. G. MONTEFIORE Modern Judaism—R. F. RYND Christ and the Liberal Creed—W. M. ROGERS Open house: an inquiry concerning the Church—R. ROBERTS The ethics of William Blake—G. DOUGLAS Goethe restudied—H. McLACHLAN St Luke's doctrine of the Atonement—W. G. HORDER The fetter on Protestantism—R. H. LAW Prayer and natural law—W. H. P. HATCH A Liberal Churchman's allegiance to the Creeds—Discussions, Survey, and Signed Reviews.

The Expositor, July 1919 (Eighth Series, No. 103: Hodder & Stoughton). G. H. BOX The permanent value of the Old Testament in the light of criticism—J. MOFFATT Tertullian on the Lord's Prayer—H. G. WOOD Logic and pessimism—R. HARRIS Jesus and the Exodus —T. H. WEIR Jesus' thought of His death.

August 1919 (Eighth Series, No. 104). A. C. WELCH The prophets and the world-order—M. JONES A new chronology of the life of St Paul—C. A. SCOTT The communion of the body—R. HARRIS The religious meaning of 1 Peter v 5—F. R. TENNANT 'Development' of Doctrine—E. J. GOODSPEED The original conclusion of Mark.

September 1919 (Eighth Series, No. 105). F. GRANGER The

Digitized by Google

slave and the workman in the Greek 'New Testament'—J. MOFFATT Cyprian on the Lord's Prayer—R. L. MARSHALL The War and New Testament criticism—G. MARGOLIOUTH The fifth chapter of the Book of Judges—V. BURCH The meaning and function of the 'Church' in Matthew xviii 15 ff.

(2) AMERICAN.

The Princeton Theological Review, July 1919 (Vol. xvii, No. 3: Princeton University Press). W. B. GREENE The crises of Christianity and their significance—C. E. MACARTNEY Thomas Chalmers—R. D. WILSON Scientific Biblical criticism: article II—G. JOHNSON Human nature and Christian nurture—C. A. MITCHELL A study in the ethics of Shakespeare—B. B. WARFIELD The Dictionary of the Apostolic Church vol. ii—Reviews of recent literature.

(3) FRENCH.

Revue de l'Orient Chrétien (Third Series, Vol. i (xxi) 1918–1919, No. 1: Paris, 20 Rue du Regard). Lettre de Sa Sainteté Benoît XV à Mgr Graffin—L. GUERRIER Canons pénitentiels, texte éthiopien édité et traduit—M. RAJJI Une anaphore syriaque de Sévère d'Antioche pour la messe des présanctifiés—M. J. R. DE JOURNEL Le rite de l'Extrême-Onction dans l'Église gréco-russe—S. GRÉBAUT Les relations entre Abgar et Jésus, texte éthiopien: La mort des martyrs d'Akmim, texte éthiopien: Aperçu sur les miracles de Jésus (*suite*): La légende du parfum de Marie-Madeleine: Contribution à la philologie éthiopienne (*suite*)—Bibliographie.

Digitized by Google

The Journal
of
Theological Studies

JANUARY, 1920

THE 'APOSTOLIC ANAPHORA', AND THE PRAYER OF ST POLYCARP.

THE book which has prompted the following enquiry [1] is written with the express purpose of popularizing the results obtained by the author in a more elaborate work, entitled *L'Eucharistia*, which was published at Tournai in Belgium just before the war. It consists to a large extent of quotations from that work with amplifications and justifications where they have seemed to be required. The style is lucid, and the writer never staggers under the weight of his learning: he has 'the grace of repetition' and insists on making himself understood. His theme in brief is this: the Eucharistic Prayer preserved in the so-called Egyptian Church Order, now identified by Dom Connolly with the *Apostolic Tradition* of Hippolytus, represents in character (if not always in actual words) the Apostolic Anaphora, the essential Eucharistic formula which may be considered as having Apostolic sanction and has formed the groundwork of all Catholic Liturgies. Its simplicity, its exclusively Christological character, the antiquity of its phraseology, the echoes of its language in the earliest Christian writers—all these take us back to primitive times and justify the claim to apostolicity in a sense of that term which the author is careful to define.

Whether we accept Dom Cagin's view of it or not, the text of this Prayer is so important, and at the same time so unfamiliar, that we must needs have it before us from the outset. It is here given from the Verona palimpsest published by Hauler, and from Mr Horner's translation from the Ethiopic in his *Statutes of the Apostles*, with due regard to the better MSS of which he has given a collation in his appendix.

[1] *L'Anaphore apostolique et ses témoins*, par Dom Paul Cagin, moine bénédictin de l'abbaye de Solesmes. (P. Lethielleux, Paris, 1919.)

Digitized by Google

Dominus uobiscum :	The Lord (be) with you all :
Et cum spiritu tuo.	Perfectly with thy spirit may he be.
Sursum corda :	Lift up your hearts :
Habemus ad dominum.	We have (them) with the Lord our God.
Gratias agamus domino :	Let us give thanks to the Lord.
Dignum et iustum est.	Right it is, meet and just.
Gratias tibi referimus, deus, per dilectum puerum tuum Iesum Christum,	We give thanks to thee, Lord, through thy beloved Son Jesus Christ,
quem in ultimis temporibus misisti nobis saluatorem et redemptorem et angelum uoluntatis tuae ;	whom in the last days thou sentest to us, a saviour and redeemer, the messenger of thy counsel.
qui est uerbum tuum inseparabilem (*sic*), per quem omnia fecisti et bene placitum tibi fuit ;	This is the Word who is from thee, by whom thou, being willing, madest all things ;
misisti de caelo in matricem uirginis, quique in utero habitus incarnatus est et filius tibi ostensus est ex spiritu sancto et uirgine natus ;	and thou sentest from heaven into the womb of the Virgin ; he became flesh and was borne within her ; and thy Son was manifested by the Holy Spirit,
qui uoluntatem tuam complens et populum sanctum tibi adquirens extendit manus, cum pateretur, ut a passione liberaret eos qui in te crediderunt ;	that he might fulfil thy will and make a people for thee. Spreading out his hands while he suffered, that he might release the sufferers who trust on thee.
qui cumque traderetur uoluntariae passioni, ut mortem soluat et uincula diaboli dirumpat et infernum calcet et iustos inluminet et terminum figat et resurrectionem manifestet,	He who was delivered up of his own will to suffering, that he might unloose death and burst the bonds of Satan and trample on Siola and lead forth the holy ones ; (that) he might establish the covenant and make known the resurrection.
accipiens panem gratias tibi agens dixit : Accipite, manducate : hoc est corpus meum, quod pro uobis confringetur.	He took bread, he gave thanks and said : Take and eat : this is my Body which for your sake is broken.
Similiter et calicem dicens : Hic est sanguis meus, qui pro uobis effunditur ; quando hoc facitis, meam commemorationem facitis.	And likewise the cup, he said : This is my Blood, which for your sake is shed ; when ye do this, ye shall make a memorial of me.

Digitized by Google

Memores igitur mortis et resurrectionis eius offerimus tibi panem et calicem, gratias tibi agentes, quia nos dignos habuisti adstare coram te et tibi ministrare.

Et petimus ut mittas spiritum tuum sanctum in oblationem sanctae ecclesiae; in unum congregans des omnibus qui percipiunt sanctis in repletionem spiritus sancti ad confirmationem fidei in ueritate,

ut te laudemus et glorificemus per puerum tuum Iesum Christum, per quem tibi gloria et honor, patri et filio cum sancto spiritu, in sancta ecclesia tua, et nunc et in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

Remembering therefore his death and his resurrection, we offer to thee this bread and this cup, giving thanks to thee because thou hast made us worthy to stand before thee and minister as priests to thee.

And we beseech thee to send thy Holy Spirit upon the oblation of the Church, that in joining (them) together thou mayest grant to all of them who take of it, that it may be to them for holiness and for filling (them) with the Holy Spirit, and for strengthening of faith in truth,

that thee they may glorify and praise through thy Son Jesus Christ, through whom to thee be glory and might in the holy Church, now and always and for ever and ever. Amen.

The first point to which Dom Cagin calls our attention is the absence of the angelic hymn, 'Holy, Holy, Holy', which forms a part of all Liturgies. He notes, however, that its position is not constant in the Liturgies, and that it is sometimes inserted into the Anaphora so as seriously to interfere with its original structure. He also points out that in the *Liber Pontificalis* its introduction is ascribed to Pope Sixtus I, who died in 127. The absence of the *Sanctus* therefore, so far from militating against the apostolicity of this Anaphora, is a direct argument in its favour.

In addition to the two texts which we have given above Dom Cagin cites the parallel, but interpolated, texts of the Anaphora found in the Syriac *Testament of the Lord*, the Ethiopic *Liturgy of the Saviour*, and the Ethiopic *Liturgy of the Apostles*. He refuses at this point to consider the problem of the relation to each other of the Church Orders in which the Anaphora is preserved to us. He prefers to regard it as a pre-existing formula which the Church Orders have simply embodied in the form in which it was current at the time of their compilation. He thus

Digitized by Google

provides himself with five independent witnesses to its text: but it is evident that in such a method of treatment the writer lays himself open to serious criticism.

In the *Testament of the Lord* he finds the Anaphora in a form interpolated and modified so as to introduce the Patripassian heresy. He cites the following changes:—

(1) The insertion, after 'angel of thy counsel', of the words 'for it is thy counsel that we should be saved by thee'—redemption being thus attributed to the Father.

(2) The alteration of 'his death and resurrection' into 'thy death and thy resurrection'; so that the passage runs: 'Therefore mindful of thy death and thy resurrection, we offer unto thee this bread and this cup'—the death and resurrection being thus attributed to the Father.

(3) The insertion into the clause next following ('We give thanks unto thee, that thou hast counted us worthy', &c.) of the words 'who alone art God for ever and our Saviour'—the modalist formula of the solitary Father in eternity and the Son and Saviour in time.

(4) The combined effect of the various changes of the vocatives throughout the Prayer: such as 'Tu uirtus Patris' and 'aeterna Trinitas, Domine Iesu Christe, Domine Pater . . . Domine Spiritus Sancte'.

For these modifications and interpolations our author can find no place in Church History other than the Patripassian controversy of Praxeas or of Noetus in the second century. But, if the Anaphora was already thus interpolated in favour of this heresy, it must plainly be of earlier date.

We cannot here deal with all these points or with others which further complicate the argument. It must suffice to consider the remarkable change which gives us the clause 'Mindful of thy death and thy resurrection, we offer unto thee this bread and this cup'. It occurs in the two Ethiopic Liturgies referred to above as giving parallel texts of this Anaphora. But this very fact makes it difficult to accept the view that the words are only capable of an interpretation in a Patripassian sense. Moreover they occur also in the text of the Ethiopic Church Order itself, in the fuller MS which Mr Horner has selected for his edition of the *Statutes of the Apostles*, and in another MS which is similar to it. Here they are undoubtedly a later insertion and are

Digitized by Google

perhaps taken from the *Testamentum Domini* which precedes them in both of these MSS. But this shews that they were not offensive to a later age. The true explanation would seem to be that the author of these changes disregarded the principle by which the Eucharistic thanksgiving is solely directed to the Father. Having begun with 'Pater unigeniti tui saluatoris nostri', he soon introduces a clause addressed to the Son—'Tu uirtus Patris'; and then, after a recurrence to the Father, he once more reverts to the Son in the words 'Mindful of thy death and thy resurrection we offer unto thee'; and before he reaches the close he even addresses the Eternal Trinity. We cannot acquit him of clumsiness, but it is hard to charge him with heresy. And we certainly need not look for him as far back in the past as the days of Praxeas or Noetus.

After supporting his argument for the extreme antiquity of this Anaphora in its uninterpolated form by citing passages from early writers which appear to him to shew familiarity with the phrases of its Christological scheme, Dom Cagin comes with a special delight to a collection of parallels which Dom Connolly had brought together from the works of Hippolytus for a very different purpose. Having given various reasons for assigning the so-called Egyptian Church Order as a whole to the authorship of Hippolytus, Dom Connolly illustrated the language of the Anaphora in particular by the parallels in question, which seemed to him to suggest that in the Anaphora itself the hand of Hippolytus could be traced. Dom Cagin finds much satisfaction in reversing the argument and printing the passages in full as a proof that the Anaphora was well known to Hippolytus, whose mind was so penetrated with it that reminiscences of it are found to be constantly shaping his thoughts. We may leave this particular point of controversy to others, and pass on to a task which is specially incumbent on the present writer.

In illustrating the influence of the presumed Apostolic Anaphora on the language of early writers Dom Cagin has done me the honour of reprinting almost the whole of an article which I wrote twenty years ago in the *Expositor* (Jan. 1899), under the title 'Liturgical Echoes in Polycarp's Prayer'. I was careful at that time to refrain from discussing any of the interesting questions which were raised by the parallel texts which I there brought together, and I ended by saying, 'I commend them to the

Digitized by Google

attention of students alike of the Martyrdoms and of the Liturgies of the early Church'. I am grateful to Dom Cagin for having reproduced them with such fullness, and I hope that now at length they may receive the consideration which I still believe them to deserve. Dom Cagin uses them, naturally enough, in support of his particular view of the primitive character of the Anaphora which we are considering; for some at least among them offer coincidences with this Anaphora, which is thus itself carried back, if the Martyrdom is to be trusted, to a period antecedent to the year 156.

But in the process of writing that article my faith in the genuineness of this famous Martyrdom was somewhat shaken by the occurrence of these very parallels, though I was unwilling without much further investigation to cast doubt upon a tradition which had the recent support of Bishop Lightfoot's authority. Now, however, Dom Cagin's reproduction of my article and the use which he has made of it compel me to return to the enquiry, and at the least to point to one clause of Polycarp's Prayer which, I am now convinced, was not written within the limits of the second century.

No better subject could be proposed for a prize dissertation in one of our Universities than the Doxologies of the early Christian Church. A collection of the texts, with a record of important variants, would in itself be illuminating and fruitful; and, if the subject were limited in the first instance to the Ante-Nicene period, it would hardly be necessary to go outside the printed editions. The mere arrangement of such a collection would be an admirable introduction to the study of Christian doctrine. Moreover, the answer to some interesting questions would then appear at a glance. What, for example, is the earliest reference of any kind in a doxology to the Holy Spirit? There is none in the doxologies of the New Testament, nor in the numerous doxologies of the Epistle of Clement of Rome. Can we find one in any doxology which can be securely dated before we come to Clement of Alexandria or Hippolytus? And then how noteworthy is the doxology which closes Clement's *Quis dives salvetur*: 'To whom *through* the Son (τοῦ παιδὸς) Jesus Christ, the Lord of quick and dead, and *through* the Holy Spirit, be glory . . .' How fresh and informal, and almost poetical, is that which we find in *Paed.* iii 101. 2: 'Rendering thankful praise to the only Father and Son, Son and Father, to the Tutor and

Digitized by Google

Teacher (who is) the Son, together also with the Holy Ghost'. And what a striking parallel does the close of Hippolytus's tract against Noetus—'To him (i.e. the Son) be the glory and the might, together with the Father and the Holy Spirit in the holy Church'—afford to the close of the Anaphora in what is now claimed as the *Apostolic Tradition* of the same Hippolytus—'per quem tibi gloria et honor, patri et filio cum sancto spiritu, in sancta ecclesia tua'. A like formula is prescribed in this same Church Order to be said with every benediction. Such is the language of that part of the document for which we have the attestation of the Latin version. But, when we turn to the additional prayers which the Ethiopic version has added to the text represented by the Latin, we find the regular use of another formula, which is somewhat strange to our modern ears: 'through whom to thee, with him and the Holy Spirit, be glory and might'.

I come now to the point to which I have been leading up. This strange formula is the stereotyped doxology of the Ethiopic Church, being regularly used in its Liturgies. It is found three times in the Arabic 'Canons of Hippolytus'; but in each case it occurs in connexion with a modification of or an addition to the prayers taken over from the *Apostolic Tradition*. The only instance (*with one exception*) to which I can at present point of the occurrence of this formula in a Greek document is in the midst of the Anaphora of the 'Liturgy of St Mark'—that curiously composite Liturgy which comes to us from Alexandria. Here we read (Swainson, p. 30): 'Thou didst make all things through thy Wisdom, the true Light, thy only-begotten Son, our Lord and God and Saviour Jesus Christ; *through whom to thee, with him and the Holy Spirit*, we give thanks and offer. . . .'

The one exception, to which I have referred above, is the Prayer of St Polycarp's Martyrdom. The text printed by Lightfoot (or by Gebhardt, Harnack, and Zahn, 1877) runs as follows: δι' οὗ σοὶ σὺν αὐτῷ καὶ πνεύματι ἁγίῳ δόξα καὶ νῦν καὶ εἰς τοὺς μέλλοντας αἰῶνας. ἀμήν. We need not here cite the variants of the MSS, but only observe that Eusebius in quoting the passage writes ἐν (for καὶ) πνεύματι ἁγίῳ, a change which would be in harmony with his dogmatic position. The Latin version supports the reading of the text, which doubtless must be accepted. If then this Martyrdom was indeed written shortly after A.D. 156, we have the surprising phenomenon that the earliest doxology in

Digitized by Google

which the Holy Spirit is mentioned at all presents us with the stereotyped formula of the Ethiopic Church, a formula which also occurs once in the so-called Liturgy of St Mark. Here I leave the matter. It will be evident that I cannot admit the use which Dom Cagin makes of parallels drawn from this Prayer in his argument for the early date of the 'Apostolic Anaphora'. The beauty of this famous Martyrdom must not deter us from a fresh investigation of its genuineness. There are other reasons than the one which I have here alleged which will, I believe, shew that it cannot be a document of the second century.

I should wish, in conclusion, to call attention to the interesting Epilogue which Dom Cagin adds to his work. It deals first with the simplicity and sufficiency of the 'Apostolic Anaphora'; secondly, with the Prayers of the *Didachè*, for a fuller treatment of which he refers us to his larger work in which he maintained that they are not intended as Eucharistic in the liturgical sense, but as the Blessings at a Christian common meal, and that the Eucharist is not treated of at all until a later chapter of the book. Then he passes to a consideration of the Invocation of the Holy Spirit which is found in the 'Apostolic Anaphora'. His treatment of the structure of the Prayer at this point is interesting. After the Words of Institution—which are for him of course the Moment of Consecration—the Prayer contains in a single sentence '(1) the Anamnesis, (2) the priestly Oblation of the Sacrifice, (3) the Invocation asking for the co-operation of the Holy Spirit, to unite and confirm in the plenitude of His holiness those who are receivers together in the consummation of this Offering'. The words have been given above from the Latin and Ethiopic texts, and their general sense is clear, though the Latin is at one point corrupt and we cannot re-establish the Greek text with certainty. The Invocation here is simply a prayer for communicants that the virtue of the offering may be theirs for unity and holiness. Dom Cagin points out the sharp contrast between this prayer for communicants and the later Invocation into which it was transformed, when the doctrine of the Holy Spirit was in continual discussion in the fourth century, and the Holy Spirit's action was invoked to effect a change in the Bread and Wine, as in the various forms of the Consecratory Epiclesis of the Eastern Church. Dom Cagin does good service by insisting that such a Consecratory Epiclesis has no place in the primitive Anaphora,

Digitized by Google

whereas the prayer for communicants is a vital element which continues to find expression, though in different language, in the later forms of the Anaphora. This portion of his book deserves to be considered when we are again being threatened with an attempt to insert an Eastern patch into our own sufficient form of Western Liturgy.

The Epilogue is followed by a long Appendix, and these together make up nearly half the book. Seventy pages of the Appendix are devoted to a kindly but critical discussion of Dom Connolly's identification of the so-called Egyptian Church Order with the *Apostolic Tradition* mentioned in the inscription on the Chair of St Hippolytus. So far as his own thesis is concerned Dom Cagin is quite ready to welcome Dom Connolly's view; but he is not yet convinced of its truth, and he is glad as he says to have a hand in the game. His survey is instructive, though it is not easy to see what alternative solution he would propose.

I have selected some points—and one in particular—at which Dom Cagin's main argument appears to require modification. I hope that his book will be studied with care. Even those who in the end are unable to give the title 'Apostolic' to this ancient Anaphora will thank the veteran scholar for the attention which he has called to it, and the way in which he has expounded and illustrated it.

J. ARMITAGE ROBINSON.

Digitized by Google

NOTES AND STUDIES

SANCTORUM COMMUNIO AS AN ARTICLE IN THE CREED.

THE phrase *Sanctorum Communio* occurs in early formulae solely in places which lie on the great road from Asia Minor and the East, across the Bosphorus, through Pannonia to Aquileia, Milan, the Riviera, the South of France, to Spain, and in its northern fork over the Brenner, by the Lake of Constance to Northern France, Britain, and Ireland. Starting at the western end it is found in the Bangor Antiphonary of the seventh century; in the Book of Deer, and in the *dicta* Abbatis Priminii, probably an Irish monk, in the eighth century; and in an Anglo-Saxon Creed of the ninth century; in the Mozarabic Liturgy; in the Canons of the Council of Nîmes in 394; the Creeds of Faustus of Riez (Bp 449–482) and Caesarius of Arles (Bp 503–543), both of which probably sprang from Lérins; in a Gallican sermon attributed to St Augustine (*Serm.* Ap. 242); and in various forms in the Gallican Sacramentaries; in the missal of Bobbio—a monastery founded by Columban the Irishman after leaving Bregenz—and the Creed of Niceta of Remesiana (370–375). It occurs also in the Creed of Jerome, possibly that which he mentions in 378 as sent to Cyril of Jerusalem. This may be his native creed at Strymon, or he may have picked it up in the course of his travels down this road eastwards from the Balkans, or in his peregrinations in Asia Minor. And it occurs also in an Armenian Creed[1] which, though in its present form it cannot be earlier than the fifth century, contains a nucleus of high antiquity.

The Lower Rhone Valley was largely dominated by Greek influence. Pothinus and Irenaeus were bishops of Lyons, and the Marcosian heresy passed from Asia Minor to this region; and the Council of Nîmes speaks of presbyters and deacons coming from the east. Not merely the Gallican liturgies, but the whole *consuetudo ecclesiae*[2] abound in Oriental features. Dr Sanday[3] has traced the phrase *descendit in inferna* from Palestine to Constantinople, Nike, and Sirmium, and so to Aquileia; and the word *catholica* is obviously a Greek importation. Niceta[4] was indebted for his theology to Gregory Thaumaturgus of Pontus, Basil of Cappadocia, and Cyril of Jerusalem; among Latin writers he quotes only Cyprian; and his list of scriptural canticles is eastern rather than western in origin.[5] The word *communio* is rare in Latin writers, though it occurs with some frequency in Cicero, whose education was largely conducted by Greeks. When it is followed by

[1] Hahn *Bibliothek* p. 155.
[2] Duchesne *Christian Worship* p. 95 n.
[3] *J.T.S.* vol. iii p. 17.
[4] Burn *Niceta of Remesiana* p. cxxxix.
[5] *Ibid.* p. xciv.

Digitized by Google

a substantive in the genitive, the case is almost invariably either possessive or descriptive, a genitive of material or contents. The nearest approach to *sanctorum communio* is in Cyprian *Ep.* lxviii 9 *nisi se a communione malorum separaverint*, with which cp. Aug. *Ep.* cxli 5 (Migne, vol: ii, p. 579) *Hoc nos ostendimus . . . quia communio malorum non maculat aliquem participatione sacramentorum sed consensione factorum.* Here the phrase means 'their sect' as opposed to *communio nostra*, Aug. *Ps.* lvii 15 *imperatores nostrae communionis*, *Ep.* xliii 2 *nostrae communionis non estis.* In this sense *sanctorum communio* would be equivalent to the holy Catholic Church. *Communio*, meaning 'communion with', is followed by *cum. Non ineundam cum his communionem*, Sulp. Sev. ii 45. *Et qui nunc cognoscitis per auditum communionem habeatis cum sanctis martyribus, et per illos cum Domino Iesu Christo*, Praef. Pass. S. Perpetuae. *Cum illis sanctis qui in hac quam suscepimus fide defuncti sunt, societate et spei communione teneamur*, Ps. Aug. *Serm. de Tempore* clxxxi cap. 13. Similarly *sancti* rapidly took on in Latin the popular meaning of specially holy beings, as we find it in Tertullian,[1] and it was so used by the Donatists of their sect; while ἅγιος retained more firmly its sense of 'consecrated'. And these indications of Eastern influence are supported by the absence of the phrase from the creeds of Africa and Rome. We may then be assured that *sanctorum communio* was in origin eastern, that is, in language originally Greek.

And if we seek a common seed plot whence it could spread along the north-west road on the one side, and into Armenia on the other, we shall naturally look for it in Asia Minor; and though we cannot find it here in a Greek creed, yet we do find that the Marcosians, who imitated the Christian ceremonies, had in their baptismal creed κοινωνία τῶν δυνάμεων,[2] which points to a contemporary Christian Creed containing κοινωνία τῶν ἁγίων.

Let us now examine this evidence in greater detail with special reference to the interpretation to be put upon it.

(i) *The Council of Nîmes.*

Starting then with the earliest occurrence to which we can assign a definite date, the first Canon of Nîmes in 394[3] runs: 'In primis quia multi, de ultimis Orientis partibus venientes (*sc.* Manichaeans), presbyteros et diaconos se esse confingunt . . . (qui) sanctorum communione speciae (speciem?) simulatae religionis (*add* sibi) impraemunt (imprimunt): placuit nobis (*add* ut) si qui fuerint eiusmodi, si tamen communis ecclesiae causa non fuerit, ad ministerium altari (altaris) non admittantur.' Here there can be no doubt that what the presbyters

[1] *De Baptismo* c. xii.

[2] Irenaeus *adv. Haer.* I xiv 2.

[3] Héfélé ii p. 403.

Digitized by Google

and deacons were trying to obtain was the right to administer Holy Communion. That is, *sanctorum communio* is the communion of or in holy things.

(ii) *The Sermon* Simbolum graeca lingua est.

Next in date we put a Gallican sermon, *Simbolum graeca lingua est*; for though the sermon belongs in all probability to the sixth or seventh century it is based on earlier sources, which cannot well be later than the fourth, and may be a century earlier. The sermon occurs in Codex Sessorianus 52, in the Victor Emmanuel Library at Rome, a MS of the eleventh or twelfth century, based on a collection formed in the ninth century at Nonantula, in the south of Italy. It is also found, without the introduction on the meaning of the word *symbolum*, in Cod. Sangallensis 732 of the ninth century, and in a fuller shape in Cod. 73 of the eleventh century at Vésoul. Of these Cod. Sangallensis is certainly the most primitive.

Now in the article on the forgiveness of sins which follows that on the *sanctorum communio* the sermon mentions seven ways in which forgiveness may be obtained: (1) *in baptismo*; (2) *per paenitentiam*; (3) *per martyrium*; (4) *per indulgentiam inimicorum*; (5) *per veram contritionem* (i.e. *per opera misericordiae*); (6) *per eleemosinam*; (7) *per praedicationem* (i.e. by converting a sinner from the error of his ways).

This is the list as given in Cod. 73 of Vésoul. In Cod. Sangall. and Cod. Sessor. the list is the same in regard to six items, but has a variant, *doloribus multis*, for the seventh. The occurrence of *per martyrium* points back to a date for the source of the list not later than the first half of the fourth century, and therefore probably to a Greek source, and this is rendered all but certain by the occurrence of this list in Origen[1]: 'Est ista prima, qua baptizamur in remissionem peccatorum. Secunda remissio est in passione martyrii. Tertia est quae pro eleemosyna datur. . . . Quarta nobis fit remissio peccatorum per hoc quod et nos remittimus peccata fratribus nostris. . . . Quinta peccatorum remissio est cum converterit quis peccatorem ab errore viae suae. . . . Sexta quoque fit remissio per abundantiam charitatis. . . . Est adhuc et septima, licet dura et laboriosa, per paenitentiam remissio peccatorum, cum lavat peccator in lacrymis stratum suum, et fiunt ei lacrymae suae panes die et nocte, et cum non erubescit sacerdoti Domini indicare peccatum suum, et quaerere medicinam.'

The number seven in connexion with the methods of obtaining remission of sins is by no means common. It occurs in Cod. Ambros. M. 79 of the eleventh century, and in the Norwegian[2] formula of the thirteenth century; but in this latter the list is not composed of the

[1] *Hom. II in Levit.* § 4 opp., ed. 1840, Berlin, t. ix pp. 192, 193.

[2] Hahn, p. 125.

Digitized by Google

same items. Pseudo-Alcuin *De div. offic.* names four ways, and Leidrad, in the *Ep. de sacr. bapt. ad Carol.*, three ways. Thus it cannot be said that there was a widespread tradition of seven. But the Cod. Ambros. exactly corresponds with Origen and has: (1) *per baptismum*; (2) *per martyrium*; (3) *per eleemosinam*; (4) *si remittit quis peccanti in se peccata sua*; (5) *si per praedicationem suam aliquis et per bonorum operum ministerium alios ab errore suo convertit*; (6) *per caritatem*; (7) *per paenitentiam.* Here there can be little doubt that the writer of the Codex had Origen in front of him, either in the original text or in a translation. But this suggests that while the connexion of the paragraph in Cod. Sangall. with Origen is hardly doubtful, it is not so direct. The alteration in order and the substitution of *doloribus multis* for *per paenitentiam* is only to be accounted for if the author of the sermon was sufficiently acquainted with Origen to be aware of the number of his items and their general purport, but had not the text under his eye. That is to say, we are dealing with some one familiar with his teaching and thought, in a wide sense of the word a member of his school, rather than with a mere copyist.

But the explanation of the *sanctorum communio* given in this sermon is: 'Ibi est communicatio sancta (per invocationem) Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti, ubi omnes fideles diebus dominicis communicare debent.'

On this Dom Morin writes,[1] 'A propos de l'article *Sanctorum Communionem* on appelle l'obligation imposée à chaque fidèle de communier tous les dimanches; ce qui oblige d'assigner à la pièce une assez haute antiquité.' Certainly there is a probability on this side. When Christianity became the religion of the Roman Empire many flocked into the Church who were but half-converted pagans. The effect of this in the relaxation of the standard of Christian faith can be seen in Arianism, while in practice it largely contributed to a relaxation of the earlier rule of weekly communion such as we find in Justin Martyr.[2] Thus the twenty-first Canon of the Council of Elvira (*c.* 320) confines itself to attempting to enforce merely attendance at church, while the Council of Agde in 506 only laid upon the layman the obligation of communicating three times a year. Similarly Chrysostom insists on the moral dispositions necessary before communicating, and the evil of leaving before the close of the service, while he says that individuals communicated as infrequently as once a year, or even once in two years. Dom Morin has in his favour a considerable body of circumstantial evidence.

Thus the occurrence of martyrdom among the methods of obtaining remission of sin, the adoption of the views of Origen, and the reference to weekly communion, all contribute to suggest for the source from which the matter of this sermon is drawn an early date and the Greek

[1] *Revue Bénédictine* xiv, 1897, p. 481. [2] *Ap.* i 67.

Digitized by Google

language; and Greek would find its way to those parts of the western world, where it was not already established, along this great highway of intercourse near which in later times was the monastery of St Gall, whence, through Bâle and Belfort, there would be an easy connexion with Vésoul.

(iii) *Niceta of Remesiana.*

Coming next to Niceta's exposition, it will be necessary to give careful attention to the whole passage, which runs as follows[1]:

'Post confessionem beatae Trinitatis iam profiteris te credere sanctae ecclesiae catholicae (*al.* sanctam ecclesiam catholicam). Ecclesia quid est aliud quam sanctorum omnium congregatio? Ab exordio enim saeculi sive patriarchae, Abraham et Isaac et Iacob, sive prophetae, sive apostoli, sive martyres, sive ceteri iusti, qui fuerunt, qui sunt, qui erunt, una ecclesia sunt, quia una fide et conversatione sanctificati, uno Spiritu signati, unum corpus effecti sunt; cuius corporis caput Christus esse perhibetur et scriptum est. Adhuc amplius dico. Etiam angeli, etiam virtutes et potestates supernae in hac una confoederantur ecclesia, apostolo nos docente, quia *in Christo reconciliata sunt omnia, non solum quae in terra sunt, verum etiam quae in caelo.* Ergo in hac una ecclesia credis te communionem consecuturum esse sanctorum. Scito unam hanc esse ecclesiam catholicam in omni orbe terrae constitutam, cuius communionem debes firmiter retinere. Sunt quidem et aliae pseudo-ecclesiae, sed nihil tibi commune cum illis, ut puta Manichaeorum, Cataphrigarum, Marcionistarum, vel ceterorum haereticorum sive schismaticorum, quia iam desinunt esse ecclesiae istae sanctae, siquidem daemoniacis deceptae doctrinis aliter credunt, aliter agunt, quam Christus Dominus mandavit, quam apostoli tradiderunt. Credis deinde Remissionem Peccatorum. Haec est enim ratio gratiae quia credentes, Deum et Christum confitentes, consequuntur per baptisma remissionem suorum omnium peccatorum. Unde et regeneratio dicitur, quia plus homo innocens et purus redditur, quam cum de matris suae utero generatur. Consequenter credis et Carnis tuae Resurrectionem et Vitam Aeternam. Revera enim, si hoc non credis, frustra in Deum credis. Totum enim, quod credimus, propter nostram credimus resurrectionem. Alioquin, *si in hac vita tantum speramus in Christo, sumus* vere, ut ait apostolus, *miserabiliores omnibus hominibus*, quando utique ad hoc Christus carnem suscepit humanam, ut communionem vitae perpetuae mortali nostrae substantiae impertiret.'

We notice first of all *Sancta ecclesia catholica* is expounded as *sanctorum omnium congregatio*, that is Niceta is translating; he has found two Greek words in the Creed, and for the benefit of his hearers he puts them into Latin. *Ecclesia* is *congregatio*, a word which might well pass as equivalent except for the fact that *ecclesia* suggests a divine act of summons which *congregatio* does not. Then, avoiding *universalis*, he represents *catholica* by *omnium*. Here the equivalence is lost. *Ecclesia catholica* is no more a Church consisting of all men than

[1] *De Symbolo* c. 10.

Digitized by Google

a universal truth is a truth which is recognized by every one; indeed *catholica* came to be used in a sense exclusive of heretics, schismatics, and heathen, or as what would now be called a 'sectarian' title. Having thus employed a term which has too wide an application, he proceeds to limit it by changing *sancta* into *sanctorum*, and by *sancti* he means persons of exceptional holiness. That is, whereas Christians are *sancti* as members of a *sancta ecclesia*, he makes the Church *sancta* because it consists of *sancti*. Instead of saying that they are ἅγιοι by a divine consecration, he says the Church is ἅγια by a human correspondence with grace. In St Paul and in the Apocalypse ἅγιοι is used regularly as a synonym for Christians. In Ignatius and Polycarp this use is already being supplanted by that of ἀδελφοί, which occurs roughly in the proportion of three to one and in some cases where, if we come straight from the Pauline epistles, the alteration strikes our attention with a sudden jar, thus ἡ ἀγάπη τῶν ἀδελφῶν τῶν ἐν Τρωάδι (Ign. *ad Phil.* xi; *Smyrn.* xii), so that we are inclined to regard the use of ἅγιοι as a local Asian survival. By the time of Lucian so common and regular had ἀδελφοί become that he could seize upon it as a term of reproach well known to his heathen readers (see Oehler's note *u* on Tertullian *Apol.* xxxix vol. i p. 260), and it seems that just as the charge of cannibalism rested at least in part on a perversion of the language used about the Eucharist, so that of 'Oedipodoean connexions' was supported by this use of 'brother and sister'. In Latin it is hardly an exaggeration to say that except in direct quotation or indirect allusion *sancti* is never equivalent to Christians, its place being supplied by *fratres*, *Christiani*, *fideles*, or, more rarely, *fidentes*, but that it almost always implies personal holiness and most commonly has reference to the departed. Thus Niceta's translation has in fact altered the mental context and value of the terms he employs, and this Latinization or popularization leads him more astray as he proceeds.

Having in his mind *omnes sancti*, he cannot well exclude Old Testament saints, especially as they were very possibly commemorated in the Eucharistic thanksgiving which he employed. Nevertheless their inclusion in the Christian Church needed some justification, a justification which, when it appears, is quite clearly forced. He could well maintain that they held implicitly the Christian faith and lived accordingly; but he could not help being vividly conscious at a baptismal service that a right faith and a good life did not of themselves confer membership in the Church. Accordingly he introduced *uno Spiritu signati*, where the *signati* is a definitely sacramental term probably referring to the marking with the cross which we know was in use in baptism at Aquileia in the time of Rufinus. The phrase itself seems to have a Pauline flavour ἐσφραγίσθητε τῷ πνεύματι . . . τῷ ἁγίῳ Eph. i 13;

Digitized by Google

ἐν ᾧ ἐσφραγίσθητε iv 30; ὁ καὶ σφραγισάμενος ἡμᾶς καὶ δοὺς τὸν ἀρραβῶνα τοῦ πνεύματος 2 Cor. i 22; ἐν ἑνὶ πνεύματι . . . ἐβαπτίσθημεν εἴτε Ἰουδαῖοι εἴτε Ἕλληνες . . . καὶ πάντες ἓν πνεῦμα ἐποτίσθημεν 1 Cor. xii 13; ἓν σῶμα καὶ ἓν πνεῦμα . . . ἓν βάπτισμα Eph. iv 4, 5; but it is certain St Paul would not have recognized that an unbaptized Jew, however pious, was a Christian. Proceeding on this line Niceta could hardly exclude the angels, who are pre-eminently *sancti*, but probably St Paul and certainly the author of the epistle to the Hebrews would not have reckoned as members of the Body of Christ those who are ministers to the members of the Body,[1] who themselves have no bodies, and whose nature Christ did not take. Niceta himself seems to have felt the difficulty, and to overcome it falls back either on a corrupt text of St Paul or more probably alters and adapts him. St Paul had said[2] εὐδόκησεν . . . δι' αὐτοῦ ἀποκαταλλάξαι τὰ πάντα εἰς αὐτόν, but he can hardly be thought to have imagined that the holy angels, which left not their first estate, needed an ἀποκατάλλαξις, and in any case the statement of the divine purpose is not the same as the statement that it has already been fulfilled.

The truth appears to be that Niceta has started off with a non-sacramental explanation of a sacramental body—a body which has an outward and visible expression in men and women, and an inward and invisible life, the life of the exalted Christ. In the course of his explanation he diverges further and further away, but endeavours to recall himself by stating that the patriarchs and others had the *sigillum* of the Spirit (which he was shortly going to impart to the neophytes) and by twisting the language of St Paul; the origin of his divergence being the translation of *sancta ecclesia* into *sanctorum congregatio*, followed by his choosing the more obvious though less correct interpretation of this ambiguous phrase.

But when he comes to the next article no choice of language is possible. *Sanctorum communio* stands as part of the creed that he is expounding. We cannot, therefore, infer that he is using *sanctorum* in the same sense in this passage as it has already borne previously. A little consideration will make this clear. If *omnium sanctorum congregatio* had followed *sanctorum communio*, it would be a legitimate inference that Niceta was pursuing the same line of thought, and in consequence that the unambiguous sense of *sanctorum* in the second instance determined the sense of it in Niceta's mind in the quotation from the creed. But as it stands, even if he felt the ambiguity and would have preferred to say *communio sacramentorum* as St Augustine[3]

[1] Heb. i 14. [2] Col. i 20.

[3] 'Ecclesia Dei vivi . . .: quae malos in fine separandos, a quibus interim discedit disparilitate morum, tolerat in communione sacramentorum' s. ccxiv 11 'In redditione symboli'.

Digitized by Google

does say, he has no option, and his meaning can therefore only be learnt from his subsequent words. Passing on, therefore, to the next two sentences, we find there is a *communio ecclesiae*, and this *communio* means the possession of a *commune aliquid*, which the heretics are without. This *commune* has two sides to it, that of creed, *aliter credunt*, and that of action, *aliter agunt*. That the heretics differed in creed from the teaching of our Lord and the tradition of the apostles is obvious, or they would not be heretics, but how do they differ in action? Niceta is not speaking of the private life of Christians as individuals but of the corporate action of the Church, as the creed was the common or corporate profession, and this *actio* is a *mandatum Domini*. What corporate actions did Christ prescribe? The obvious answer is, first, baptism. Niceta is speaking at a baptismal service; he was not ignorant of the gospels; he would have no critical doubts as to the authenticity of the last verses of St Matthew; the neophytes would naturally imagine him to be referring to the sacrament he was administering and they receiving. But if he referred to one great sacrament of the gospel, it is probable also that he referred to the other. And now look at the precise terms of reference *quam Christus Dominus mandavit, quam apostoli tradiderunt*. Has he any apostle specially in mind? Certainly if he has, St Paul would be the most likely. He had preached round about as far as Illyricum,[1] his collection of epistles were often called '*the* apostle', he is quoted in the neighbouring context *apostolo nos docente, ut ait apostolus*, and seems to be tacitly referred to even when not explicitly mentioned, so that it does not appear unfair to translate *apostoli* St Paul and the other apostles. And now what else besides baptism is involved in the *mandatum Domini* Παρέλαβον ἀπὸ τοῦ Κυρίου, ὃ καὶ παρέδωκα ὑμῖν, ὅτι ὁ Κύριος Ἰησοῦς . . . ἔλαβεν ἄρτον κτλ.,[2] with which we may compare οἱ γὰρ ἀπόστολοι . . . οὕτως παρέδωκαν ἐντετάλθαι αὐτοῖς· τὸν Ἰησοῦν λαβόντα ἄρτον κτλ.[3] and *Eucharistiae sacramentum et in tempore victus et omnibus mandatum a Domino sumimus*.[4] In the next sentence we have *consequuntur per baptisma remissionem peccatorum*, which reminds us of the previous use of *consequor*, *communionem consecuturum esse sanctorum*. Finally we come to *Christus suscepit carnem ut communionem vitae perpetuae mortali nostrae substantiae impertiret*. The phrase is not so strong as Rufinus's *huius carnis resurrectionem*,[5] but reminds us of οὕτως καὶ τὰ σώματα ἡμῶν μεταλαμβάνοντα τῆς εὐχαριστίας μηκέτι εἶναι φθαρτά, τὴν ἐλπίδα τῆς εἰς αἰῶνας ἀναστάσεως ἔχοντα[6] and πῶς δεκτικὴν μὴ εἶναι λέγουσι τὴν σάρκα τῆς δωρεᾶς τοῦ θεοῦ

[1] Rom. xv 19.
[2] 1 Cor. xi 23–25.
[3] Justin Mart. *Ap.* i 66.
[4] Tertull. *de Cor. Mil.* 3.
[5] See *Symb. App.* 36.
[6] Iren. *c. Haer.* IV xxxi 3.

Digitized by Google

ἥτις ἐστὶ ζωὴ αἰώνιος[1]; and especially of ἐάν τις φάγῃ ἐκ τούτου τοῦ ἄρτου ζήσει εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα . . . ὁ τρώγων μου τὴν σάρκα καὶ πίνων μου τὸ αἷμα ἔχει ζωὴν αἰώνιον.[2] Certainly if Niceta's flock had been asked how does our Lord impart the *communio vitae perpetuae* there could be little doubt of their answer. And then compare the construction of *communionem vitae perpetuae* with that of *communionem sanctorum.*

The allusions to Holy Communion are covert and suggestive rather than explicit, but that is precisely what we should expect. Niceta's discourse betrays more than one point of similarity with the catechetical lectures of Cyril of Jerusalem, and on comparing them with the lectures 'On the Mysteries' which followed after baptism we see that while in the former there is little or no reference to the Eucharist, in the latter his treatment on the point is full and explicit, and indeed he states this himself: οὐδὲ τῶν μυστηρίων ἐπὶ κατηχουμένων λευκῶς λαλοῦμεν. ἀλλὰ πολλὰ πολλάκις λέγομεν ἐπικεκαλυμμένως, ἵνα οἱ εἰδότες πιστοὶ νοήσωσι, καὶ οἱ μὴ εἰδότες μὴ βλαβῶσι.[3]

In conclusion put together these phrases: 'In ecclesia credis te communionem consecuturum esse sanctorum . . . cuius communionem debes retinere . . . Sunt pseudo-ecclesiae sed nihil tibi commune cum illis, aliter credunt, aliter agunt, quam Dominus mandavit, quam apostoli tradiderunt. Consequuntur per baptisma remissionem peccatorum. Consequenter credis et Carnis tuae Resurrectionem et Vitam Aeternam. Ad hoc Christus carnem suscepit humanam ut communionem vitae perpetuae mortali nostrae substantiae impertiret.'

It is impossible not to feel a sacramental reference running right through and starting from *communio sanctorum.* Or we may ask by what public acts the *communio ecclesiae* was to be maintained except by baptism, by the confession of the creed which was never used except in connexion with baptism, and by communion. Is not the reference in *Ergo* not only to the faith and conversation which precede, but also to the baptism and communion which follow? And if this is granted, does not the main reason for taking *sanctorum* as masculine in *communionem sanctorum* fall to the ground? But even if we allow that to Niceta *sanctorum communio* meant 'communion of' or 'with the saints', it does not follow that κοινωνία τῶν ἁγίων would bear the same signification. We have already observed the looseness of Niceta's translation, and both West of him, as we have seen, and East of him on the road along which it passed, κοινωνία τῶν ἁγίων meant the participation of Christians in something, or more probably participation in holy things.

[1] Iren. *c. Haer.* V ii 3. [2] John vi 51, 54.

[3] *Lect. Catech.* vi 39; cp. Tertull. *Apol.* vii; Basil. *de Spir. S.* xxvii; Lact. *Inst.* vii, xxv.

Digitized by Google

(iv) *Faustus of Riez* et al.

This perversion of the meaning of *sancti* as a translation of οἱ ἅγιοι from divine consecration, and consequently human obligation, to the success of human effort in correspondence with grace, comes to its full stature in Faustus of Riez, who justifies the veneration of saints by an appeal to the Creed. In his homily on the Creed[1] he contrasts the 'communion of saints' with the 'Catholic Church', a singularly unpauline and unbiblical usage. 'The Catholic Church is the Church diffused by the light of grace throughout the world. Let us believe *also* in the communion of saints; but let us venerate the saints . . . for God's honour and glory. Let us reverence in the saints their fear and love of God, the merits which are not of their own but which they have merited to receive for devotion. They deserve such veneration, since their contempt of death teaches us to serve God and to long for the life to come.' Here it is clear that the original meaning of the clause has been completely forgotten, and it is being employed for a controversial purpose in favour of the growing cultus of the martyrs, which the Aquitanian priest Vigilantius had vainly sought to check.

In another Gallican sermon on the Creed[2] the defence degenerates into intemperate censure of the Vigilantian party: 'This clause in the Creed confounds those who blasphemously deny that the ashes of the saints are to be had in honour. . . . Such persons have sinned against the Creed and lied to Christ in the font.'

Somewhat similar in the restricted sense of the word 'saint' is a Gallican sermon falsely attributed to St Augustine[3]: 'The Communion of saints, that is the fellowship and hope of communion by which we are joined to those saints who have departed in the faith that we have received.' While another old commentator remarks that 'whereas in this life the gifts of the Holy Spirit appear to be unequally divided, in eternity they will be shared in common, so that each will find his deficiences supplied by the virtues of others',[4] where the fellowship contemplated is altogether removed to the sphere of the future life.

In another sermon, also falsely ascribed to St Augustine,[5] we seem to get back to the meaning of *sanctorum* given by the Council of Nîmes, and the sermon *Simbolum graeca lingua est*: 'Credentes ergo sanctam ecclesiam catholicam, sanctorum habentes communionem, quia ubi fides sancta, ibi est sancta communio, credere vos quoque in corporum resurrectionem et remissionem peccatorum oportet. Omne sacramentum

[1] Caspari *Anecdota* i 338.
[2] Caspari *Alte und neue Quellen* p. 273.
[3] *Sermo* 242.
[4] *Sermo* 402.
[5] *Sermo* 241.

Digitized by Google

baptismi in hoc constat, ut resurrectionem corporum et remissionem peccatorum nobis a Deo praestanda credamus.'

Here *sanctorum communionem* is clearly communion in holy things, that is in sacraments, and it is so taken by Kattenbusch [1] and Zahn. This sermon is generally supposed to be Gallican in origin, but Kattenbusch [2] thinks it was known to Pirminius, and may possibly be Irish. There seems also to be a connexion between the creed of Pirminius and that on the last page of the Book of Deer, and this, as we have seen, contains *sanctorum communionem*. Finally *sanctorum communionem* occurs in the Bangor Antiphonary.

It is noteworthy that in all formularies, as distinct from expositions, the order *sanctorum communionem* is invariable. And it is difficult to find any other explanation of this phenomenon except that all came from a single source. If we allow that the phrase existed in popular speech before it became formularized, its occurrence in the Canon of the Council of Nîmes compels us to look for it not later than 350. The comparative rarity of the word *communio* as compared with such equivalent terms as *communicatio*, *societas*, or *consortium*, and the rapid tendency to limit *sancti* to persons of exceptional holiness, and especially to departed saints, suggest that the phrase arose in a Greek- rather than a Latin-speaking country. Moreover the fact that all the early instances lie on the great road from the east to Ireland on the north and Spain on the south, and that a wave of eastern influence passed along it at about this period conveying with it other phrases of the Creed, and the oriental features of the Gallican Church and Liturgy, suggests that our search should be directed towards eastern lands; while the occurrence of the phrase in an Armenian Creed defines Asia Minor as the seat of origin, as being the district whence the formula could spread both west and south.

And this view is strongly confirmed by the fact that the earliest known use of κοινωνία in the Creed is in a formula of the Marcosians, (εἰς) κοινωνίαν τῶν δυνάμεων, given in Irenaeus.[3] Here the meaning of 'participation in' or 'communication of' is supported not only by Biblical usage, but by the fact that Marcus [4] himself claimed to possess δυνάμεις, and proved it by pretending to work miracles; and also by the context c. xiv 1 Λέγουσι δὲ αὐτὴν ἀναγκαίαν εἶναι τοῖς τὴν τελείαν γνῶσιν εἰληφόσιν, ἵνα εἰς τὴν ὑπὲρ πάντα δύναμιν ὦσιν ἀναγεγεννημένοι. Ἄλλως γὰρ ἀδύνατον ἐντὸς πληρώματος εἰσελθεῖν. And so it was understood by the translator, who interprets it as *communionem virtutum*. Irenaeus accuses these gnostics, and probably rightly, of imitating the

[1] *Das apost. Symbol* ii 945.
[2] *Ibid.* 769 ff.
[3] *adv. Haer.* I, c. xiv 2, ed. Harvey, vol. i p. 183.
[4] *Ibid.* c. vii.

Digitized by Google

Christian mysteries, among which was baptism; and he gives the baptismal formula used by a certain sect of them.

οἱ δὲ ἄγουσιν ἐφ' ὕδωρ, καὶ βαπτίζοντες οὕτως ἐπιλέγουσιν·
εἰς ὄνομα ἀγνώστου πατρὸς τῶν ὅλων,
εἰς Ἀλήθειαν μητέρα πάντων,
εἰς τὸν κατελθόντα εἰς Ἰησοῦν,
εἰς ἕνωσιν,
καὶ ἀπολύτρωσιν,
καὶ κοινωνίαν τῶν δυνάμεων.

Knowing the intimate connexion between the Christian baptismal formula and the baptismal creed it is impossible not to regard this as a parody of the latter.

Ἄγνωστος is, of course, a regular Gnostic word; thus we have in c. xii περὶ τοῦ προπάτορος αὐτῶν, ὃς ἄγνωστος ἦν . . ., and in c. xiii περὶ τοῦ ἀγνώστου τοῖς πᾶσι πατρός. πατὴρ τῶν ὅλων has its analogy in Justin Martyr *Ap.* i 61 ἐπ' ὀνόματος γὰρ τοῦ πατρὸς τῶν ὅλων καὶ δεσπότου θεοῦ . . . τὸ . . . λουτρὸν ποιοῦνται.

Ἀλήθεια seems to be identified with the heavenly Adam of 1 Cor. xv 45–47 ὁ ἔσχατος Ἀδὰμ (ἐγένετο) εἰς πνεῦμα ζωοποιοῦν . . . ὁ δεύτερος ἄνθρωπος ἐξ οὐρανοῦ, with which cp. θέλω δέ σοι καὶ αὐτὴν ἐπιδεῖξαι τὴν Ἀλήθειαν. κατήγαγον γὰρ αὐτὴν ἐκ τῶν ὑπερθεν δωμάτων . . . Ὅρα οὖν κεφαλὴν ἄνω τὸ ἄλφα καὶ τὸ ω . . . Καὶ καλεῖ τὸ στοιχεῖον τοῦτο Ἄνθρωπον. . . . Καὶ ἀνοίξασαν τὸ στόμα λαλῆσαι λόγον. τὸν δὲ λόγον ὄνομα γενέσθαι, καὶ τὸ ὄνομα γένεσθαι τοῦτο, ὃ γινώσκομεν καὶ λαλοῦμεν Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν *adv Haer.* viii 4, 5, and Ps. xlv 1 ἐξηρεύξατο ἡ καρδία μου λόγον ἀγαθόν, Jn. i 14 ὁ λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο and xiv 6 Ἐγώ εἰμι ἡ ἀλήθεια. And moreover Ἀλήθεια was the offspring of the supreme Father, xii 2, xiii 2.

The third clause refers to the Holy Spirit, *qui in eo descenderit spiritus* xiv 1 (the Greek here appears to be defective).

Ἑνότης, Ἕνωσις, Ἑνοῦσθαι are frequent in Ignatius in connexion with the Church. And Zahn (*Das apost. Symbol*, 1893, p. 32) thinks that the words 'A holy Church' were contained in Marcion's baptismal confession.

Finally Ἀπολύτρωσις recalls Col. i 14 ἐν ᾧ ἔχομεν τὴν ἀπολύτρωσιν τὴν ἄφεσιν τῶν ἁμαρτίων.

There should then be some clause in the Christian baptismal Creed corresponding to κοινωνία τῶν δυνάμεων, a clause which follows the expression of belief in Holy Church, and this can hardly be other than κοινωνία τῶν ἁγίων, a participation in or communication of holy things.

The Meaning of the Phrase.

We have now to examine the meaning of the phrase, and the evidence for this is threefold: Greek grammatical usage, early exposition, and the

Digitized by Google

fact that we are dealing with an article of the Creed in which 'I believe' implies assent not only to the existence but also to the value of the several items, and reliance upon them. As regards the first of these our field of enquiry is limited. κοινωνία occurs frequently in the New Testament; three times in Irenaeus, besides the instance in the Marcosian Creed; and (though Dr Swete[1] could say that it seemed to have no place in the sub-apostolic fathers, or in the apologists of the second century) it occurs twice in the *Apology* of Justin Martyr. But as we have said, the earliest occurrence of the full phrase seems to be in the Canon of the Council of Nîmes.

New Testament: What is the κοινόν τι ?

If there is a κοινωνία, there are κοινωνοί who are many and a κοινόν τι which is one. What are the common possessions of Christians, or to what things in the New Testament is given the predicate 'one'? The answer works out into a curious resemblance of the Apostles' Creed.

There is One Faith which we all believe,
One God
The Father of all
One Lord Jesus Christ
One Spirit
One Church
One Baptism
One Bread
One Hope of our calling, i. e. of Everlasting Life.

Usage of the Word κοινωνία (A) *in the New Testament.*

In the New Testament though the phrase κοινωνία τῶν ἁγίων does not occur, the single word κοινωνία in varying constructions occurs frequently.

A. Absolutely, 'the right hand of fellowship' Gal. ii 9, and 'forget not well-doing and fellowship' Heb. xiii 16.

B. With the genitive, subdivided into two classes:

(1) adjectival or possessive, 'your fellowship in furtherance of the gospel' Phil. i 5; 'if there be in Christ, comfort, loving consolation, spiritual fellowship' ii 1; 'fellowship of thy faith' Philem. 6, and

(2) partitive, 'communion in His Son' 1 Cor. i 9, with which compare 'partakers of Christ' Heb. iii 14; 'communion in the blood and in the body' 1 Cor. x 16; 'fellowship in ministration' 2 Cor. viii 4; 'communion of the Holy Ghost' 2 Cor. xiii 13: cp. 'partakers of the

[1] *The Holy Catholic Church* p. 152.

Digitized by Google

Holy Ghost' Heb. vi 4 and 'partakers of the divine nature' 2 Pet. i 4; 'fellowship in His sufferings' Phil. iii 10.

C. With prepositions meaning 'fellowship with':

(1) μετά with genitive, 1 John i 3 'fellowship with us . . . our fellowship with the Father'; 6 'with Him; 7 'with one another'.

(2) πρός with acc., 2 Cor. vi 14 'What fellowship has light with darkness?'

Accordingly, if Biblical analogy be followed, οἱ ἅγιοι must of course mean all Christians, and the phrase κοινωνία τῶν ἁγίων would mean 'communion in holy things' or 'the fellowship which all Christians have' —in something undefined. But of such a personal and absolute use the New Testament seems to furnish no instance, for in Phil. i 5, the nearest parallel, the κοινωνία is defined as εἰς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, while κοινωνία meaning 'communion with' is always followed by μετά, as in St John, or πρός, as in 2 Cor. vi 16. On the other hand, a noun in the genitive following κοινωνία is always either descriptive or partitive.

There remains Acts ii 42:

ἦσαν προσκαρτεροῦντες τῇ διδαχῇ τῶν ἀποστόλων, καὶ τῇ κοινωνίᾳ,
τῇ κλάσει τοῦ ἄρτου, καὶ ταῖς προσευχαῖς.

But here τῇ κοινωνίᾳ is used absolutely, for (1) Precedents would seem to shew that communion with the apostles should be expressed by μετά or πρός. (2) It is commonly thought that each of these words is used technically, as is certainly the case with τῇ κλάσει τοῦ ἄρτου, and κοινωνία in a technical sense means not communion with, but contribution to, or community of goods. (3) The Greek would more naturally require τῇ διδαχῇ καὶ τῇ κοινωνίᾳ τῶν ἀποστόλων or τῇ τῶν ἀποστόλων διδαχῇ καὶ κοινωνίᾳ. (4) The rhythm or sound of the sentence is against joining τῇ κοινωνίᾳ with τῶν ἀποστόλων. (5) This argument is strengthened by the analogy of the succeeding clause where it is impossible to translate 'in the breaking and the prayers of the bread'. (6) The next verses are a comment on this. The teaching of the apostles was enforced by the working of signs and wonders, the breaking of the bread was κατ' οἶκον and αἱ προσευχαί included the θυσία αἰνέσεως, and similarly therefore the κοινωνία meant that they had all things κοινά because they made a κοινωνία of them, that is διεμέριζον. (7) The Vulgate has *perseverantes in doctrina Apostolorum, et communicatione fractionis panis et orationibus.*

(B) *In the Early Fathers.*

Justin Martyr's *Apology* follows the lines of Biblical usage. The only instance of κοινωνία followed by a genitive is καὶ ὅτι ἀληθῆ λέγω, εἰ μὴ ἀνηνέχθησαν ὑμῖν αἱ κοινωνίαι τῶν λόγων, ἕτοιμος καὶ ἐφ' ὑμῖν κοινωνεῖν τῶν ἐρωτήσεων *Apol.* II viii 5, where τῶν λόγων is clearly a genitive of

Digitized by Google

material or contents, 'interchange of arguments'. Cp. LXX Sap. viii 18 *εὔκλεια ἐν κοινωνίᾳ λόγων αὐτῆς*. Of the verb there are three other instances in the First Apology: I xiv 2 *ἃ ἔχομεν εἰς κοινὸν φέροντες καὶ παντὶ δεομένῳ κοινωνοῦντες*; I xv 10 *εἰς δὲ τὸ κοινωνεῖν τοῖς δεομένοις*; I xxvi 6 *οἱ οὐ κοινωνοῦντες τῶν αὐτῶν δογμάτων*; a similar genitive to that with the substantive *κοινωνία*, the things in common being *δόγματα*, and such a genitive in the regular construction with the adjective *κοινωνός*.

Of the three passages in Irenaeus the first suffers under a difficulty of reading. *Πῶς . . . τὴν σάρκα λέγουσιν εἰς φθορὰν χωρεῖν, καὶ μὴ μετέχειν τῆς ζωῆς, τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ τοῦ αἵματος αὐτοῦ τρεφομένην; ἢ τὴν γνώμην ἀλλαξάτωσαν, ἢ τὸ προσφέρειν τὰ εἰρημένα παραιτείσθωσαν. ἡμῶν δὲ σύμφωνος ἡ γνώμη τῇ εὐχαριστίᾳ καὶ ἡ εὐχαριστία βεβαιοῖ τὴν γνώμην. προσφέρομεν δὲ αὐτῷ τὰ ἴδια, ἐμμελῶς κοινωνίαν καὶ ἕνωσιν ἀπαγγέλλοντες* [*καὶ ὁμολογοῦντες*] *σαρκὸς καὶ πνεύματος* [*ἔγερσιν*]. *ὡς γὰρ ἀπὸ γῆς ἄρτος προσλαμβανόμενος τὴν ἔκκλησιν τοῦ θεοῦ οὐκέτι κοινὸς ἄρτος ἐστίν, ἀλλ' εὐχαριστία, ἐκ δύο πραγμάτων συνεστηκυῖα, ἐπιγείου τε καὶ οὐρανίου· οὕτως καὶ τὰ σώματα ἡμῶν μεταλαμβάνοντα τῆς εὐχαριστίας, μηκέτι εἶναι φθαρτά, τὴν ἐλπίδα τῆς εἰς αἰῶνας ἀναστάσεως ἔχοντα, adv. Haer.* IV xxxi 4. The bracketed words are rejected as an interpolation by Grabe and Harvey, but defended by Massuet. The translation has *communicationem et unitatem praedicantes carnis et spiritus*.

If the bracketed words are omitted, either *σαρκὸς καὶ πνεύματος* forms a single expression and both genitives are qualitative, 'a fleshly and spiritual communion', or *σαρκός* is a possessive and *πνεύματος* an objective genitive, 'our flesh participates in spirit', *μετέχει πνεύματος*, as it is said *μετέχειν τῆς ζωῆς*.

The sense of *κοινωνία* is elucidated by the second passage *ὅσα τὴν πρὸς θεὸν τηρεῖ φιλίαν, τούτοις τὴν ἰδίαν παρέχει κοινωνίαν* (*κοινωνία* in Himself). *κοινωνία δὲ θεοῦ*,[1] *ζωή, καὶ φῶς, καὶ ἀπόλαυσις τῶν παρ' αὐτοῦ ἀγαθῶν* V xxvii 2. 'Quicunque erga eum custodiunt dilectionem, suam his praestat communionem. Communio autem Dei, vita, et lumen, et fruitio eorum quae sunt apud Eum bonorum.' Here the construction is indubitable and the meaning parallel to 2 Pet. i 4 *ἵνα γένησθε θείας κοινωνοὶ φύσεως*. And a genitive of material or contents follows also in the remaining passage I i 18 *τὴν τῆς συζυγίας κοινωνίαν*. On the other hand when *κοινωνία* means 'communion with' it is followed by *πρός* as is shewn by the Latin translation of IV xxxi 2 'si quis . . . non recte dividat eam quae est ad proximum communionem', representing an original Greek *ἐὰν μὴ ὀρθῶς διέλῃ τὴν πρὸς τὸν πλησίον κοινωνίαν*, that which is common to both parties, their common property or possession; cp. 2 Cor. vi 14 referred to above.

[1] Cp. III xix 6 *εἰ μὴ συνηνώθη ὁ ἄνθρωπος τῷ Θεῷ, οὐκ ἂν ἠδυνήθη μετασχεῖν ἀφθαρσίας . . .* Qua enim ratione filium adoptionis eius participes esse possemus, nisi per Filium eam quae est ad ipsum recepissemus ab eo communionem?

Digitized by Google

These instances make it clear that κοινωνία τῶν ἁγίων cannot mean communion with the saints; it might mean *either* that communion which the saints enjoy, the genitive being a possessive genitive, *or* communion in the holy things; and if the mere preponderance of instances were a sufficient ground for decision, in all probability it would be the latter.

But if we take the former meaning we must examine it rather more closely.

Do we then believe in the intercommunion of the saints? Certainly it is a fact; it flows from the unity of the Church, and the Church is a body instinct with a divine life, is a divine creation. But it is not so much that it flows from the unity of the Church, but rather that the two are interdependent, the unity of the Church depending in its turn on the intercommunion of its members, and were there no such communion there would not be one Church. In short, the unity of the Church and the communion of its members are two different modes of expressing the same thing, and to indulge in repetitions is not only contrary to the analogy of the structure of the Christian Creed, but also to the analogy of the Marcosian formula, where the two articles are clearly distinguished, since εἰς ἕνωσιν cannot be identified with εἰς κοινωνίαν τῶν δυνάμεων. Moreover, do we believe in the unity of the Church? In the sense in which 'believe' is used in the Creed the answer must be No. For such belief is not a mere assent to the truth of a proposition, but of reliance, and we do not rely on some quality or attribute of the Church but on the Church itself, as a divinely ordered means of salvation, and even if the Christian Creed of Asia Minor in the time of Irenaeus had not εἰς μίαν ἐκκλησίαν, &c., but only εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, the same idea would be expressed with sufficient precision.

Whatever may be the modern view, in the early ages of Christianity both catholics and heretics agreed that outside the Church salvation was insecure, and in their more passionate moments they might declare that it was impossible; but each party claimed to constitute the true Church. Similarly both asserted the need of sacraments as the means by which eternal life was imparted, but each denied that the other had any real sacraments.[1] That is, each relied on God and on His acts; the Church was a God-created society, sacraments were divinely-appointed ordinances, and both were for salvation; but neither catholics nor heretics would have said that without the intercession or influence or example of the saints there was no salvation; the intercession they relied on was Christ's intercession, the example they valued His example, and the influence by which they were moved His Spirit.

Niceta was right in what he meant when he said 'Totum quod credi-

[1] Cp. Tert. *de Bapt.* xv.

Digitized by Google

mus, propter nostram credimus resurrectionem'. As God alone can give resurrection and eternal life, it is on Him alone and His acts that we rely. And Faustus was so far right when, like the *Quicumque*, he conjoined faith and worship. To believe is to ascribe worth, and we believe in Him Whom we worship. It is true that we rely on something which the saints possess in common, a *commune aliquid* or κοινόν τι, but that is not on their feelings or their activities, but on a divine gift which God gives both to them and to us.

What then is this divine gift? Is it the Church itself? Such a supposition, though possible as a meaning of the Greek words, is negatived not only by the structure of the Creed, but by the fact that the collocation of 'the Church' and 'the Communion of Saints' is by no means universal, and that when it does occur the two articles are sometimes separated in other ways. Thus in the Creed attached to the Antiphonary of Bangor *abremissa peccatorum* is placed before *sanctorum communionem*, separating it from *ecclesiam catholicam*, and a later Armenian Creed[1] has the same arrangement. In Miss. Gall. i the interpunctuation assigns to Article 9 *sanctum Spiritum*, *sanctam ecclesiam catholicam*, and places *sanctorum communionem*, *remissionem peccatorum* in Article 10. Similarly where separate articles are assigned to individual apostles, Pirminius gives *sanctorum communionem*, *remissionem peccatorum* to St Jude, the brother of James, as Article 11; pseudo-Augustine S. 241, to Simon Zelotes as Article 10; while the Book of Deer joins *sanctam ecclesiam* by *que* to *Spiritum sanctum*; and a Gallican form of Creed of the tenth or eleventh century[2] joins *sanctorum communionem* with *remissionem peccatorum* by *et*, where the second form of the Gallican missal has *ac*, unless this be a mistake for *ab*-remissionem.

But if κοινωνία τῶν ἁγίων is neither the unity of the Church or intercommunion of the saints as an abstract quality, nor their mutual influence, nor a synonym for the Church as a concrete body, but some other gift of God in which all Christians take a share, what then is it?

Theologically it might be a reiteration of any of the articles of the Creed, including faith itself, for all these are gifts of God whose purpose is eternal life. Yet not only is the general character of the Creed against this view, but it is impossible to imagine that such a summary statement should be placed in the midst of it. If we suppose that the articles of the Creed are arranged not merely in a historic, but in a logical order, κοινωνία τῶν ἁγίων must be on the one side closely connected with the Church and on the other with remission of sins. This is so far independent of the question whether τῶν ἁγίων be masculine or neuter; in any case the κοινωνία is a μετοχὴ τῶν ἁγίων in

[1] Catergian *de fidei symbolo quo Armenii utuntur*, Vienna, 1893, p. 39.
[2] Hahn, p. 82

Digitized by Google

something, and the things must be ἅγια as being divine gifts, so that the full phrase would be ἡ τῶν ἁγίων κοινωνία τῶν ἁγίων, the communion of the holy ones in the holy things. At this point, consequently, we must enquire what occupies this position in other eastern Creeds, what would be suggested to the minds of early Christians by κοινωνία, whether there was anything which was specifically known as τὰ ἅγια, and finally how far does our conclusion fill an obvious gap.

The answer to our first question is not doubtful. The place of κοινωνία τῶν ἁγίων is all but universally filled in eastern Creeds by βάπτισμα. This is true not only of our present 'Nicene' Creed, which in all probability is derived through Constantinople from Antioch, but also of the Creeds of Cyril of Jerusalem, the Nestorian Creed, the longer Armenian Creed, and the Ethiopian Creed. Nor in the mind of the early Church could the intercommunion of Christians be separated from the rite in which they first received as a common possession the life of which that intercommunion is a manifestation. But it is no less clear that neither could it be separated from the other sacrament by which that life is sustained. Participation in the Eucharist was regarded not only as a sign of union, but as the means of it. And, on the other hand, to be excluded from it was to be excluded from the Church as a body, though not so excluded as to be incapable of restoration.

If we consider together as a single group the words κοινωνεῖν, κοινωνία, κοινωνικὰ γράμματα, ἀκοινωνητός, ἀκοινωνησία there is no mistaking their suggestion. The first of them occurs in the letter of Irenaeus to Victor. καὶ τούτων οὕτως ἐχόντων, ἐκοινώνησαν ἑαυτοῖς· καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ παρεχώρησεν ὁ Ἀνίκητος τὴν εὐχαριστίαν Πολυκάρπῳ. No doubt these words had other meanings and synonyms; εὐχαριστία was a more common term for the service; μετάληψις equally with κοινωνία meant the act of communicating; and ἀφωρισμένος could be used instead of ἀκοινωνητός. The meaning even among Christians was not, apart from the context, more clearly defined than 'communion', 'communicate', 'excommunicate', among ourselves; but if in English we add to communion the word *holy* the total phrase becomes definite at once. And something of this kind is true of the phrase κοινωνία τῶν ἁγίων. τῶν ἁγίων might indeed suggest 'of Christians', 'Christian communion', or 'of the consecrated', 'sanctified', or 'sacred', the 'consecrated communion'; it would hardly at this date mean 'saints' in our popular sense. But it would tend also to suggest 'consecrated or sacred things'. The double usage meets us in the phrase τὰ ἅγια τοῖς ἁγίοις which, as being a common feature in the early liturgies, must go back to a remote antiquity, in all probability far earlier than Cyril of Jerusalem, in whose exposition of the Eucharistic rites it occurs. But τὰ ἅγια is also a synonym of εὐλογία in the sense of the consecrated Host. Previous

Digitized by Google

to the Council of Laodicea (343–381) (of which the fourteenth Canon runs, *περὶ τοῦ μὴ τὰ ἅγια εἰς λόγον εὐλογιῶν κατὰ τὴν ἑορτὴν τοῦ πάσχα εἰς ἑτέρας παροικίας διαπέμπεσθαι*) the Host was sent from one diocese to another in token of amity, and this custom as we learn from the letter mentioned above was older than Irenaeus (*ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ μὴ τηροῦντες οἱ πρὸ σοῦ πρεσβύτεροι τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν παροικιῶν τηροῦσιν ἔπεμπον εὐχαριστίαν*), while within the rite itself *τὰ ἅγια* bears a similar technical meaning in the Byzantine liturgy and in the liturgy of the Syrian Jacobites; while in the liturgies of St Basil and St James *ἁγίασμα* is employed in the same sense, and so also in the canonical epistle of Gregory of Nyssa. But while the meaning of *τὰ ἅγια* in the liturgies is fixed, the meaning of *οἱ ἅγιοι* has in some cases undergone a change. No doubt it originally referred to the Christian communicants as St Cyril[1] explains it, and at this time the elevation in connexion with which it occurs was simply a shewing to the people as an invitation to communion; but in the earliest liturgy to which we can get back, probably about A. D. 350,[2] as well as in the liturgies of the Syrian Jacobites, St Mark, the Coptic and Abyssinian Jacobites, and the Nestorians it is followed by the response: 'One is the holy Father, one is the holy Son, one is the holy Spirit', shewing that *οἱ ἅγιοι* was losing its meaning of 'Christians' and a new interpretation was being found for it.

In this connexion it is interesting to note that St Basil[3] has *τολμᾶν εἰς κοινωνίαν τῶν ἁγίων παρέρχεσθαι* for 'daring to make one's communion', though St Basil is too late for his evidence to have much weight in the argument.

When we remember that the attendance of Christians at the weekly Eucharist was a regular practice and that it was the specifically Christian service, it is difficult not to think that such language had a real influence on the formation of the phrase.

But if we try to go behind this evidence and enquire how *τὰ ἅγια* came to bear this meaning, we can find a probable answer without great difficulty. *τὰ ἅγια* bears all the marks of a popular abbreviation which could be but half stated because it would be incapable of being misunderstood[4]: *sanctum Domini* is often used by Cyprian with omission of *corpus* in reference to Matt. vii 6, as in the *Didache* ix 5, and I think we may say with confidence that the full phrase from which it was derived is *τὰ ἅγια μυστήρια*.

[1] Lect. V on *The Mysteries*, § 19; cp. St Chrys. in Heb. xvii 4, 5 (xii 170 B).

[2] Cp. W. C. Bishop, 'Early Persian Liturgy', *Ch. Qtrly. Rev.* Jan. 1919, pp. 317 and 327.

[3] *Regulae brevius tractatae*, Interrog. cccix.

[4] Possibly made all the easier by the use of *τὰ ἅγια* in the LXX, e. g. Exod. xxviii 38, Lev. v 15, xxii 2.

Digitized by Google

Thus we find in Cyril of Jerusalem *χωρητικοὶ τῶν θειοτέρων μυστηρίων, θείου καὶ ζωοποιοῦ βαπτίσματος ἀξιωθέντες*,[1] and *τῆς κοινωνίας ἑαυτοὺς μὴ ἀπορρήξητε*, and *μὴ διὰ μολυσμὸν ἁμαρτιῶν τῶν ἱερῶν τούτων καὶ πνευματικῶν ἑαυτοὺς ἀποστερήσητε μυστηρίων*[2]; in the liturgy of the Apostolic Constitutions *μεταλαβεῖν τῶν ἁγίων αὐτοῦ μυστηρίων*; and similar phrases in the liturgies of St Basil, St Chrysostom, and the Syrian liturgy; and so in the liturgy of the Syrian Jacobites 'as the Mysteries are being covered'[3]; and though these liturgies are later in date, they are evidence of the survival of an old rather than of an introduction of a new usage. But the phrase *τὰ μυστήρια* even in its narrow sense covered not only the Eucharist but also Baptism. And we may go further. Those who were *ἀκοινωνητοί*, not for moral offences but for heresy, were at this early stage thought to have neither a real Baptism nor a real Eucharist. The distinction between irregularity and invalidity was at this time in the Eastern Church practically unknown. Of this fact Firmilian's letter to Cyprian on the Baptismal question is sufficient evidence. Or we may put the matter another way. The *κοινόν τι* of Christians was twofold, faith and sacraments; and faith for the most part regarded objectively as a summary of facts having for Christians a value and meaning which was only to be appreciated or enjoyed within the Christian society. And admission to that society was by the one great sacrament, while life within it was maintained by the other. Moreover, though the possibility of salvation outside the Church might not be denied, yet the only *revealed* possibility was within. *Extra ecclesiam nulla salus est* might be too strong; but no early Christian would doubt that *extra ecclesiam nulla salus revelata est.*

Thus the interpretation of *κοινωνία τῶν ἁγίων* as meaning 'the communion of Christians in the holy things', and 'the holy things' as meaning the two great sacraments of Baptism and the Eucharist, is entirely in line with the other articles of the Creed, as mentioning things necessary in the idea of the early Church to salvation, and therefore things to which assent could be demanded. But it is more than this. Other Eastern Creeds mention Baptism exactly at this point, and without some mention of sacraments we are left with a logical hiatus. There is nothing to shew us by what means sonship towards the Eternal Father is either given or maintained, how the benefits of our Lord's work on earth and in heaven are communicated to believers, or how the Holy Spirit comes to them, how they enter upon membership in the Holy Church, or how that membership is at once signified and continued. It would be natural that *τὰ ἅγια* should have a special meaning in regard to the Eucharist, because this was perpetually kept

[1] Lect. I § 1. [2] Lect. V § 23.
[3] Brightman *Eastern Liturgies* pp. 411, 378, 398, 103, 65.

Digitized by Google

in the minds of the people by their weekly communion, of which we read in Justin Martyr; but it would be no less natural that Baptism by which these benefits are conferred should have a specific mention. Nor can we separate either Baptism or Communion in the blood shed for man's forgiveness, from the remission of sins which is enumerated in the next article. Finally, whatever evidence there is in favour of an early date for the phrase 'Communion of Saints' is evidence also of Greek language, and this will tell both against 'saints' meaning 'specially holy persons' or 'departed Christians' and in favour of κοινωνία followed by a genitive being 'communion in' or 'participation in' rather than 'communion with'. We have seen that this phrase occurs only in formulae or expositions which shew eastern influence: Nîmes and Lerins in the South, Ireland in the North, lie on the road from Asia Minor which passed through Pannonia by way of Milan to the former pair, and along the shore of the Lake of Constance to the latter. A southern offshoot from this road at the eastern terminus would lead to Armenia, while in Asia Minor itself we find the Marcosian Creed with its corresponding article. Allowing the phrase to be originally Greek, usage and the Marcosian phrase would point to τῶν ἁγίων being an objective rather than a possessive genitive, though the latter is not excluded. We have seen that τὰ ἅγια as well as κοινωνία had a special reference to the Eucharist, and this is the interpretation put on the phrase in all the earliest authorities, in the Council of Nîmes, the sermon *Simbolum graeca lingua est*, and sermon 241 of pseudo-Augustine, and it underlies the exposition of Niceta, though both words still maintained a wider signification; while on the other hand the analogy of the Eastern Creeds would lead us to look at this point for some mention of Baptism. But if τὰ ἅγια means τὰ ἅγια μυστήρια we shall commemorate both the great sacraments of the Gospel, and some such mention is necessary to the logical sequence of the Creed and satisfies at once our standard of dogma, as a judgement both of truth and of value.

F. J. BADCOCK.

Digitized by Google

THE OVERLAPPING OF SOURCES IN MATTHEW AND LUKE.

It is well known that throughout the Gospels of Matthew and Luke there are words and passages in which they agree *against* Mark in Marcan contexts. At the same time there are many omissions of Marcan material by Matthew and Luke, of which the most notable is that of Mk. vi 45–viii 26 by Luke. Upon these two sets of facts, in the main, have been based the various Ur-Marcus theories, and, more recently, theories of successive editions of Mark. These last have been worked out very fully by A. Wright (on an oral basis), A. S. Barnes, and W. W. Holdsworth; but there are weighty arguments against them. The omissions can, in all the most important cases, be explained as due to the editorial work of Matthew and Luke. We are then left with the problem of the agreements of Matthew and Luke against Mark. I believe that the key to the solution of this problem is given by Dr Sanday in the introductory chapter of *Oxford Studies in the Synoptic Problem*. He says (p. 21): 'I believe that by far the greater number of the coincidences of Mt. Lk. against Mk. are due to the use by Mt. Lk.—not of an Ur-Marcus or older form of the Gospel, but—of a recension of the text of Mk. different from that from which all the extant MSS of the Gospel are descended.' Again, on p. 20: 'I suspect that in some of the cases there has been an overlapping of the two documents. This overlapping of documents is a phenomenon that certainly happened sometimes.'

The agreements of Matthew and Luke against Mark have been collected by Dr E. A. Abbott in his book *The Corrections of St Mark* (Diatessarica, pt. II, London, 1901), where they may be conveniently studied.

The object of the present paper is to shew that these 'corrections' belong to two quite distinct classes, and are due to two independent causes. One class comprises a large number of quite small agreements, scattered with fair uniformity over the whole of the Gospels, and is due to the use by Matthew and Luke of a recension different from canonical Mark. The other class includes a quite limited number of passages in which, for the most part, along with agreements against Mark there are also large agreements in material which is absent from Mark. In these cases we have the overlapping of two sources, which are mostly Mark and Q.

Digitized by Google

The argument is to shew that the larger and more complex agreements of Matthew and Luke against Mark really represent the version of Q (or some other non-Marcan source), and so are not evidence for an Ur-Marcus or earlier edition of Mark. We are then left with the lesser agreements, due to the common use of a recension differing from canonical Mark.

It follows that all three Gospels are based upon a document practically identical with canonical Mark. Moreover, the identification of passages in which the sources overlap, and the study of the manner in which this occurs, lead to the conclusion that in all these cases the writers are combining *written* sources, and not amplifying Mark from oral tradition. If the words in which Matthew and Luke agree with Mark and those in which they agree against Mark are underlined with ink of different colours, the places where overlap occurs can be sifted out with the greatest ease. The further question as to the extent to which the Logian sources of Luke and Matthew are identical is not here dealt with. The argument of the paper is not affected by it.

A. Minor Agreements of Matthew and Luke against Mark in Marcan Contexts.

Hawkins (*Horae Syn.* ed. 1 pp. 172 ff, ed. 2 pp. 210 f) has printed a list of 21 examples in which Matthew and Luke diverge from Mark, in the midst of Marcan material. Burkitt (*The Gospel History and its Transmission* pp. 42 ff) has examined these in detail, with a view to shewing that, in almost every case, Luke and Matthew may have varied independently in the same direction. It may be remarked that minor *omissions* might often be made by compilers working with an identical copy, as a result of such causes as (*a*) a tendency to drop as irrelevant the slight touches due to an eyewitness, (*b*) the fact that Mark is frequently condensed. But identical *additions* are very much more difficult to account for independently. A few striking cases may be explained thus, as by Burkitt; but it is not allowable to deal thus with a comparatively large number of trivial coincidences. Their frequency is an important factor, and affords cumulative evidence of a common original. It follows that a just inference requires a more minute survey than that embodied in Hawkins's table, and that Burkitt's argument may hold against an Ur-Marcus theory, but proves nothing as to recensions. In fact Hawkins (*op. cit.* ed. 2 p. 212) accepts the recension-theory, as stated by Sanday, as also does Allen (*Comm. on Mt.* p. xl).

The facts in question are fully recognized in two theories which may be mentioned, in addition to that of recensions here supported. One is that Luke has made use of Matthew. This theory creates more difficulties than it solves. Reference may be made to Allen on Matthew, p. xl, who thinks Luke may have read Matthew, but had not the work

Digitized by Google

before him when writing, and to Stanton *Synoptic Gospels* p. 140 who criticizes Simon's advocacy of the theory. B. Weiss has very elaborately worked out the theory that, in these coincidences, the minor as well as the major, Q, is involved. If this be true Q was practically a complete Gospel, except that it did not contain the story of the Passion. Stanton has criticized this theory very thoroughly (*op. cit.* pp. 49, 109 ff, 139 ff. 324 ff, where references to Weiss are given). Add, as a more recent expression of opinion, B. Weiss *Quellen des Lukasev.* pp. 193 f. The theory, as carried out by Weiss, is altogether too cumbersome. It certainly applies to one set of facts, but it is stretched to cover another set, which admits of a much simpler explanation.

By way of example some details are now given of the minor agreements of Matthew and Luke against Mark, taken only from four short passages.

1. The Cleansing of the Leper. Mk. i 40–44: Mt. viii 2–4; Lk. v 12–14.

Some variants may be passed by, as due to the free reproduction by the editors of common material. In particular, there are two omissions in which Matthew and Luke agree, which may be due to similar causes working independently. Both are references to the emotions of our Lord.

(*a*) σπλαγχνισθείς (D, a, &c., have ὀργισθείς). The variant looks like a marginal gloss explaining ἐμβριμησάμενος. σπλαγνισθείς might be another gloss, upon the same word, but of an opposite tendency; but is more probably original.

(*b*) καὶ ἐμβριμησάμενος αὐτῷ εὐθὺς ἐξέβαλεν αὐτόν.

This phrase is thoroughly characteristic of Mark, and goes back to one who witnessed the scene. Matthew and Luke may have disliked it (yet see Mk. ix 30). Not only respect for our Lord, but the apparent contradiction of (*a*) and (*b*) may have resulted in their omission.

The variants which follow point in the direction of a common source. We note:

1. The insertion of (*a*) ἰδού and (*b*) κύριε.

(*a*) On ἰδού see Allen on Mt. i 20. ἰδού and καὶ ἰδού are not characteristic of Mark.

(*b*) Where Mark has ὅτι Matthew and Luke have κύριε. It is difficult to suppose that they inserted this independently. A question also arises as to the import of the var. ll. In Matthew and Luke κύριε is the constant reading. In Mk. i 40 we have ὅτι, κύριε, κύριε + ὅτι, and absence of both. This may simply mean that very early the Mark-text felt the influence of the other canonical form. It might also be collateral evidence of a Marcan recension which read κύριε.

Digitized by Google

2. Two changes of phrasing:

(*a*) λέγων for καὶ λέγει;

(*b*) εὐθέως for εὐθύς.

3. Two slight changes of order:

(*a*) Mark has λέγων αὐτῷ, where Matthew and Luke appear to agree in reversing.

(*b*) Mark has αὐτοῦ ἥψατο, where Matthew and Luke reverse.

These six modifications, taken together, can hardly be accounted for by mere coincidence. The insertion of ἰδού and κύριε is not noticed in Hawkins's list, to say nothing of the other changes.

2. The Sower. Mk. iv 3–12; Mt. xiii 3–15; Lk. viii 4–10.

Mk. iv 3 σπεῖραι. Mt. τοῦ σπείρειν. Lk. τοῦ σπεῖραι.

Mk. iv 4 ἐν τῷ σπείρειν. Mt. and Lk. +αὐτόν.

Mk. iv 7 συνέπνιξαν. Mt. and Lk. ἀπέπνιξαν.

Mk. iv 9 ὃς ἔχει. Mt. and Lk. ὁ ἔχων.

Mk. iv 10 ἠρώτων. Mt. and Lk. +οἱ μαθηταί.

Mk. iv 11 καὶ ἔλεγεν. Mt. ὁ δὲ ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν.
Lk. ὁ δὲ εἶπεν.
τὸ μυστήριον. Mt. and Lk. γνῶναι τὰ μυστήρια.

Burkitt (*op. cit.* p. 43) only mentions the last variant; but the value of its testimony to a common source is greatly enhanced when all the others are taken into consideration. The strength of the case rests on the accumulation of such details.

3. The Raising of Jairus's Daughter. Mk. v 21–43; Mt. ix 18–34; Lk. viii 40–56.

Mk. v 22. Mt. and Lk. insert ἰδού.
εἷς τῶν ἀρχισυναγώγων. Mt. and Lk. ἄρχων.

Mk. v 23 θυγάτριον. Mt. and Lk. θυγάτηρ.

Mk. v 27 ἐλθοῦσα. Mt. and Lk. προσελθοῦσα.
ἥψατο. Mt. and Lk. add τοῦ κρασπέδου.

Mk. v 34 θυγάτηρ. Mt. and Lk. θύγατερ.

Mk. v 38 ἔρχονται . . . τὸν οἶκον. Mt. and Lk. ἐλθὼν . . . τὴν οἰκίαν.

Mk. v 39 οὐκ ἀπέθανεν. Mt. and Lk. add γάρ.

Mk. v 41 τοῦ παιδίου. Mt. and Lk. αὐτῆς.

Burkitt (*l. c.* p. 45: so also Wernle *Synoptische Frage* p. 57) considers that τοῦ κρασπέδου comes from Mk. vi 56. If so, is it not more likely that its insertion was due to the editor of the common recension than to an independent transference of the words?

4. The Young Man who had Great Possessions. Mk. x 17–31; Mt. xix 16–30; Lk. xviii 18–30.

Mk. x 20 ἐφυλαξάμην. Mt. and Lk. ἐφύλαξα.

Mk. x 21 οὐρανῷ. Mt. and Lk. οὐρανοῖς.

Mk. x 22 στυγνάσας. Mt. and Lk. ἀκούσας

Digitized by Google

Mk. x 23 καὶ . . . λέγει. Mt. and Lk. δὲ εἶπεν.
Mk. x 25 τρυμαλιᾶς. Mt. and Lk. τρήματος.
διελθεῖν. Mt. and Lk. εἰσελθεῖν.
Mk. x 26. Mt. and Lk. + ἀκούσαντες.
Mk. x 27 λέγει. Mt. and Lk. δὲ εἶπεν.
Mk. x 28 ἠκολουθήκαμεν. Mt. and Lk. ἠκολουθήσαμεν.
Mk. x 29 ἔφη. Mt. and Lk. δὲ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς.
Mk. x 30 ἑκατονταπλασίονα. Mt. and Lk. πολλαπλασίονα.

This is a very different array from the single reference given by Burkitt (*op. cit.* p. 50).

Of such agreements Abbott's list contains about 230, and his list is not quite exhaustive. He has also classified these agreements, and so brings out clearly their secondary and editorial character. He notes many examples in which (1) the subject or object is more clearly defined, (2) a connecting word is supplied, (3) the Historic Present is corrected, (4) a finite verb is changed into a participle, (5) the form εἶπεν is preferred, (6) δέ is substituted for καί, (7) the style is corrected for smoothness, (8) ἰδού is inserted.

As an example of the general method, a note is here given on the treatment of the very characteristic εὐθύς of Mark by Luke and Matthew.

In the following cases they agree to omit: Mk. i 20 f, 23, 28 f, 30,[1] 43; ii 8; iii 6; iv 29; v (2), 30, 42 b; vi 25, 27, 54; viii 10; ix 20, 24 d; xv 1. The rest of the cases are as follows:

Mk. i 10. Mt. iii 16 εὐθύς. Lk. om.
Mk. i 12. Mt. iv 1 τότε. Lk. om. (iv 1 δέ).
Mk. i 18. Mt. iv 20 εὐθέως. Lk. om.
Mk. i 42. Mt. viii 3 εὐθέως. Lk. v 13 εὐθέως.
Mk. ii 12. Mt. om. Lk. v 25 παραχρῆμα.
Mk. iv 5. Mt. xiii 5 εὐθέως. Lk. om.
Mk. iv 15. Mt. om. Lk. viii 12 εἶτα.
Mk. iv 16. Mt. xiii 20 εὐθύς. Lk. om.
Mk. iv 17. Mt. xiii 21 εὐθύς. Lk. om.
Mk. v 29. Mt. om. Lk. viii 44 παραχρῆμα.
Mk. v 42 a. Mt. om. Lk. viii 55 παραχρῆμα.
Mk. vi 45. Mt. xiv 22 εὐθέως. Lk. om.
Mk. vi 50. Mt. xiv 27 εὐθύς. Lk. om.
Mk. vii 25. Mt. xv 22 ἰδού. Lk. om.
Mk. ix 15. Mt. om. Lk. ix 38 ἰδού (probably).
Mk. x 52. Mt. xx 34 εὐθέως. Lk. xviii 43 παραχρῆμα.
Mk. xi 3. Mt. xxi 3 εὐθύς. Lk. om.
Mk. xi 12. Mt. xxi 2 εὐθύς. Lk. om.

[1] Here εὐθύς may be reflected in the παραχρῆμα. Cf. Lk. iv 39.

Digitized by Google

Mk. xiv 43. Mt. xxvi 47 ἰδού. Lk. xxii 47 ἰδού.
Mk. xiv 45. Mt. xxvi 49 εὐθέως. Lk. om.
Mk. xiv 72. Mt. xxvi 74 εὐθέως. Lk. xxii 60 παραχρῆμα.

There may be some question as to the strict correspondence with εὐθύς of the alternative words in Mt. iv 1, xv 22; Lk. iv 39, v 25, and viii 12. If, however, these may be counted, there are 19 places where Matthew and Luke agree in discarding Mark's εὐθύς, out of a total of 41 occurrences. They only agree to recognize it four times. Matthew retains εὐθύς six times, where Luke rejects it altogether. Matthew substitutes εὐθέως seven times, in which Luke only agrees with him once.

In Matthew τότε (once) and ἰδού (twice) may replace εὐθύς.

In Luke εἶτα (once), ἰδού (twice), and παραχρῆμα (five times) are used where Mark has εὐθύς.

The agreement of Matthew and Luke to read ἰδού for the εὐθύς of Mk. xiv 43 can hardly be accidental; and the same is true of the case in which both give εὐθέως in the parallel to Mk. i 42; for Luke never elsewhere substitutes it for εὐθύς. These corrections probably belong to the recension of Mark used by Matthew and Luke, in which also it is likely that εὐθύς had already been discarded several times. It looks as if, in respect of this word, the process of revision begun in their common recension, had been carried further by Matthew, and still further by Luke. The reverse process is almost unthinkable, namely, that whilst Luke's form of Mark contained a few time qualifications, Matthew's form contained more, chiefly in the form εὐθέως, whilst canonical Mark doubled the number, at the same time changing all to the one form εὐθύς.

B. Major Agreements of Matthew and Luke against Mark in Marcan Contexts.

Cases of overlap may now be considered. The passages which come under this designation are more intricate than those just reviewed. Overlapping occurs when two (or more) sources are used at the same point.

The most striking cases of overlap are those in which both Mark and Q record the same incident or conversation, in the same relative position, as in the Preaching of the Baptist, the Temptation, the Instructions to the Twelve, and perhaps the Beelzebub Controversy. In these cases the patchwork appearance of Matthew and Luke does not accord with the theory that they represent the full form of Q, which Mark has abbreviated. Mark has an independent version. In most cases the context of Mark and Q is different, but the phraseology gets interlaced. The two accounts are conflated, and at certain points, where the wording is identical, there is overlapping.

Digitized by Google

The following are the most important examples:

1. The Baptist's Preaching. Mk. i 1–8; Mt. iii 1–12; Lk. iii 1–17.

In Mk. *v.* 1 is editorial. *V.* 2 b is probably an insertion by a later hand, from the Q-material of Mt. xi and Lk. vii.[1] This insertion has resulted in the correction (of T. R.) ἐν τοῖς προφήταις. Mk. *vv.* 3–8 are incorporated almost wholly in Matthew, and to a less extent in Luke. These replace οἱ Ἱεροσολυμεῖται πάντες by a phrase of Q, and omit κύψας, which is, no doubt, original, and not an addition in Trito-Mark.

In Mt. *v.* 1 Ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις has no proper connexion with the close of ch. ii (cf. Smith *Days of His Flesh* p. xx). Hence it is not editorial, but from Q, as also is ὁ βαπτιστής.

Mt. *v.* 2 is mainly editorial. Mt. *v.* 4 b is represented by the one word μετανοεῖτε, and the phrase ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν is characteristic of Matthew.

Vv. 3–6, except the phrase πᾶσα ἡ περίχωρος τοῦ Ἰορδάνου, belong to Mark. *Vv.* 4–6 are not an addition in Deutero-Mark, for Luke omits them in order to make room for a fuller statement of the message.

V. 7 a is mainly editorial (cf. Harnack *Sayings* pp. 40 f). The Pharisees and Sadducees are introduced at once, as the unremitting opponents of the better way.

Vv. 7 b–12 are practically all from Q. Mt. *v.* 11 is also parallel with Mark. That Mark and Q overlap is partly indicated by the somewhat different order of the common material, an order in each case perfectly suited to the context. In Mark the transposing of the phrase ἐγὼ ἐβάπτισα ὑμᾶς results in a compact and forcible statement suited to a very brief summary. It may well be a stereotyped traditional summary of John's message, and not directly an abbreviation of Q. That Mk. *v.* 11 is from Q is shewn by the phrase ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ καὶ πυρί. The phrase καὶ πυρί is from Q, and therefore the preceding words also. In Matthew Syr. Sin. and in Luke Syr. Sin. and Cur. reverse the phrase. They may give an ancient Q-form of the phrase, and thus a further intimation that the whole verse is from Q, and is not a mere welding of Q and Mark.

In *v.* 11 the phrase τὰ ὑποδήματα βαστάσαι is given by Harnack to Q; but it may be a later insertion of a phrase more familiar or more intelligible to those for whom the Gospel was written (cf. Smith *Days of His Flesh* p. xxi).

In Lk. *vv.* 1 f are editorial. They may be intended to fix definitely the time indicated in the general phrase (probably from Q) ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις, which Matthew preserves.

Vv. 5 f are editorial. Luke probably continues the quotation for the sake of πᾶσα σάρξ, at the end.

[1] Yet see Rendel Harris *Testimonies* Part I p. 49.

Digitized by Google

V. 7. The word ὄχλοις may be due to Luke. Sometimes he may introduce a reference to the ὄχλος inferentially; but most often it may be due to his source, as he carefully distinguishes words spoken to the ὄχλος from those spoken to disciples.

Vv. 10–15 are not found elsewhere. They may have been part of Q, as known to him, or from a special source. *V.* 15 is an explanation introducing words undoubtedly from Q. It is quite suitable, even necessary, and of a kind frequently associated in Luke with words from Q. Similarly *vv.* 10–14 are a suitable sequel to *vv.* 7–9. They indicate just the sort of questioning that John's sharp words were calculated to provoke; and are not in the least likely to be a free invention of St Luke. Spitta (*Die syn. Grundschrift* &c. pp. 12 f) gives a good reason why Matthew should omit *vv.* 10–14. His substitution of the Pharisees and Sadducees for the ὄχλος explains the omission.

We have therefore some justification for reconstructing Q somewhat as follows: (*a*) Mt. iii 1 (except τῆς Ἰουδαίας). Here Matthew preserves Q, and Luke substitutes a chronological note. (*b*) Lk. iii 3. Here Matthew modifies the form, because he welds Mark and Q. (*c*) Lk. iii 7. Again Matthew modifies, and Luke will be nearer to Q. This gives the following result: Ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις παραγίνεται Ἰωάννης ὁ βαπτιστὴς ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ. Καὶ ἦλθεν εἰς πᾶσαν περίχωρον τοῦ Ἰορδάνου (κηρύσσων βάπτισμα μετανοίας εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν). Καὶ ἔλεγεν τοῖς ἐκπορευομένοις βαπτισθῆναι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ—the rest practically as Lk. *vv.* 7 b–17. B. Weiss (*Quellen der syn. Überlief.* p. 1) reconstructs the introduction somewhat differently. He assigns *vv.* 10–15 to the special source of Luke. He also gives the long form of the quotation from Isaiah to Q, with the introduction of Mt. *v.* 3. Yet the (short) quotation may be peculiar to Mark, where we have (*a*) the quotation which sets forth the relation of John to the Christ, (*b*) a brief description of his work and person, and (*c*) an epitome of his message. In Q there may have been nothing but the message, with the briefest possible introduction. Probably Mark and Q overlap at Mt. iii 1 (in part), 11 and Lk. iii 2, 3, and 16. It is evident that where we are searching for scraps of Q retained by only one Evangelist, the process is highly speculative. The attempt is, nevertheless, worth making; for the comparison of various suggestions may lead to fair certainty in the end.[1]

2. The Temptation. Mk. i 12 f; Mt. iv 1–11; Lk. iv 1–13.

Mark's account is not likely to be an excerpt of Q. Short as it is, the forms ἐκβάλλει and σατανᾶ along with the reference to the ministry of angels, sufficiently distinguish it from the version of Q, in which, moreover, the temptation takes place only at the end of the forty days.

[1] Cf. a suggestion by Buckley (*Int. to Syn. Problem* p. 142). He would read for Q (after Mt. *v.* 11a) a shorter form—ὁ δὲ ἐρχόμενος ὑμᾶς βαπτίσει ἐν πυρί.

Digitized by Google

In Mark it is continuous throughout the whole period. In Luke both points of view are combined. The Q-account no doubt had an introduction, for the reconstruction of which see Harnack (*Sayings* pp. 43–45). The τεσσεράκοντα ἡμέρας may be Marcan only. In that case νηστεύσας would arise from the editorial welding of Mark with Q; and then we might find in Lk. *v.* 2 b the original form of Q. But, on the other hand, the presence of καὶ νύκτας in Matthew along with ἡμέρας τεσσεράκοντα, where Luke agrees in reversing the Marcan order of the words, would equally favour the assigning of the whole of Mt. *v.* 2 to Q. Thus it is probable that in Mt. iv 1 f and Lk. iv 1 f Mark and Q overlap.

The close of the account in Q is abrupt, τότε ἀφίησιν αὐτὸν ὁ διάβολος. Weiss adds καὶ ἰδοὺ ἄγγελοι διηκόνουν αὐτῷ, which is allowable only on the (improbable) supposition that Mark drew from Q. Luke has produced a much more finished ending, without, strange to say, including in it the Marcan reference to the angels.

It is possible that the Q-account actually closed by saying that Jesus returned to Nazareth. We find in Mt. iv 13 and Lk. iv 16 the form Ναζαρά, not elsewhere written in N. T., which may be a fragment of Q. It is less likely that it reflects the Ναζαρέτ of Mk. i 9, which, omitted both by Matthew and Luke as unnecessary, would not be inserted later. Whereas, if it occurred in Q, Matthew would naturally work it into his transition to Mark, whilst Luke, wishing to insert the Rejection at Nazareth at the opening of his account of our Lord's public ministry, would find it a convenient peg. Bartlet (*Oxford Studies* p. 329) gives Mt. iv 13 (i. e. probably only 13 a) to Matthew's form of Q, and Lk. iv 14 b, 15 to Luke's form. He regards Ναζαρά as the 'more vernacular form'. I do not agree with Bartlet in inferring that Luke found the incident in its present position in his non-Marcan source. More probably he brought it forward from its Marcan position because it forecasts the rejection by Israel as a whole; and he prefers the version he gives because it contains a fine statement of the Gospel programme.

Thus at the close of the section there is no overlapping, unless very doubtfully Mt. iv 11 b.

3. League with Beelzebul. Mk. iii 20–30; Mt. xii 22–37; Lk. xi 14–24 (also Lk. xii 10, vi 43–45).

Demand of a Sign. (Mk. viii 11); Mt. xii 38–45; Lk. xi 24–26, 29–36.

There is no doubt that Mark and Q both have a version of this incident, and that Matthew adheres to the Mark-position, conflating the two accounts, whilst Luke gives the Q-position, and, in the main, the Q-form. Hawkins (*Oxford Studies* pp. 45–49) argues the entire

Digitized by Google

independence of Luke and Mark. As to the main points, this may be granted, though it seems hardly necessary to exclude every trace of Marcan influence from the Luke-account. Mark describes no miracle; but he does indicate, *v.* 20 a, a condition of great excitement, such as might be expected to follow such a miracle. This consideration would point to the unity of the whole section in Mark.

For the reconstruction of Q see Harnack (*Sayings* pp. 21 f). The task is complicated by the fact that Matthew describes the miracle twice, i. e. at ch. ix 32–34 as well as at ch. xii 22 ff. Taking the double parallel with Luke, apart from Mark, we have the following agreements—*κωφόν . . . τοῦ δαιμονίου . . . ἐλάλησεν ὁ κωφός. Καὶ ἐθαύμασαν οἱ ὄχλοι . . .* Βεελζεβοὺλ *. . . δὲ εἰδὼς αὐτῶν . . . εἶπεν . . . πᾶσα . . . μερισθεῖσα ἐρημοῦται . . . πῶς σταθήσεται ἡ βασιλεία αὐτοῦ.* All this is in the strictest connexion with Marcan material, and yet must belong to Q. It follows that at Mt. xii 24–26 and Lk. xi 15–18, Mk. *vv.* 22 b–26 a and Q overlap. That Mark has remodelled Q, as Weiss thinks, is not a very likely theory. Also in the case of Mk *v.* 27 there appears to be overlap. Here Matthew follows Mark, but closes with a sentence of Q, and Luke gives what looks like a free paraphrase of Mark, concluding with the same piece of Q. The difficulty is to understand how Matthew and Luke could simultaneously desert Q for Mark, and simultaneously return to it again. If Mt. *v.* 29 is from Q, it is extraordinarily near to Mark, much more so than in the case of *vv.* 24–26 above. It is preferable to suppose that Matthew has here given the Mark-phraseology. In that case, can Lk. *vv.* 21 f be Q? That is unlikely, for they have a distinctly Lucan tone, as witness the more finished style, and the forms *τὰ ὑπάρχοντα, ἐπελθών, ἐπεποίθει, διαδίδωσιν.* There may have been something difficult or unusual about the Q-version at this point, which led Matthew to transcribe Mark, and Luke to combine Mark and Q in a free paraphrase. If so, *ἐν εἰρήνῃ* and *τὴν πανοπλίαν αὐτοῦ αἴρει ἐφ' ᾗ ἐπεποίθει* may represent something that stood in Q. Weiss, however, simply accepts the Lucan form as Q.

The introduction to the discourse in Q may have stood somewhat as follows: *καὶ ἦν ἐκβάλλων δαιμόνιον κωφόν· καὶ ἐκβληθέντος τοῦ δαιμονίου ἐλάλησεν ὁ κωφός. καὶ ἐθαύμασαν οἱ ὄχλοι, τινὲς δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν εἶπαν . . .*

Again, Mk. *vv.* 28–30 to some extent overlap the similar statement of Q (Mt. *v.* 32). Matthew takes the Mark-form, somewhat condensing it, and at once adds the Q-form, slightly conflating the two; for *ὃς δ' ἄν* reflects Mark, and *οὔτε ἐν τούτῳ τῷ αἰῶνι οὔτε ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι* may be an attempt to simplify *ἔνοχός ἐστιν αἰωνίου ἁμαρτήματος.* Luke omits the Marcan saying, and gives the Q-form in ch. xii 10, yet slightly influenced by Mark (*βλασφημήσαντι*). The connexion of the statements in Mark and Luke appears about equally suitable, and Luke may very well

Digitized by Google

preserve the Q-context. We have, therefore, both in Matthew and Luke, a very slight overlapping of the two forms of the saying. If it should be thought that we have really two cognate sayings, and not two forms of the same saying, at any rate it is obvious that they are treated by the Evangelists as variant forms of the same saying. In this case three sources may be involved.

Lk. vi 43–45 is related both to Mt. vii 15–20 and to Mt. xii 33–35. There is here a doublet in Q, but no direct connexion with Mark.

There still remains Lk. *v.* 16 *ἕτεροι δὲ πειράζοντες σημεῖον ἐξ οὐρανοῦ ἐζήτουν παρ' αὐτοῦ*, with which compare Mk. viii 11 *ζητοῦντες παρ' αὐτοῦ σημεῖον ἀπὸ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, πειράζοντες αὐτόν*. Here Luke appears to have brought forward the sentence from Mark, by way of introduction to *vv.* 29–32. The comments on the charge of alliance with Beelzebul and the demand for a sign are recorded both by Matthew and Luke as parts of a continuous discourse, though Mark indicates (ch. viii 11) a later occasion for the demand for a sign. Luke makes use of the Marcan words in the Q-connexion, without causing any confusion, because he omits them later. Matthew gives both the Q- and the Mark-versions of the incident, at different places, at the same time, in the later passage, conflating Mark and Q. This will be noticed again further on.

4. The Lamp and the Lamp-stand. Mk. iv 21; Lk. viii 16; Lk. xi 33; Mt. v 15.

The saying, in Mark, is connected with the subject of Teaching by Parables. Lk. viii 16 is parallel, but is also influenced by the Q-form (cf. Weiss *Syn. Überlief.* pp. 38 f). Lk. xi 33 gives the Q context. Mt. v 15 is also from Q, somewhat modified to suit the place where the editor has put it. After *οὐ δύναται* of *v.* 14 we have *οὐδὲ καίουσιν*. The phrases *ὑπὸ τὸν μόδιον* and *ἐπὶ τὴν λυχνίαν* are common to Mark and Q. *Οὐδεὶς λύχνον ἅψας* and *ἵνα οἱ εἰσπορευόμενοι τὸ φῶς βλέπωσιν* are repeated in the two Lucan passages; but it is not certain that they represent Q, though possible.

5. The Parable of the Mustard Seed. Mk. iv 30–32; Mt. xiii 31 f; Lk. xiii 18 ff.

Here the case for a double version is very clear. Matthew gives the parable in the Mark-connexion. Luke gives it in conjunction with the parable of the Leaven, as he found it in Q, and probably in the Q-position also. For the reconstruction of Q see Harnack *Sayings* pp. 26 ff. Matthew, to some extent, conflates. Necessarily, both in Matthew and Luke, there is some overlapping. Cf. *Oxford Studies* pp. 50 f.

6. The Mission of the Twelve. Mk. vi 7–13; Mt. ix 35–x 42; Lk. ix 1–6 (x 1–20).

Digitized by Google

In Mt. x 9–14 and Lk. ix 1–5 there is evident overlapping of two accounts, though it is very hard to give any satisfactory explanation of their relations.

In the case of Matthew there are evident parallels both with chs. ix and x of Luke, which record the charges to the Twelve and to the Seventy. The whole section in Matthew, to the end of ch. x, is of a highly complex character. He is evidently giving a general summary of instructions to missionaries, collecting all he can find, both from Mark and Q, that is relevant to this subject. The result is, in some respects, confusing. He omits the information which Mark gives (ch. vi 12, 13, and 30) about the starting and return of the Twelve, on the occasion of their first mission. All we have is a quite general word—ἀπέστειλεν, *v.* 5—probably from Q. At the same time he incorporates (probably from Q) instructions which applied to that mission, and, it may be, to that alone.

In Luke we have two missions and two sets of instructions, in connexion with both of which the starting and return of the company of preachers is definitely recorded. The instructions in ch. ix overlap those of Mk. ch. vi; but Lk. ch. x is quite independent of Mark. In a reckoning of probabilities, it seems much more likely that Matthew, who has one section devoted to this subject, should combine two sets of instructions, than that Luke, whose tendency is not to multiply instances, but the reverse, should fabricate a second missionary expedition. If Luke found only one such mission in Q, which he thought to be other than that in Mark, why should he have mixed *part* of Q with Mark, and relegated the remainder to another occasion? Why not keep the two quite distinct? (cf. *Oxford Studies* p. 57). As to the historical possibility of the Mission of the Seventy, we do not know that the omission by Matthew had any other than a literary cause; nor do we know whether the composer of the First Gospel was in as close touch with eyewitnesses of the work of Jesus as was Luke. At least we have a right to assume that Luke was quite well able to get first-hand information, and that he would never have recorded such an event had he not been assured of its actual occurrence. If he had regarded the two sets of instructions in Mark and Q as equally important records of the same event, he could have combined them, as Matthew did, or omitted one of the two. He probably *did* find Mt. x 5 b-8 in his Q-version of the Mission of the Twelve, and omitted it. In ch. ix 2 he has a reflexion of Mt. *v.* 7. Hence Luke's form of Q may have begun very much as his ch. ix 1 *συνκαλεσάμενος δὲ τοὺς δώδεκα ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς δύναμιν ἐπὶ πάντα τὰ δαιμονία καὶ νόσους θεραπεύειν· καὶ ἀπέστειλεν αὐτοὺς λέγων· Εἰς ὁδὸν ἐθνῶν μὴ ἀπέλθητε*, &c., as Mt. x 5–8, then *Μηδὲν αἴρετε εἰς τὴν ὁδόν*, &c., as Lk. ix 2 b–6, perhaps omitting *εἰς μαρτύριον*,

Digitized by Google

at the end of *v.* 5. In some respects canonical Mark appears to be secondary. In Mt. x 10 and Lk. ix 3 the staff is forbidden, and in Mt. x 10 and Lk. x 4 the sandals, or other footgear. In Mark both are expressly permitted. Surely, in the case of such commonly used and necessary aids to travel, no specific permission would have been thought of, in the first instance. For special reasons they might be forbidden, in connexion with some particular journey or journeys of short duration (cf. Allen on Mt. x 9); and later on, and as a general rule, the restrictions might be withdrawn. Mark appears to reflect that later stage.

In this passage Mark and Q will overlap in Mt. x 1, 9, and 10 and Lk. ix 1–5.

7. The Sign of Jonah. Mk. viii 12; Mt. xvi 4; Lk. xi 29.

Luke gives but one incident and conversation, ch. xi 16 and 29–36, as we have already seen (in no. 3), antedating the incident recorded by Mark, and following Q for the conversation. Matthew gives two occasions and conversations, namely, ch. xii 38–45, which is from Q, and ch. xvi 1–4, where the incident is recorded in Mark's words and position; but the conversation is from Q. At any rate, *vv.* 2 b and 3, though peculiar to Matthew, may belong to Q (if *vv.* 2 and 3 a are retained in the text), though the passage probably had some other position originally. Mt. xvi 4 repeats Mt. xii 39 verbatim, except for the omission of τοῦ προφήτου, at the end. For Q see Harnack *Sayings* p. 137 and *Oxford Studies* pp. 45 f.

The overlapping is quite evident at Mt. xvi 4.[1] In Luke there may be also some conflation of the two sources (αὕτη and simple ζητεῖ).

8. The Leaven of the Pharisees. Mk. viii 15; Mt. xvi 6; Lk. xii 1.

This saying is closely connected in Mark with the demand for a sign; and Matthew follows Mark. In Luke it occurs in ch. xii, which may all be taken from Q. As to this particular saying, it probably belongs to Q, and stood at the head of a string of miscellaneous sayings which followed the discourse against the Pharisees. In that case, προσέχετε will be from Q, and the words ἀπὸ τῆς ζύμης τῶν Φαρισαίων will be common to Mark and Q. Weiss, on the other hand (*Quellen des Lucasev.* p. 78 and n.), gives a very good account of the passage, on the assumption that Luke is taking the words from Mk. viii 15.

9. Bearing the Cross. Mk. viii 34; Mt. xvi 24; Lk. ix 23.
Mt. x 38; Lk. xiv 27.

Here Mark has the positive form of the statement, which is also given in the parallels. Mt. x 38 and Lk. xiv 27 have the negative form. At the same time there is a difference between them. Matthew has the threefold refrain οὐκ ἔστιν μου ἄξιος, and Luke οὐ δύναται εἶναι μου

[1] In Mark the Sign is refused outright. In Q the Sign of Jonah is given.

Digitized by Google

μαθητής. In other ways also Luke has a tone peculiar to itself, certainly not due to the editor. Here Weiss states the case very strongly for regarding Luke as independent of Q (*Quellen des Lukasev.* pp. 254 f, and Harnack *Sayings* p. 87). There are good reasons for regarding the whole of *vv.* 1–33 as belonging to a special source of Luke.

Here then we have three sources involved, of which Q and Luke's special source are used in positions different from each other and from Mark. At the same time both Matthew and Luke use Mark. Here they agree to vary from Mark only in the words ἀπολέσῃ and ἄνθρωπος, neither of which come from Q (Mt. x 38 f). They belong to the Matthew-Luke recension of Mark, and do not indicate overlap. It was thought worth while to discuss the passage, because, where three sources are involved, one would naturally expect it to occur.

10. The First will be Last. Mk. ix 35.
Mk. x 43 f; Mt. xx 26; Lk. xxii 26.
Mt. xxiii 11.

The form in Mt. xxiii 11 is probably from Q; but the phrase ἔσται ὑμῶν διάκονος may come from Mark. It is found in Mk. x 43 and Mt. xx 26. Luke rests on Mk. x 43 f, but he has displaced the passage. At the same time he has ὁ μείζων, as Mt. xxiii 11. The phrase ἔσται ὑμῶν διάκονος would appear to be common to Mark and Q.

11. Offending a Little One. Mk. ix 42; Mt. xviii 6; Lk. xvii 2.

Here Luke gives the Q-version, which is very near to that of Mark, but is connected with a word about offences in general. In Matthew the two halves of the Q-passage are transposed, and the second part is combined with the Marcan word about the Hand and Foot Offending, which Matthew uses twice, but Luke not at all. Here there will be overlap at Mt. xviii 6 and Lk. xvii 2.

12. Faith as a Grain of Mustard Seed.
Mk. xi 22 f; Mt. xxi 21 f.
Mt. xvii 20; Lk. xvii 6.

Luke probably reproduces Q. Mt. xvii 20 has ἐὰν ἔχητε πίστιν ὡς κόκκον σινάπεως, as Luke (εἰ ἔχετε π. κτλ.), and the rest of the sentence is precisely similar in construction to that of Luke, but with a quite different vocabulary, and the reference to a mountain, instead of a sycamine tree. In any case there is a slight overlapping of Mark and Q at Mt. xxi 21. Cf. Hawkins *Horae Syn.* ed. 1 p. 72, ed. 2 pp. 89 f.

13. Forgiveness whilst Praying. Mk. xi 25; Mt. vi 14 f.

Here the passages are in a widely different context, in Mark the occasion of the Withered Fig-tree, and in Matthew (Q) the Sermon on the Mount. Here, whilst the phrasing is different, there is a close correspondence of vocabulary—Mt. καὶ . . . ὁ πατὴρ ὑμῶν ὁ οὐράνιος . . .

Digitized by Google

τὰ παραπτώματα ὑμῶν, and Lk. καὶ ὁ πατὴρ ὑμῶν ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς . . . τὰ παραπτώματα ὑμῶν.

14. The Scribe's Question. Mk. xii 28–34; Mt. xxii 34–40; Lk. x 25–28.

On this section note *Oxford Studies* pp. 41–45; Allen on Mt. pp. 240 f; Stanton *Syn. Gospels* p. 89; Wright *Synopsis* p. 123. Wright considers that there is one incident only, which he refers to Deutero-Mark. He regards it as an intrusion, in the place assigned to it by canonical Mark, Luke being nearer to Proto-Mark. It is, however, quite reasonable to suppose that there may have been two occasions on which the Great Commandment was the subject of discussion, one of which was recorded by Mark, and the other in Q, and possibly also in one of Luke's special sources. In Luke the Scribe's question leads on to the Parable of the Good Samaritan. This is a 'story-parable', a type of which verifiable Q contains few or no examples. This is not to be pressed. The parables of the Talents and the Great Supper were, in some form, represented in Q, and possibly the Good Samaritan also. However, it is quite as likely that the whole of Lk. x 25–42 is from a special source of Luke, in which case we shall have three sources involved in the passage under review. Bartlet (*Oxford Studies* p. 346) thinks that Luke's source was already a fusion of Q with other material.

Matthew, preferring the Mark-incident, has combined it with the phraseology of Q. Luke omits the Marcan incident, in accordance with his tendency to avoid doublets. His language, nevertheless, is affected by Q, and also (in the phrase ἐξ ὅλης τῆς καρδίας, and the reference to ἰσχύς) by Mark. The change from ἐξ to ἐν is very noticeable.

It appears as if Matthew, in combining Mark and Q, has somewhat changed the character of the incident (see Weiss *Life of Christ* E. T. vol. ii pp. 289 n. and 291 n.). In Mark the question of the Scribe is spontaneous, and is not designed as a trap. This is recognized in the commendation of Jesus. Lk. xx 39 f also recognizes this. But Matthew, inserting πειράζων αὐτόν, from Q, and even more by *v.* 34, makes this another official test. The form of Q will be very much as reconstructed by Weiss (*Syn. Überlief.* pp. 34 f). The chief overlapping with Mark is in the phrases ἀγαπήσεις κύριον τὸν θεόν σου and τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτόν. The phrases τί ποιήσας ζωὴν αἰώνιον κληρονομήσω; τί γέγραπται; πῶς ἀναγινώσκεις; ὁ δὲ ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν, ὀρθῶς ἀπεκρίθης, τοῦτο ποίει καὶ ζήσῃ may reflect Luke's special source. We have to note besides that Lk. x 25 b contains exactly the same question as Lk. xviii 18 b, namely, τί ποιήσας ζωὴν αἰώνιον κληρονομήσω;, whilst in Mt. ch. xxii and Mk. ch. xii the question is about the First Commandment. Lk. xviii 18 is almost exactly Marcan, and Lk. x 25 b is certainly

Digitized by Google

secondary to it. Did Luke inadvertently confuse the two occasions? It is more likely that Q or Luke's special source had the question of the Scribe in a form so much like that of Mk. x 17 that Luke gave them both in precisely the same words. This would give another verbal coincidence in different sources.

15. The Chief Places at Feasts. Mk. xii 39; Mt. xxiii 6; Lk. xx 46. Lk. xi 43.

The parallel between Mark and Luke is close, both in form and order. In Matthew we have the Q-material worked into the Mark-position. In Lk. xi 43 we have Q-material *not* in a Marcan setting. Thus Mark and Q overlap at Mt. xxiii 6; and, what I have not noticed elsewhere, we have a case where Mark and Luke give one version and Matthew and Luke the other (Q), all four passages in almost identical form. Mk. xii 39 and Lk. xx 46 read καὶ ἀσπασμοὺς ἐν ταῖς ἀγοραῖς, καὶ πρωτοκαθεδρίας ἐν ταῖς συναγωγαῖς, καὶ πρωτοκλισίας ἐν τοῖς δείπνοις, and Lk. xi 43 and Mt. xxiii 6 (Q) τὰς πρωτοκαθεδρίας (Lk. τὴν πρωτοκαθεδρίαν) ἐν ταῖς συναγωγαῖς, καὶ τοὺς ἀσπασμοὺς ἐν ταῖς ἀγοραῖς.

Luke also (ch. xiv 7 ff) refers to the same subject, and, to a slight extent, in the same language; but he is here drawing on a third source.

16. He that is on the Housetop. Mk. xiii 15 f; Mt. xxiv 17 f; Lk. xvii 31.

It might appear that Mark and Q are involved here, seeing that Lk. xvii 20–37 is mostly from Q. There is good ground, however, for believing that *vv.* 31–33 are an editorial insertion and that Luke is reproducing Mark (see the excellent discussion of the passage by Weiss *Quellen des Lucasev.* pp. 85 ff). Lk. xvii 33 also is merely a repetition of Lk. ix 24, where Mark is the source. The Q-form of the saying is found at Mt. x 39 in another connexion.

For the sake of completeness a few passages may now be referred to in which Mark and Q are not both involved at the same place, but one or other of them with a special source of Luke. In these cases there is more or less of coincidence, often with slight overlap.

Overlapping of Mark with Luke's Special Source.

1. The Call of Simon. Mk. i 16–20; (Mt. iv 18–22); Lk. v 1–11.

The story of Mark, repeated by Matthew, is replaced in Luke by a totally different version, given in a somewhat different order. The transposition appears to be due in part to the previous transposition of the Visit to Nazareth, which will be noticed below. Having brought forward the latter incident, Luke was obliged to postpone the former. Luke's story does not appear to be taken from Q. It is too purely narrative in substance. The very slight overlapping in language is mainly due to the oneness of the subjects, though ἀφέντες . . . ἠκολούθησαν αὐτῷ may be a reflexion of Mark, in the recension common to

Digitized by Google

Matthew and Luke. The miracle is often explained as a variant of that recorded in Jn. xxi. Wernle (*Syn. Frage* pp. 37 f) thinks it is compiled out of Mk. i 16–20 with details from Mk. iv 1 f and the story of the miracle which we have in Jn. xxi. It is more probable that Luke is reproducing a true variant of the Story of the Call. There is no conclusive reason why he should disallow a Resurrection appearance in Galilee, and no dogmatic or literary reason for the transfer.

2. The Rejection at Nazareth. Mk. vi 1–6; Lk. iv 16–30.

Luke evidently preferred the non-Marcan version of this incident because it contained so fine an inauguration of the Gospel work. For this reason, and also because the action of the Nazarenes was typical of the attitude of the whole nation, Luke has set the piece out of its chronological order, at the very beginning of the public ministry. The accounts as a whole overlap; but the details are remarkably different. Practically the only words in common are ἐν τῇ πατρίδι αὐτοῦ, Lk. iv 24; Mk. vi 4.

Overlap of Q with Luke's Special Source or Sources.

Sanday *Expository Times* xi 473 refers to the possibility that these two sources may overlap. See also Buckley *Int. to Syn. Problem* p. 138. The following list will include the most important passages where this is possible. Space does not permit the full discussion that might be desirable. Some of the chief points are briefly indicated.

1. The Centurion's Servant. Mt. viii 5–13; Lk. vii 1–10.

Here it is assumed that Q is one of the sources. That is not granted by some scholars. By Wright, Barnes, and others the section is thought to be Proto-Mark. Harnack suggests that Q ended without any statement about the cure, but with the words, 'I have not found so great faith, no, not in Israel' (*Sayings* pp. 209 ff). In any case, Luke's account differs much in details that are by no means unimportant; yet he records the conversation in almost identical words. This is the stranger because it does not suit the lips of the deputation nearly so well as it does the Centurion himself. It is a most evident case of overlap. Luke admired the words of Q and the setting of the other source, and simply set one down almost on the top of the other.

2. On Bearing the Cross. The passage is discussed as no. 9 above.

Probably Lk. xiv 27 is from Luke's special source and Mt. x 38 from Q. The coincidences are only in words that could hardly differ, in variant versions of the same saying.

3. The Lost Sheep. Mt. xviii 12–14; Lk. xv 3–7.

Here the wording of the parable, as well as the context, differ greatly in Matthew and Luke. Luke has so much the better connexion that we do not wonder that he prefers it, and with it the non-Q form. There is some temptation to take Lk. xv 4–10 as a piece of Q; but if it were

Digitized by Google

we should expect to find both sister parables in Matthew. Here, apart from the numbers, there is not much identical in the wording; but in both cases the parable is cast in the form of a question.

4. The Great Supper. Mt. xxii 1–14; Lk. xiv 15–24.

The agreements and differences of the two parables are clearly set out by Harnack (*Sayings* pp. 119 f). The main idea of the two parables is the same, and the divergences from it in the two versions are quite in accord with the genius of the respective Gospels. They probably rest on a common original of a somewhat simpler type. Mt. xxii 11–13 really belongs to another parable, of the type of the Tares and the Fish-net. Now if Matthew rests on a Q-version, which is not quite certain, Luke must have had two versions of this parable before him, as of that of the Lost Sheep; and he preferred the non-Q form of it. There is very little coincidence of language at all between the two forms.

5. The Talents and the Minae. Mt. xxv 14–30; Lk. xix 11–27.

Only a few points can be noted. We must hold to the originality of Luke's main outline. Streeter (*Oxford Studies* pp. 199 f) has put the historical connexion of the parable very clearly. At the same time there must have been a personal element, such as is given in the entrusting of the minae. But there is evidence of the combination of this with some elements from the parable of the Talents, which may very well have stood in Q.

In Luke, though ten servants have received a mina apiece, only three, as in Matthew, give an account. Moreover, though the capital is equal in each case, and much less than in Matthew, the five and ten reappear, vastly raising the proportion, and in a different relation to the original amount. Again, this intrusive element is not really consistent with the rest; for the talents will stand for the external gifts and opportunities of life, which do expand with faithful use; but the minae, being equal, rather represent the position in the Kingdom which is common to all the disciples (much as Weiss explains the matter), which may be improved by faithfulness, and lost by unfaithfulness, but can hardly be conferred on any one else. It may therefore be suggested that Luke found the 'Talents' in Q, and the 'Minae' in another source, and to some extent combined them.

In the following cases there is some coincidence of similar material in which neither Mark nor Q is necessarily involved.

1. The Keeping of the Sabbath. Mt. xii 11; Lk. xiv 5.

There is the same reference to an animal falling into a pit; but in Matthew we have a sheep, and in Luke a 'son or an ox'. This is similar to the variation in the saying about Faith, where Mark has a mountain, and Q a tree (see no. 12 above).

2. Signs of the Weather. Mt. xvi 2 f; Lk. xii 54–56.

Digitized by Google

Here the wording is very different. Luke may be from Q or a special source, and Matthew from a source which is not Q.

3. The Stone of Stumbling. Mt. xxi 44; Lk. xx 18.

Luke cannot here depend on Q; but rather on some 'Testimony Book'. The omission of the parallel in Matthew by some important Western authorities makes it possible that it may have come into Matthew from Luke at a very early period. Both Matthew and Luke in their rendering of the associated parable vary a good deal from one another, as well as from Mark; but, apart from the saying under discussion, there is nothing to shew that they have a common source other than Mark. At the same time *v.* 43 in Matthew is quite peculiar to this Gospel, and may indicate a double source for Matthew. Of course, if this is so, we should have a very remarkable case of overlap here, in Matthew, and then also in Luke, if Q were a source for the parable as well as Mark. In that case the words about the Stone of Stumbling would betray Q in both Gospels. But the balance of probabilities seems to be against this.

It may be noted that in three sections above, nos. 9, 14, and 15, On Bearing the Cross, The Scribe's Question, and The Chief Places at Feasts, three sources appear to be involved. See also p. 137 above.

In the case of the Beatitudes and the Lord's Prayer, Luke may have had versions both of Q and other sources before him, in which case there would be some overlapping in his final renderings; but the two passages are far too complicated to discuss in a short paper.

If to these examples are added *doublets* traceable to more than one source,[1] we shall have surveyed all the most important cases of coincidence in the various sources of the Synoptic Gospels. It is believed that the cases in which overlapping can be certainly demonstrated, when studied in contrast to those in which Mark and Luke follow a common recension of Mark different from that represented by the canonical Mark, afford a proof that Matthew and Luke had Q before them in written form. That their copies of Q themselves differed considerably in some places does not affect the argument.

The general result of the paper is to work out in detail the suggestions of Dr Sanday referred to at the beginning of the paper, but not followed up in the other contributions to the *Oxford Studies*. It may be said that the same conclusions had been reached, and the examples had all been worked out, before the *Oxford Studies* were published, and may therefore be regarded as independent confirmation of the suggestions there made.

T. STEPHENSON.

[1] See *J. T. S.* October 1918 vol. xx pp. 6–8.

Digitized by Google

'THE SIGN OF JOHN.'

THE two main sources employed by our first and third Evangelists each recorded a request for a σημεῖον ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ addressed to Jesus, and the words which He spake in answer thereto.

It is not possible to determine with any certitude whether the compiler of Q and the writer of our second Gospel are narrating one and the same conversation or two different conversations, but in the absence of evidence pointing unmistakeably to the second alternative it is natural to take the two accounts as reports of the same incident. This is the view of most modern scholars, of whom some, including Loisy and Canon Streeter,[1] hold that one of the two accounts—the Marcan—is derived from, or based upon, the other. Matthew, it is true, reproduces both accounts, that of Q in xii 38–42, and that of Mark in xvi 1–4, giving in the latter passage, however, not the reply which he found in Mark (viii 12), but the one which he had already reproduced from Q in the earlier passage, with the single difference that in chapter xvi the words τοῦ προφήτου do not reappear. Luke, on the other hand, while incorporating the Q account, as does Matthew, in his narrative of the Beelzeboul controversy (xi 16, 29–32) omits the Marcan account, presumably because he regards the two accounts as reports of the same incident. The reason for this omission of Mark viii 11, 12 by Luke is part of the larger question of his omission of the matter contained in Mark vi 45–viii 26, but there can be no reasonable doubt that he was acquainted with Mark viii 11, 12, as is shewn by the reappearance in Luke xi 16 of several expressions from Mark viii 11: the πειράζοντες of Mark is reproduced, Mark's σημεῖον ἀπὸ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ becomes σημεῖον ἐξ οὐρανοῦ, while Luke's ἐζήτουν παρ' αὐτοῦ is very like the ζητοῦντες παρ' αὐτοῦ of Mark. Sir John Hawkins, who calls attention to the presence of these Marcan expressions in Luke,[2] attaches no great importance to the fact, but it certainly creates a presumption not only that Luke took the accounts in his two sources to be accounts of the same incident, but also that his omission of Mark vi 45–viii 26 was not accidental, or due to the absence of this portion of Mark from his edition, or from his copy, of our second Gospel.

In the Marcan account of the episode we are discussing the refusal of a sign is absolute: ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν, εἰ δοθήσεται τῇ γενεᾷ ταύτῃ σημεῖον

[1] See *Oxford Studies in the Synoptic Problem* pp. 177 and 412.
[2] *Horae Synopticae* p. 97.

Digitized by Google

(Mark viii 12). According to Q, however, the refusal was not absolute, and in all the texts of Matthew and Luke which have come to us the exception is expressed in the words εἰ μὴ τὸ σημεῖον Ἰωνᾶ [τοῦ προφήτου].

Arguments have been adduced in favour of the originality of the absolute form of the reply of Jesus. We are told by von Dobschütz[1] that 'against the vast majority of writers' he himself is of the opinion that 'Wellhausen is right here in maintaining the superiority of the Marcan tradition'. He bases his acceptance of Wellhausen's view on the fact that 'nobody until this day has succeeded in giving a fair explanation of what the sign of Jonah might mean', and after rejecting the explanation offered in Matt. xii 40, he proceeds to shew that the Lucan parallel attempt to solve the enigma also fails, inasmuch as 'the preaching of Jonah, which caused the people of Nineveh to repent, can hardly be called a sign'. But these reasons, however true in themselves, are utterly lacking in the cogency required to establish the originality of the absolute form of the reply. Do not the sayings about the repentance of the Ninevites and the tenacity of purpose displayed by the Queen of the South require that a reference to *some* sign vouchsafed to the generation condemned by contrast with them had just been made by Jesus?

If we are justified in refusing to accept von Dobschütz's verdict as to the greater originality of the Marcan form of our Lord's reply, our reluctance to follow him when he bases upon this conversation the contention that Jesus denied that that generation would witness the Parousia is fortified. 'Jesus', he says, 'does not promise any sign, but He denies to the present generation the sign which they ask for, viz. the Messianic sign. . . . So Jesus by this answer denies that this generation will see the coming of the Messiah.'[2] Even if the denial were absolute, it would be difficult to accept this interpretation. Are we to construe the request of the Pharisees and their associates as a desire to see the actual appearance of the Son of Man? It is true that in the Matthaean version of the 'small apocalypse' the Parousia appears to be spoken of as τὸ σημεῖον τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου (Matt. xxiv 30). I say 'appears' because it is possible that the words refer to some unique phenomenon coming immediately before the Parousia, and not to the actual manifestation of the Son of Man.[3] In either case that culminating event is to be preceded by other signs: 'But immediately, after the tribulation of those days, the sun shall be darkened, and the moon shall not give her light, and the stars shall fall from heaven, and the powers of the heavens shall be shaken: and then shall appear the sign of the Son of Man in heaven' (Matt. xxiv 29, 30). If the request for

[1] *Eschatology of the Gospels* pp. 111, 112. [2] *Op. cit.* pp. 112, 113.
[3] See Archdeacon Allen *ad loc.*

Digitized by Google

a sign from the sky is to be interpreted as a desire to see the Parousia, would not those who made the request have spoken of *the* sign and not *a* sign? And would not the reply of Jesus make it clear that He was referring to the Parousia? We should then have expected His reply to assume some such form as εἰ τὸ σημεῖον δοθήσεται κτλ. The actual form of His answer shews that He is denying, not the supreme, pre-eminent sign, but rather any one of a series of signs. The demand is for one of the signs that were to herald the coming of the Kingdom of God. Jesus had proclaimed its imminence, and it was the most natural thing in the world for Pharisees to ask to see one of the convulsions of nature which they so closely associated with the coming of the Messiah and the ushering in of the Kingdom. It is full of interest that in a work composed by a Pharisee—a 'Pharisaic Quietist' is Dr Charles's description of him—in the lifetime of Jesus, possibly after the commencement of His ministry, a large place is given to the natural convulsions which were destined to herald and to attend the coming of the Kingdom. In the tenth chapter of the *Assumption of Moses*[1] we read:

For the Heavenly One will arise from His royal throne,
And He will go forth from His holy habitation
And His wrath will burn on account of His sons.
And the earth will tremble: to its confines will it be shaken:
And the high mountains will be made low
And the hills will be shaken and fall.
And the horns of the sun will be broken and he will be turned into darkness;
And the moon will not give her light, and be turned wholly into blood.
And the circle of the stars will be disturbed.
And the sea will retire into the abyss,
And the fountains of waters will fail,
And the rivers will dry up.
For the Most High will arise, the Eternal God alone,
And He will appear to punish the Gentiles,
And He will destroy all their idols.

This quotation, as well as the words already cited from the 'small apocalypse', indicates the nature of the σημεῖον ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ demanded by the Pharisees.

Impossible as I find it to endorse von Dobschütz's denial of the authenticity of the words εἰ μὴ τὸ σημεῖον Ἰωνᾶ, I think nevertheless that he is amply justified when he states that so far no one has been successful in suggesting a satisfactory explanation of 'the sign of Jonah'.

[1] I quote Charles's rendering of verses 3–7, though I cannot but think that his treatment of the MS text is somewhat drastic.

Digitized by Google

The purpose of this paper is to furnish reasons in support of the view that the words τὸ σημεῖον Ἰωνᾶ should be rendered, not 'the sign of Jonah', but 'the sign of John', that is, John the Baptist—a view which, in my opinion, has not received the attention or won the favour which its plausibility would seem to merit.

The late Dr Cheyne and Professor B. W. Bacon are among the few—if indeed they are not the only[1]—English-speaking scholars who interpret the words in this way. In the article 'John the Baptist' in the *Encyclopaedia Biblica* Dr Cheyne maintains that John (or Johanan, as he prefers to call him) was the sign vouchsafed to the generation of Jesus, and seems to assume that in Matt. xii 39 = Luke xi 29 Ἰωνᾶ should be translated 'John'. He remarks that 'there is some probability that a testimony to John has been converted by the reporters of tradition into a testimony of Jesus to himself', and adds that the view which he is advocating is substantially that of Brandt.[2]

'The "sign of Jonah"', says Bacon, 'in the parallel (Q) narrative of the Demand for a Sign in Matt. xii 38–45 = Luke xi 29–32 is neither, as our first evangelist assumes, the resurrection (Matt. xii 40), nor, as our third interprets (Luke xi 30), Jesus' own preaching, which is compared with the "wisdom" sought by the Queen of Sheba. It is the warning message of John the Baptist.'[3]

Now if the thesis which we have set out to maintain is sound, it is evident that neither Matt. xii 40 nor its parallel, Luke xi 30, correctly reports what Jesus could have said on this occasion. As to the former verse, modern scholars are all but unanimous in refusing to regard it as an authentic utterance. Dr Plummer, for example, says: 'There is no doubt that *v.* 40 is part of the original text of this Gospel; it is absent from no MS or version. But there is good reason for believing that it was no part of Christ's reply on this occasion. (1) It is not in Luke xi 29–32. (2) It does not fit the context, which speaks of preaching producing repentance and is in no way concerned with the Resurrection.

[1] Every word of this paper was written before I observed the Rev. Cavendish Moxon's short note on Τὸ σημεῖον Ἰωνᾶ in *The Expository Times* for September 1911 (vol. xxii, No. 12), in which brief reference is made to one or two of the arguments of which I make use.

[2] *Enc. Bib.* col. 2502. In col. 2570, article 'Jonah [Book]', however, Cheyne writes as if Ἰωνᾶ referred to the prophet Jonah.

[3] *Fourth Gospel in Research and Debate* p. 350, note 1. On p. 361 (note 3) there is another reference to the same subject. There also it is affirmed that it is 'Jesus' own *offer of the divine forgiveness*' that is compared with the object of the Queen of Sheba's quest. I am quite at a loss to see why this distinction should be drawn between the passage concerning the queen and that relating to the Ninevites. Surely the comparison in each must be with the same thing, namely, the preaching of the Baptist. If not, would not the change have been more clearly indicated?

Digitized by Google

(3) It would not be intelligible to Christ's hearers, who knew nothing of His future Resurrection. (4) The parallel drawn between Jonah and Christ is not true.'[1] With all this I am in hearty agreement; but at the same time I am of the opinion that this difficult verse is based upon a genuine saying. The dialogue of John ii 18, 19 lends support to this opinion, for there is no valid reason why we should refuse to think that there is actual history behind the question and answer of those Johannine verses. That the dialogue is associated with the cleansing of the Temple implies that it took place late in our Lord's ministry; indeed, if Jesus in answer to a demand for a sign did make some reference to His death and resurrection, He must have done so late in His life, after He had come to see that for Him the path to the Parousia led through the gateway of death. His death and resurrection would precede His return in glory, and we may well believe that towards the close of the ministry Jesus spake of His death and resurrection as the 'sign' that would herald the Parousia, and I would offer the suggestion that in Matt. xii 40 we have an attempt to elucidate a false rendering of the words *τὸ σημεῖον Ἰωνᾶ* by means of this later saying.

As to the Lucan parallel (xi 30), many find it easy to believe that it correctly records what Jesus said on this occasion; but if we may assume that what has already been said as to the nature of the sign sought by the Pharisees is sound, it is difficult to think that Jesus would speak of the Son of Man as the sign given to that generation. And wherein does the parallelism consist between Jonah and the glorious Son of Man? If it be urged that the reference is to the present preaching of One destined thereafter to appear as the Son of Man, it is pertinent to ask why then the future tense is employed. Unless we are prepared to admit that either Matthew or Luke was acquainted with and influenced by the work of the other, the mere presence of *οὕτως ἔσται [καὶ] ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου* in both Gospels is proof enough that there was *something* in the common source corresponding to Matt. xii 40 = Luke xi 30, in which case they who regard Matt. xii 40 as altogether the first Evangelist's own attempt to explain the 'sign of Jonah' are mistaken. In Q apparently the verb was future, whereas the context, in which the people of that generation are charged with present neglect of opportunity, would seem to require a verb in the present tense. In the original Aramaic very probably the verb was not expressed at all. Of course we can only surmise as to the form of the saying in Q, but it would seem to be a safe conclusion that the source, to say the least, did not quite exactly represent what Jesus said. The divergence from the actual words of Jesus *may* have been great.

[1] *St Matthew* (*ad loc.* p. 183).

Digitized by Google

Difficult as it is to be confident as to the exact form of the saying in Q, it is more difficult still to be positive as to its form when it came from the Master's lips. If I may hazard an opinion, I should say that the original saying was to the effect that as Jonah was a sign to the Ninevites, so was the preaching of the Baptist to the generation of Jesus.[1]

Clearly Matt. xii 40 = Luke xi 30 need not stand in the way of our acceptance of the main contention of this paper. It is scarcely necessary to add that the same applies to the use of *τοῦ προφήτου* to describe Ἰωνᾶ in Matt. xii 39. The words may have been inserted after the sign had come to be regarded as that of Jonah. But there is no difficulty in thinking that Jesus may have used the words to describe John; for did He not speak of him on another occasion as *περισσότερον προφήτου* (Matt. xi 9 = Luke vii 26)? And in Luke vii 28 it is interesting to recall that A D and several other authorities read *λέγω ὑμῖν, μείζων ἐν γεννητοῖς γυναικῶν προφήτης Ἰωάνου οὐδείς ἐστιν.*

The plausibility of the view that 'except the sign of *Jonah*' is a misinterpretation of the meaning of Jesus is enhanced by the ease with which the two names John and Jonah could be confused. The mere existence of the form Βαριωνᾶ (Matt. xvi 17) is proof enough—if the Fourth Gospel correctly renders it by *ὁ υἱὸς Ἰωάνου* (i 42)—that some such form as יונא existed in Aramaic as an abbreviation of יוֹחָנָן. Confusion would be easy between this abbreviated form and the name יוֹנָה, Jonah. Allen is not willing to admit that we have in Βαριωνᾶ a shortened form of יוֹחָנָן. Such an abbreviation, he remarks, is not found elsewhere. The *-ιωνᾶ* he regards as = יוֹנָה.[2] But if confusion of the two names did not originate in the Aramaic, it would be easy for it to arise in Greek. We know that the sayings of Jesus were translated at an early date. To see how easily the names could be confused in Greek we need only note that יוֹחָנָן or יְהוֹחָנָן is represented in MSS of the LXX by all these forms: Ἰωνά, Ἰωνᾶς, Ἰωνάν, Ἰωάν(ν)ας, Ἰωαν(ν)άν, Ἰωανάμ, Ἰωάν(ν)ης.[3] Schmiedel, whose view of Βαριωνᾶ differs from Allen's, remarks that יוֹחָנָן 'underlies not only the N. T. Ἰωάν(ν)ης, but certainly also the Ιωνας of Matt. xvi 17, since in John i 42 (or in another enumeration i 43), xxi 15–17 we find Ιωαν(ν)ης for the same person—the father of Simon Peter.'[4] The same writer, dealing with the Greek

[1] I had surmised that this was what Jesus said before I noticed that Cheyne gives in similar words what I take to be his conception of the original form of the saying: 'For as Jonah was a sign to the Ninevites, so shall also (Johanan) be to this generation' (*Enc. Bib.* col. 2502). But why 'shall be'?

[2] *St Matthew* (*ad loc.* pp. 175, 176).

[3] See Schmiedel *Enc. Bib.* col. 2505 (article 'John, Son of Zebedee').

[4] *Op. cit.*

Digitized by Google

renderings of יוֹחָנָן says: 'Of the various equivalents Ιωναν comes nearest the most original form (Ιωαναν) so far as the consonants, Ιωανας so far as the vowels are concerned, whilst the second ν has disappeared in the Graecizing of the termination. The same thing has happened also in the forms Ιωνας and Ιωνα, in which, moreover, by the coalescence of the vowels the distinction between this name and that of Ἰωνᾶς = יוֹנָה, Jonah, has disappeared.'[1] So Cheyne: 'That "Jonah" and "Joannes" or Johanan may be identical is clear from Matt. xvi 17.'[2] There can be no manner of doubt that *τὸ σημεῖον Ἰωνᾶ may* mean 'the sign of John'.

The misunderstanding, originating in this confusion, would be reinforced by the fact that Jesus immediately proceeds to speak of Jonah. Perhaps it would be more exact to say that this fact led to the confusion of the names. Von Dobschütz, who denies the authenticity of Matt. xii 40 = Luke xi 30, thinks that the saying dealing with the repentance of the Ninevites (Matt. xii 41 = Luke xi 32) gave rise to the expression 'the sign of Jonah', but, as we have seen, this saying about the Ninevites implies that *some* sign was actually granted to the generation addressed by Jesus, and it is much more intelligible and credible that it should be responsible, or partly responsible, for the misinterpretation of the words *τὸ σημεῖον Ἰωνᾶ* than for their introduction into the text. But we have shewn reason for refusing to reject Matt. xii 40 = Luke xi 30 altogether; a genuine logion underlies these verses, and though we cannot decipher its original form with any certitude we can nevertheless trace its lineaments clearly enough to see how it might have contributed to the misunderstanding of the words which immediately preceded it. The fact that in Matthew we have *ὥσπερ γὰρ ἦν Ἰωνᾶς* and in Luke *καθὼς γὰρ ἐγένετο Ἰωνᾶς* indicates that the original saying opened with a comparison in which the prophet Jonah was compared with somebody or something. The suggestion has already been made that the obscured branch of the comparison had reference to the Baptist and his work. Apparently the opening words of the comparison, which speak of Jonah, were taken as introducing an explanatory expansion of the words *τὸ σημεῖον Ἰωνᾶ* instead of being taken as the introduction of a new conception for comparison with the *σημεῖον Ἰωνᾶ*.

The comparison drawn between Jonah and the sign given to the generation of Jesus leads naturally to the censure of Matt. xii 41 = Luke xi 32 which takes the form of a contrast between the attitude of the Ninevites to the preaching of Jonah, and the attitude of the contemporaries of Jesus to the sign vouchsafed to them. Harnack—and in this he follows Blass—is strongly inclined to regard the Lucan verse

[1] *Loc. cit.* [2] *Enc. Bib.* col. 2502.

Digitized by Google

as an interpolation in the text.[1] His reasons, however, do not carry conviction. It is true that the order of verses 31 and 32 in Luke is the reverse of the order of the parallel verses in Matthew, but that in itself is no reason for suspecting that one of the verses in the third Gospel has been interpolated from the first Gospel. By the same process of reasoning we should be forced to conclude that the account of the second or third temptation was originally wanting in one of these two Gospels, because there, too, there is a variation in the order. Harnack bases his view mainly upon the absence from verse 32 of the characteristically Lucan expansion of τῆς γενεᾶς ταύτης into τῶν ἀνδρῶν τῆς γενεᾶς ταύτης which is seen in verse 31. But there is not much force in this argument: perhaps Luke was kept by his sense of style from an immediate repetition of the expansion. As to the omission of verse 32 by Codex Bezae, the scribe may easily have been misled by the somewhat similar endings of verses 31 and 32, or through recollection of the order in Matthew, for it is notorious that reminiscence of parallel passages frequently influenced the scribes. But if Harnack would eliminate the verse from the true text of Luke, he is certain it stood in Q. It is difficult to think of an adequate motive for its omission by Luke. Far more plausible is the hypothesis that Luke inverted the order of the source to ensure chronological sequence; and Tatian follows the Lucan order, apparently for the same reason. If Matthew's order, then, is original we have the saying underlying Matt. xii 40 as well as verse 41 following immediately after the words τὸ σημεῖον Ἰωνᾶ. Is it greatly to be wondered at that the latter expression was misinterpreted?

It is not difficult, then, to see how the misunderstanding of 'the sign of John' arose. Neither is it difficult to shew that the movement initiated by the Baptist was the one thing which Jesus would declare to be the sign of the nearness of the Kingdom granted to that generation.

For one thing, it was the Baptist movement that had been for Jesus Himself the sign that the Kingdom was at hand. It was after His visit to the Jordan that He proclaimed: 'The time is fulfilled, and the Kingdom of God is at hand: repent, and believe in the good news' (Mark i 15). Profound was the impression made upon Him by the sight of sinful men and women submitting themselves to a baptism of repentance, and in utter sincerity turning away from their sin, in order to be fit to meet their God. This surely was the beginning of the crisis that would usher in the Kingdom. Here was the unmistakeable sign that the long and dreary time of waiting was soon to end. Words spoken by Jesus in the closing days of His Ministry serve to remind us how deep was the impression made upon Him by the sight which He

[1] *Sayings of Jesus* (English translation) pp. 23, 24.

Digitized by Google

witnessed at the Jordan: 'Verily I say unto you, that the publicans and the harlots go into the Kingdom of God before you. For John came unto you in the way of righteousness, and ye believed him not: but the publicans and the harlots believed him: and ye, when ye saw it, did not even repent yourselves afterward, that ye might believe him' (Matt. xxi 31, 32). 'He left his home, laying down forever his workman's tools, and mingled with the crowd that listened to the Baptist's message. There he saw people of the class for whom the religious leaders of the day had no room in their vision of the Kingdom—the hated publican, the harlots—publicly proclaiming themselves as sinners. One who above all things had so deep a sense of reality must have felt profoundly moved by the sight of such reality shewn in such a pathetic way. These people, at any rate, had gone beyond pious phrases and smug complacency, they were hungering and thirsting for righteousness. For them at least the Kingdom of God was a reality. In such a scene his patiently nourished purpose and passion for the Kingdom of God found an answer perhaps unexpected; he saw his way, made the first great decision of his life, and joined himself with these people who sought the Kingdom of God.'[1]

Can it be that the description of that generation as γενεὰ πονηρὰ καὶ μοιχαλίς which we find in each report of our Lord's reply in Matthew (xii 39, xvi 4) was the result of a contrast which formed itself in His mind between those publicans and harlots on the one hand, and the Pharisees and their associates on the other? The 'sinners' and harlots recognized the way of the Spirit, and submitted themselves to the baptism of repentance, whereas the religious leaders were blind to that way, demanding some visible sign from the sky to convince them of the nearness of God's Kingdom. It was this unwillingness to recognize God's way—to read God's signs—that constituted the 'adultery' so persistently denounced by the Hebrew prophets. The demand for an apocalyptic sign and the failure to recognize the true sign in the Baptist movement marked the real sinners and 'adulterers'. It was the amazing crassness of His questioners that caused Jesus to sigh deeply in His Spirit (Mark viii 12).

Another indication that Jesus in His reply is referring to the Baptist and his work is that it is the κήρυγμα of Jonah that is compared with the sign given to His contemporaries; and the extent to which *proclamation* was regarded as of the essence of the Baptist's work is shewn by the placing of κηρύσσω on a level with βαπτίζω in what appears to be the original text of Mark i 4 ἐγένετο Ἰωάνης βαπτίζων ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ καὶ κηρύσσων βάπτισμα μετανοίας εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν. Moreover, the Ninevites are praised in contrast with the generation addressed by Jesus

[1] Prof. S. H. Hooke *Christ and the Kingdom of God* pp. 17, 18.

Digitized by Google

on the ground that they *repented* at the preaching of Jonah, which was exactly what the contemporaries of our Lord had refused to do in spite of John's urgent entreaty. Significant is the similarity of the condemnation implied in the contrast drawn between the conduct of that generation and the conduct of the Ninevites, and the charge brought against the persons addressed in the words just quoted from Matt. xxi 32 where Jesus is speaking of their attitude to the Baptist.

The most convincing reason for thinking that the solitary sign granted to our Lord's generation was John the Baptist and the movement inaugurated by him is the arresting fact that in almost every instance when Jesus speaks of John the implication is present that if His hearers had known the Baptist they would have recognized Him also.

When the messengers who had come from John to inquire whether Jesus was 'the Coming One' had departed, Jesus began to speak to the assembled multitude concerning the Baptist. What had they seen when they went to the Jordan? Not a weakling or a sensualist? This question is surely asked in irony. They had forsooth recognized the sturdiness and austerity of John—yea, they had even seen the prophet in him. But there was more which they had not seen. He was much more even than a prophet: in him the prediction of Malachi—

> Behold, I send my messenger before thy face
> Who shall prepare thy way before thee—

had at last found its fulfilment. Among all the children of men no one greater than John had appeared. Then come the strange words: ὁ δὲ μικρότερος ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τῶν οὐρανῶν [or τοῦ θεοῦ] μείζων αὐτοῦ ἐστίν (Matt. xi 11 = Luke vii 28). The common interpretation of this saying is open to the serious objection that it makes Jesus speak of John as if he were outside the Kingdom. Would He thus speak of John? Would He include 'Abraham and Isaac and Jacob, and all the prophets in the Kingdom of God' (Luke xiii 28), and exclude him whom He declared to be περισσότερον προφήτου? If the intention had been to say that even to be the herald of the Kingdom was of small account as compared with membership in the Kingdom, the statement could easily have been expressed in a way that would not imply that John was outside the Kingdom. We should, I feel sure, give μικρότερος its comparative sense and apply the words to Jesus Himself. It is highly significant that both Hilary and Chrysostom so interpret them. The words of Chrysostom are cited by Plummer on Luke vii 28, and more fully by Alford on Matt. xi 11, both of whom, however, reject this interpretation. 'It is most unnatural', says Plummer, 'to explain ὁ μικρότερος of Christ.' 'Such an interpretation', says the earlier expositor, 'is entirely adverse to the spirit of the whole discourse. We may certainly

Digitized by Google

say that our Lord in such a passage as this would not designate Himself as ὁ μικρότερος compared with John, in any sense.' But let us see what Chrysostom says. Alford gives two quotations, both from Hom. xxxvii. The first runs: μικρότερος, κατὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν καὶ κατὰ τὴν τῶν πολλῶν δόξαν, καὶ γὰρ ἔλεγον αὐτὸν φάγον καὶ οἰνοπότην· καί, οὐχ οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ τοῦ τέκτονος υἱός; καὶ πανταχοῦ αὐτὸν ἐξηυτέλιζον. The second runs, in part, as follows: περὶ ἑαυτοῦ λέγων εἰκότως κρύπτει τὸ πρόσωπον διὰ τὴν ἔτι κρατοῦσαν ὑπόνοιαν καὶ τὸ μὴ δόξαι περὶ ἑαυτοῦ μέγα τι λέγειν· καὶ γὰρ πολλαχοῦ φαίνεται τοῦτο ποιῶν. It may well be that this is nearer the mark than the usual modern interpretation. We may dismiss Chrysostom's reference to the question of age,[1] but in some of his other comments he seems to me to get to the heart of the saying. Κατὰ τὴν τῶν πολλῶν δόξαν brings out exactly, in my opinion, the sense in which Jesus would speak of Himself as less than John. He who was of less account than John in the people's thoughts regarding the Kingdom was, if they only knew, greater than he. Chrysostom is right also in his view of the reason that prompted Jesus to veil the reference to Himself. He could not speak more plainly without disclosing the secret of His Messiahship, and that disclosure could not yet be made because of the hostility which it would be certain to evoke. This interpretation of the words of Jesus is also that of the mediaeval commentators Euthymius and Theophylact, and they in turn are followed by Erasmus and Luther. It has, however, found small favour in modern times. But it seems to be coming to its own again. I presume that the words 'John is great but Christ transcends him' on p. 213 of the *Oxford Studies in the Synoptic Problem* point to the acceptance of this view by Canon Streeter; and Professor S. H. Hooke, in his excellent Bible-study textbook entitled *Christ and the Kingdom of God*, from which we have already made one quotation, paraphrases the words of Jesus thus: 'And just as you did not recognize in the sombre garb of the ascetic the glorious figure of Elias, so also have you no shadow of a thought that among you, reckoned less even than John, is One who is greater than Elias, the Messiah himself!'[2]

Immediately, then, after speaking of the people's blindness to the true greatness of John, Jesus bemoans their failure to recognize Himself. Unable to discern the full significance of John they make *Him* less than John. There is here more than a hint of the close connexion between their failure to know John and their ignorance of the Greater One. The two failures are akin. The mention of the one leads to the thought

[1] κατὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν shews that Chrysostom takes the words ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ with μείζων and not with μικρότερος. Plummer also remarks that they must be so taken if the sentence is applied to Jesus. They may, however, quite naturally go with μικρότερος.

[2] P. 51.

Digitized by Google

of the other. The same temper was responsible for both. Had they been able to know John for what he really was they would not have regarded as of less account in relation to the Kingdom One who was greater even than John. The close association by Jesus of ignorance of the Baptist with inability to know Himself is but another way of saying that John was the sign of the Kingdom.

It is now that Jesus makes to the people the announcement that the Baptist was none other than the Elias of their expectation (Matt. xi 14, 15). The words ὁ ἔχων ὦτα ἀκουέτω shew (as Schweitzer has pointed out) the importance which Jesus attaches to the announcement. But He does not declare the Baptist to be Elias simply because, as Schweitzer would have us think, it was necessary to fit some one into the place of Elias in the eschatological scheme, but because in very truth John had performed the work which it was expected that Elias would do: he had prepared the way for the Messiah and the Kingdom. The fact that the description of John as Elias comes in this context shews that Jesus had the relation of John to Himself in His mind, and thus gives further support to the view that explains ὁ δὲ μικρότερος κτλ. of Jesus Himself. Coming immediately after this reference to Himself, the statement that the Baptist was Elias plainly implies that if the people had truly known John, and seen in him the Elias of prophecy, they would not have failed to know Him whose path John had prepared. Along with this, however, goes the sorrowful implication that the great revelation which is being made concerning John and his position will be lost upon the people. There seems to run through the words of Jesus the melancholy thought that even with the aid He accords to them they will refuse to see the true significance of John—to read the σημεῖον Ἰωνᾶ—and that consequently they will remain blind to the unique position which He himself occupies in relation to the Kingdom of God: καὶ εἰ θέλετε δέξασθαι, αὐτός ἐστιν Ἠλείας ὁ μέλλων ἔρχεσθαι. Ὁ ἔχων ὦτα ἀκουέτω.

The Parable of the Complaining Children which Jesus spoke on this occasion (Matt. xi 16–19 = Luke vii 31–35) confirms the impression that running through the great discourse of which it forms a part is the thought that ignorance of John betokens a disposition that inevitably fails to recognize Jesus also. The structure of the parable makes it clear that the children who complain are the men of that generation, while the Baptist and Jesus are represented by the other children, who are unresponsive to the petulant plaint. This interpretation gives the two complaints in their chronological order. Jesus here brackets Himself with the Baptist, and speaks of the attitude of their contemporaries to them both. They had not understood either. They were offended by the differing surface characteristics of the Baptist and Jesus, unable

Digitized by Google

and unwilling to see the underlying harmony. The temper which prevented them from knowing the Baptist was the very temper that kept them from recognizing the Son of Man. It is implied that had they known the one they would have known the other also. They failed to read the sign of John, and that was the mark of a disposition which could not understand the Christ.

When, later, the authority of Jesus was challenged in the Temple by 'the chief priests and the scribes and the elders' (Mark xi 27 ff and parallels), and He was asked 'By what authority doest thou these things? or who gave thee this authority to do these things?' He replied by asking the counter-question regarding the Baptism of John: was it from heaven or from men? Why did Jesus ask this counter-question? Surely not because He foresaw that it would place His interlocutors in an awkward predicament, and thereby relieve Him of the necessity of giving answer to their question. We cannot think of Jesus thus manœuvring for a cheap victory in dialectic. His answer means that if they had seen the true inwardness of John's Baptism they would have known whence *His* authority proceeded. How could He reveal the source of His authority to men who had failed to see the hand of God in the Baptist movement? They had failed to read the σημεῖον Ἰωνᾶ, and hand in hand with that failure went the inability to recognize Him whose forerunner John had been. 'He had taken', says Dr Glover, 'what we might call an easy case—where it was evident that God had spoken; and this was all they made of it—they "could not tell". It was plain, then, *either* that these men did not recognize the obvious message of God ("the word of God came upon John" Luke iii 2), *or* that, if they did recognize it, they thought it did not matter. For the insincere and the trivial there is no message from God, no truth of God—how should there be?'[1]

Are there to be found in the New Testament any echoes of our Lord's description of John as the σημεῖον? Is there such an allusion in Luke i 80? We read there that John was in the desert ἕως ἡμέρας ἀναδείξεως αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν Ἰσραήλ. What meaning are we to give to ἀνάδειξις here —its only occurrence in the New Testament? It is quite possible, of course, that it bears its passive meaning—'until the day of his appointment' or 'of the proclamation of his appointment'. This view is favoured by the consideration that the cognate verb ἀναδείκνυμι in each of its two New Testament occurrences (both of them in the Lucan writings, Luke x 1, Acts i 24) is used in connexion with appointment to office. On the other hand, it is by no means impossible that the noun has its active significance in Luke i 80. Liddell and Scott remark (*s.v.* ἀνάδειξις) that 'it is uncertain whether the words ἡ ἀνάδειξις αὐτοῦ

[1] *The Jesus of History* p. 99.

Digitized by Google

πρὸς τὸν Ἰσραήλ, Luc. i 80, are to be taken in the active or passive sense'. More than once in Herodotus the verb ἀναδείκνυμι is used with ἀσπίδα of holding up a shield as a signal, and once (vii 128) it is used with σημήιον: ἀνέδεξε σημήιον τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνάγεσθαι. In Sirach xliii 6 ἀνάδειξις and σημεῖον are actually found as parallels:

καὶ ἡ σελήνη ἐν πᾶσιν εἰς καιρὸν αὐτῆς,
ἀνάδειξιν χρόνων καὶ σημεῖον αἰῶνος.

In view of all this it is surely permissible to render in Luke i 80 'until the day when he served as a sign unto Israel', and if that is the intended meaning it may be argued that the words furnish some slight corroboration of our thesis that Jesus had spoken of John as the sign for that generation.

And is there a similar echo in John v 35? The pictorial language there employed bears the impress of the style of Jesus. The words ἐκεῖνος ἦν ὁ λύχνος ὁ καιόμενος καὶ φαίνων may well be a genuine logion, or at any rate based upon an original saying. They suggest the same conception of John that underlies the expression τὸ σημεῖον Ἰωνᾶ.[1] Here, too, is struck the plaintive note so characteristic of the Master's references to John in the Synoptic Gospels: it was only πρὸς ὥραν that the men of that generation had chosen to rejoice in the light of the lamp which had been lit to make clear the path leading to Him who came that they might have life and have it to the full.

J. Hugh Michael.

[1] Note the article with λύχνος: John is the only σημεῖον.

Digitized by Google

NOTES ON THE *APOSTOLIC CONSTITUTIONS*.

III. The Text of Cod. Vat. 1506.

In the first of the series of notes bearing the above title (*J. T. S.* October 1914, p. 54) I criticized the text of Funk because of what seemed to me his over-estimate of his codex a (Vat. gr. 839) and his under-estimate of his codex d (Vat. gr. 1506). On that occasion I had specially in view the variations in theological language, and I pressed the conclusion that the author of the *Constitutions* was much more definitely Arian than the printed texts might have led us to suppose.

In returning once more to the question of the true text of the *Apostolic Constitutions*, I propose to approach it from a different side, and to examine a number of the more important non-theological variants in the eighth book, where we have available for the most part both an early Greek recension or epitome and four versions as well, Latin, Syriac, Sahidic, and Ethiopic.

Funk made use of a large number of Greek MSS: but for my present purpose I shall neglect altogether all that are later than the eleventh century. Seven only remain; and of these his b (Vat. 2088) and o (Bodl. Misc. 204) contain no part of the eighth book. Of the remaining five, which alone concern us, his d is Vat. 1506, the codex whose claims to have preserved the true text I am trying to make good, and his e (Vat. 2089) is a sister MS to d, unfortunately only available for small portions of the book: his a, Vat. 839, may be said to be nearly identical with his printed text: the other two are h (Jerusalem III 3), a poor witness, and f (Barberini III 55, now in the Vatican) of about the year 800, containing a text as good as it is ancient, but extant only for chapters 4, 5, 16–27, and the last few *Apostolic Canons* with the concluding doxology.

But besides the direct witness of these Greek manuscripts to the text of the *Apostolic Constitutions*, we have also the indirect witness of the four ancient versions and of the Greek *Epitome*.

The so-called *Epitome* is a parallel text to the greater part of the eighth book, omitting chapters 3, 5 (part of) to 15, 29, 35–41—roughly speaking, the prayers or liturgical part of the book—and the *Apostolic Canons*. What exactly is the true account to be given of its relation to the full text of the *Constitutions* has been a matter of sharp dispute. Its text of the prayer for the ordination of a bishop is undeniably simpler

Digitized by Google

and more primitive than the text given in *A. C.* viii 5: so much so that one group of critics have seen in the *Epitome* a source, or at least a preliminary sketch by the compiler, of the eighth book.[1] Others have pointed out the difficulties in detail which this interpretation of the *data* involves, and have with no less certainty concluded that the *Epitome* must be an excerpt from the completed text, and is therefore posterior to the completion of the *Constitutions*. Both views are up to a certain point correct. It may now be taken as an acquired result that the *Epitome* is, as a whole, a secondary and dependent text, posterior and not prior to the *Constitutions*: but on the other hand it is no less clear that for the bishop's ordination-prayer, and for one or two smaller passages, the epitomator went back behind the *Constitutions* to their source in the *Church Order* of Hippolytus.[2] How much later than the *Constitutions* he should be placed we cannot say: but since not only the *Constitutions* but the much earlier work of Hippolytus was at his disposal, the probability is that his date is relatively ancient.[3]

The fragment of the Latin version discovered by myself and the late Dr Spagnolo in codex li of the Chapter Library at Verona has been published partly in this JOURNAL, but more fully and with a revised text in *Ecclesiae Occidentalis Monumenta Iuris Antiquissima* I iii (1913) pp. 32 *a–hh*: it commences near the beginning of the 41st chapter of the eighth book, and goes straight on to the end of the *Apostolic Canons* and final doxology, save for a lacuna extending from the middle of the 47th to the middle of the 52nd canon. In age this fragment far exceeds any other extant text in any language of the *Constitutions*, since the manuscript in which it is preserved is of date not later than the end of the sixth century; and the value of the text appears to be fully proportionate to its age.

The Syriac text is now generally accessible through the medium of the French translation by the Abbé F. Nau *La version syriaque de l'Octateuque de Clément* (Paris 1913). This Octateuch is a collection of canonical material, not a single document, and is probably arranged in eight books on the model of our Greek *Apostolic Constitutions*: but the first two books consist of the *Testamentum Domini*, the third of the so-called *Apostolic Church Order*, and it is only the last five books which concern us. The fourth book corresponds to *A. C.* viii chapters 1 and 2: the fifth book represents *A. C.* viii 3–5, 16–26: the sixth contains most of *A. C.* viii 27–34, 42–46: the seventh consists of some of the

[1] I very tentatively adopted this view myself, *J. T. S.* xvi (July 1915) p. 545 n. 1.

[2] See E. Schwartz *Die pseudo-apostolischen Kirchenordnungen* (1910) pp. 27, 31, and Dom Connolly *The So-called Egyptian Church Order and Derived Documents* (Texts and Studies viii 4: 1916) pp. 37–50.

[3] The oldest manuscripts that are known to contain the *Epitome* are of the eleventh century.

Digitized by Google

chapters of *A. C.* viii omitted in the preceding books: the eighth and last gives the *Apostolic Canons.*

The colophon to book 2 of the Octateuch attributes the translation from Greek into Syriac to Jacob (of Edessa) and to the year 687. So far as books 4–8 are concerned, there can be I believe no doubt that they are a direct version of the Greek text of the *Constitutions.*

The other Oriental versions distinguish themselves from the Syriac (*a*) by not containing the *Testamentum Domini*, or rather by not containing that part of the *Testamentum* which is independent of the *Church Order* of Hippolytus, (*b*) by not containing the material which the seventh book of the Syriac Octateuch has taken from *A. C.* viii, (*c*) by being numbered straight through as so many 'canons' instead of being divided into books. These versions have been translated into English by Mr Horner in his invaluable work *The Statutes of the Apostles or Canones Ecclesiastici* (1904): unfortunately he omitted to render into English the *Apostolic Canons*—i. e. the matter corresponding to book 8 of the Syriac—and I am unable therefore to cite evidence from them under this head. In the Sahidic text canons 63–78 contain those chapters of *A. C.* viii which are contained in books 4, 5, and 6 of the Syriac. Substantially the same matter is contained in canons 49–72 of the Ethiopic, but mixed and interpolated with material from extraneous sources.[1]

It is likely enough that some of these versions are not ultimately independent of one another, but their divergences in detail are sufficiently large to take their common original, if they had one, back to a date not very far removed from the date of the *Constitutions.* We arrive by another route at the same result, if we bear in mind that all these versions (like the Greek *Epitome*) are derived in other parts directly from the *Church Order* of Hippolytus, and the original collection of Canons or Statutes must therefore have been put together before the *Church Order* went out of circulation—that is to say, hardly later than the fifth or sixth century.

Thus the witnesses whom I propose to cite, the Greek Barberini codex f, the Greek *Epitome*, the Latin version, the Syriac version, the other Oriental versions (or at least the common original of these last), are all older, most of them much older, than Funk's Greek MSS (other than f): and where they agree, the strain of Greek text which they represent is almost certainly the original type. If, further, we remember that most of our authorities contain parts only of the book, and not always the same parts, we shall find the amount of agreement between these early authorities very remarkable indeed. And the text they

[1] I leave the Arabic, as presumably posterior in date, out of account.

Digitized by Google

represent in substantial variations is, with very rare exceptions, the text of Vat. 1506.

Readings in A.C. *Book* viii (*the reading of Funk's edition is given first with the supporting authorities: then the reading of* Vat. 1506, *also with the supporting authorities*).

1. ch. 2 § 4 (Funk 468. 13) ὡς Ἀνανίας καὶ Σαμαίας ἐν **Ἱερουσαλήμ**, καὶ Σεδεκίας καὶ Ἀχαίας οἱ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι ψευδοπροφῆται.

ἐν Ἱερουσαλήμ with apparently all extant Greek MSS except d: **ἐν Ἰσραήλ** d, the Epitome, Syr. Sah. Eth. The reference for the judgement on false prophets is to Jeremiah xxxv (xxviii), xxxvi (xxix), and in xxxvi 23 the variant readings ἐν Ἰσραήλ and ἐν Ἱερουσαλήμ (Ἰῆλ and Ἰλῆμ) recur, ℵ*A giving Ἰσραήλ, ℵ^{ca} and Q giving Ἱερουσαλήμ. Both in LXX and in *A. C.* the older group of authorities is strong for ἐν Ἰσραήλ.

2. ch. 4 § 2 (Funk 472. 6) ἐν πᾶσιν ἄμεμπτον, ὑπὸ παντὸς τοῦ λαοῦ ἐκλελεγμένον.

ἄμεμπτον alone a with most Greek MSS: ἄμεμπτον **ἄριστον δέ** d, ἄμεμπτον ἄριστον δι f, ἄμεμπτον **ἀριστηνδή** e, ἄμεμπτον ἄριστον Epit., 'ce serait bien s'il était' Syr. The evidence of Sah. and Eth. is more doubtful: but as each of them has three adjectives corresponding to the ἐν πᾶσιν ἄμεμπτον of Funk's text, it is probable that they read ἄριστον like the Epitome, and took it for a qualification of the bishop. It is clear that in some form ἄριστον δέ, ἀριστονδή, or something like them, is original: probably it was omitted as unintelligible in the later Greek MSS, for in e and f we already see that the process of depravation of the text has got so far as to produce what is nonsense as it stands ἄριστον δι, ἀριστηνδή. What exactly the original reading was is not clear: but the choice seems to lie between (1) ἀριστίνδην 'chosen for his merit',[1] a word perhaps rare enough to have led to corruption of the text, and (2) ἄριστον δέ 'if possible, unanimously elected'. Perhaps the former alternative is supported by vi 23. 5 τοὺς ἀρίστους εἰς ἱερωσύνην προχειρίζεσθαι.

3. ch. 5 § 3 (Funk 474. 13) διὰ τῶν σῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ **ἡμῶν** τῶν χάριτι σῇ παρεστώτων ἐπισκόπων.

ἡμῶν alone, apparently all extant Greek MSS but d: ἡμῶν **διδασκάλων** d with Syr., p. 93, 'par tes apôtres et nos docteurs' (the prayer is absent from Epit. Sah. Eth., and f is defective, owing apparently to an accidental loss, for the first part of it). Without knowing the reading of the Syriac I had on internal grounds defended the reading of d (*J. T. S.* xvi [Oct. 1914] p. 57). For the collocation of σῶν and ἡμῶν, both applied to the same persons—'those who were Thy apostles and

[1] Cf. Aristotle *Politics* ii 11. 8 οὐ μόνον ἀριστίνδην ἀλλὰ καὶ πλουτίνδην οἴονται δεῖν αἱρεῖσθαι τοὺς ἄρχοντας.

Digitized by Google

our teachers'—cf. viii 12 § 7 (498. 4) *ἀρχιερέα σόν, βασιλέα δὲ καὶ κύριον πάσης νοητῆς καὶ αἰσθητῆς φύσεως*, and the d-text of viii 12 § 27 (504. 26) *Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστὸς ὁ κύριος καὶ θεὸς ἡμῶν, σοῦ δὲ ἄγγελος καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως ἀρχιστρατηγός*.

4. ch. 16 § 3 (Funk 522. 4) *Κύριε παντοκράτορ ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν*.

ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν a and all MSS save d f: ὁ βασιλεὺς ἡμῶν d f with Epitome and Syr. (p. 95 'notre roi'). This prayer also is absent from Sah. and Eth. Either reading is in itself satisfactory: but the weight of the ancient evidence is all on the side of d.

5. ch. 22 § 3 (Funk 526. 14) *τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν σου διαφυλάσσων*.

τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν σου without addition a and all MSS save d f: *τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν σου ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ κόσμῳ* d f Syr. ('le nombre de tes élus par tout le monde' p. 97). From the prayer at the laying on of hands on a reader, which is absent from Epit. Sah. and Eth. Probably a case of accidental omission—perhaps of a complete line of 12 letters—in the ancestry of the main group of MSS.

6. ch. 27 § 1 (Funk 530. 1) *Σίμων δὲ ὁ Κανανίτης*.

ὁ Κανανίτης a and all MSS save d f: ὁ Καναναῖος d f Epit. Syr. ('Simon le Cananéen' p. 99), and so the quotation in Severus of Antioch (E. W. Brooks *Select Letters of Severus* pp. 211, 213).[1] The evidence for Καναναῖος here seems overwhelming, and the fact that Κανανίτης stands without variant in Funk's apparatus in the list of the Apostles in *A. C.* vi 14 § 1 (Funk 335. 11), though if the issue here were in itself obscure it might be decisive, cannot as things are weigh down the balance.

The title of the apostle Simon is derived of course from Matt. x 4 = Mark iii 18. In both cases Καναναῖος appears to be beyond question the true reading (Mt. B C D L 1 33 Old Latin against ℵ E etc.: Mk. ℵ B C D L Δ 33 Old Latin against A etc.), and is borne out by the parallel text of St Luke vi 15 *τὸν καλούμενον Ζηλωτήν*, since καναναῖος is a transliteration of the Hebrew word of which *ζηλωτής* is a translation.

7. ch. 30 § 2 (Funk 532. 21) *αἱ γὰρ ἀπαρχαὶ τῶν ἱερέων εἰσὶν καὶ τῶν αὐτοῖς ἐξυπηρετουμένων διακόνων*.

διακόνων a and all Funk's MSS except d (f is not available here, or in any of the readings that follow): *om.* d with the Epitome and all three versions, Syr. ('les prémices sont pour les prêtres et pour ceux qui les servent' p. 100) Sah. (Horner, p. 349 'to the priests alone and those who do service [hyp.] for them') and Eth. (*ib.* p. 205 'for the priests and their ministers'). The context shews I think that the Jewish

[1] Severus is quoting *A. C.* viii 27 'the canon that is given out as having been enacted by Simon the Cananaean'. He holds strongly to the principle that later enactments repeal earlier ones, and therefore the canon of Nicaea supersedes the canon of Simon. But it looks as if he did not really admit the apostolic authority of the *Constitutions*.

Digitized by Google

priests are here intended, and therefore διακόνων is not really in place.

8. ch. 33 § 2 (Funk 538. 12) σχολαζέτωσαν ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ.

ἐν a etc. Syr. ('ils seront assidus dans l'église' p. 101): *om.* de Epit. Sah. (Horner, p. 353 'let them devote themselves to the church') Eth. (*ib.* p. 210 'they shall have an opportunity for [going to] church').

9. ch. 41 § 4 (Funk 550. 21) τὸ λογικὸν τοῦτο ζῷον τὸν ἄνθρωπον.

τοῦτο a and apparently all Funk's MSS except d: *om.* d Lat-Ver. 'rationabile animal hominem' and the *editio princeps* of Turrianus. The Oriental versions all omit this prayer.

10. ch. 42 § 1 (Funk 552. 19) ἐν ψαλμοῖς καὶ ἀναγνώσμασιν καὶ προσευχαῖς.

καὶ ἀναγνώσμασιν a etc.: *om.* de Epit. Lat-Ver. 'in psalmis et oratione', Syr. ('avec des chants et des prières' p. 103) Sah. (Horner, p. 355 'with psalms [psalmos] and prayers') Eth. (*ib.* p. 215 'with psalms and prayers').

11. ch. 42 § 3 (Funk 552. 19–22) ἐπιτελείσθω τριτὰ τῶν κεκοιμημένων . . . καὶ ἔνατα . . . καὶ τεσσαρακοστά.

τεσσαρακοστά a etc. Epit-codd: τριακοστά e Epit-codd Lat-Ver. Syr. ('la trentaine' p. 103) Sah. (Horner, p. 356 'their month') Eth. (*ib.* p. 216 'the completion of a month'). The evidence of d, if Funk's silence may be trusted, goes on this occasion with a: but its sister MS e retains what I cannot doubt to be the original reading. As the author of the *Constitutions* appeals here to the 'ancient type' of the mourning of the people for Moses, which according to Deut. xxxiv 8 was 30 days and not 40, internal and external evidence combine to recommend the reading τριακοστά. On the two periods, 30 and 40, see Père H. Delehaye *Les origines du culte des martyrs* pp. 38–40: he cites the Acts of John for the third day, and on the other side the funeral oration of St Ambrose over the Emperor Theodosius pronounced 40 days after his death. As St Ambrose rather definitely implies[1] that the observation of the third and thirtieth days went together, and alternatively that of the seventh and fortieth, that is a further reason for preferring 'thirtieth' in the present passage. Taken with the evidence of the verse in Deuteronomy, it closes the question.[2]

[1] *de obitu Theodosii* § 3 'alii tertium diem et trigesimum, alii septimum et quadragesimum, observare consueverunt'.

[2] In c. xxi of the *Lausiac History* we are told the story of a certain Christian *scholasticus* Eulogius and of a mutilated cripple to whom he ministered in the desert. They died within a few days of one another, and the narrator of the story, Cronius, arrived at the monastery 'at the moment when the τεσσερακοστά of the one, and the τρίτα of the other, were being celebrated'. So Abbot Butler prints the text, *Historia Lausiaca* ii 68. 15: but in his note, p. 202, he points out that the evidence of the Greek MSS of the *Historia* is in favour of τριακοστά. I should not venture

Digitized by Google

12. ch. 46 § 13 (Funk 560. 27) ἐγὼ Ἰάκωβος καὶ ἐγὼ Κλήμης.

Ἰάκωβος . . . Κλήμης a and one other MS with one MS of Epit.: *tr.* Κλήμης . . . Ἰάκωβος d e Epit. (all MSS save one), Lat-Ver. Syr. ('moi Clément et moi Jacques' p. 107) Sah. (Horner, p. 362 'I Klēmēs and Jakōbos') Eth. (*ib.* p. 221 'Klēmentos and Yā'ekob'). In *A. C.* viii 10 § 7 James is named before Clement: but the external evidence for naming Clement first in the present passage is unusually strong.

13. ch. 46 § 17 (Funk 562. 20) Φίλιππον τὸν διάκονον ἡμῶν.

ἡμῶν a etc. Epit-cod: *om.* d Epit. (all MSS save one) Lat-Ver., Syr. p. 107, Sah. p. 363, Eth. p. 222. As in the last case a parallel reading elsewhere in *A. C.* (vi 7 § 2 Φίλιππος ὁ συναπόστολος ἡμῶν) goes to support the reading of Funk: but again we have all the older authorities without exception ranged against him.

14. ch. 46 § 17 (Funk 562. 25) Μελχισεδὲκ καὶ Ἰώβ.

Ἰώβ a and apparently all MSS save d: Ἰακώβ d Epit. Lat-Ver., Syr. p. 107, Sah. p. 363, Eth. p. 222. Melchisedek and Job are named together in ii 55 § 1 διὰ Μελχισεδὲκ καὶ τῶν πατριαρχῶν καὶ τοῦ θεοφιλοῦς Ἰώβ, and in vi 12 § 13 τοῖς πρὸ τοῦ νόμου φυσικοῖς Ἐνὼς Ἐνὼχ Νῶε Μελχισεδὲκ Ἰώβ, and next to one another in a long catalogue of O. T. worthies vii 39 § 3, viii 5 § 3, and compare also viii 12 § 23 ὁ τὸν Μελχισεδὲκ ἀρχιερέα σῆς λατρείας προχειρισάμενος, τὸν πολύτλαν θεράποντά σου Ἰὼβ νικητὴν τοῦ ἀρχεκάκου ὄφεως ἀναδείξας. It is clear therefore that the collocation of Melchisedek and Job was familiar to the author of the *Constitutions* and would be familiar to attentive readers of his work. But in none of the other instances of collocation is there anything which even remotely suggests that Job had received a priesthood direct from God—while in the last passage cited the priesthood of Melchisedek was emphasized, so that it would have been natural to emphasize also the priesthood of Job, if such a thing was really in the author's mind. True, neither is a priesthood of Jacob mentioned in terms: but on two occasions it is noted that Jacob had seen Christ face to face and received God's message from him, v 20 § 5, vii 33 § 5, and I think that here too the same must be the underlying idea.

If Jacob is right, then it is likely that the alternative reading Ἰώβ was derived by an attentive reader and critic from the apparent parallels in other parts of *A. C.* If so, a similar explanation will account for the

to say whether the evidence of these MSS, or the evidence of the Latin and Syriac versions on the other side, should carry preponderant weight in establishing the text of the *Historia*: but the editor was obviously relying in large part on the consideration that 'the Greek practice, ancient and modern, seems to have been to commemorate the departed on the fortieth day'. Since the only Greek witness he cites earlier than the sixth century is the passage in *Ap. Const.*, it is the more important to point out that the 'ancient Greek practice' ought now to be cited not for 'fortieth' but for 'thirtieth'.

Digitized by Google

corruptions in nos. 12 and 13 *supra*—they are due to an early editor's false assimilation to other passages in the *Constitutions*.

After this point the Sahidic and Ethiopic versions fail us.

15. Can. Apost. 1 (Funk 564. 1) ἐπίσκοπος τοίνυν.

τοίνυν d e, Lat-Ver. 'episcopus ergo', and John Scholasticus (on this occasion Funk deserts the reading of a for the reading of d): *om.* a etc. The Syriac is cited by Funk for τοίννν: but Nau's text p. 117 ('L'évêque sera ordonné') gives nothing to correspond. The reading is an important one, because it implies an organic connexion between the *Apostolic Canons* and the eighth book of the *Constitutions*—a connexion which I have not the least doubt does really go back to the common author of both.

16. Can. Apost. 1 (Funk 564. 1) χειροτονείσθω.

χειροτονείσθω a etc. Jo. Schol.: χειροτονεῖται d e, Lat-Ver. 'ordinatur'; Syr. 'sera ordonné' (p. 117), but Nau adds in brackets χειροτονείσθω. The imperative is supported by the parallel earlier in the book, xxvii 2 (Funk 530. 3) ἐπίσκοπος ὑπὸ τριῶν ἢ δύο ἐπισκόπων χειροτονείσθω: the indicative is supported by the sentences immediately preceding—which as the particle τοίννν shews are to be taken in close connexion—οὐχ ἑαυτῷ τις ἁρπάζει τὸ ἱερατικὸν ἀξίωμα ἀλλὰ . . . λαμβάνει κτλ.

17. Can. Apost. 3 (Funk 564. 10) ἔλαιον εἰς τὴν λυχνίαν.

τὴν λυχνίαν a etc. Jo. Schol.: τὴν ἁγίαν λυχνίαν d e Syr. ('pour la sainte lampe' p. 117). Lat-Ver. 'oleum speciosum candelarum', where I half suspect 'speciosum' to be a corruption of *sc̄arum* = 'sanctarum' (or 'specie sc̄arum'?).

18. Can. Apost. 64 (Funk 584. 1) σάββατον πλὴν τοῦ ἑνὸς μόνου νηστεύων.

πλὴν τοῦ ἑνὸς μόνου a and apparently all MSS save d, Jo. Schol., Syr. ('un seul samedi' p. 125): πλὴν τοῦ ἑνὸς d Lat-Ver. 'excepto uno', and cf. Ps-Ign. *ad Phil.* 13 σάββατον νηστεύει πλὴν ἑνὸς σαββάτου.

19. Can. Apost. 85 (Funk 590. 12) Μωσέως πέντε Γένεσις Ἔξοδος Λευϊτικὸν Ἀριθμοὶ Δευτερονόμιον.

Γένεσις . . . Δευτερονόμιον a (and apparently all MSS save d) Jo. Schol.: *om.* (so that Μωσέως πέντε stands alone, without the names of the individual books) d Lat-Ver. Syr.

20. Can. Apost. 85 (Funk 590. 16) Ψαλμοὶ ἑκατὸν πεντήκοντα (or ρν').

Ψαλμοὶ ρν' a etc.: ψαλτήριον ἕν Jo. Schol.: βίβλος ψαλμῶν ρνα' d, 'codex psalmorum centum quinquaginta unus' Lat-Ver., 'le livre des cent cinquante et un psaumes' Syr. p. 128. The combination d Lat. Syr. is decisive for *βίβλος*: but it is not clear whether the right text is '150 psalms one book' or 'book of 151 psalms'. It is certainly possible that the Verona MS (or its archetype) read 'unius' not 'unus'.

Digitized by Google

21. Can. Apost. 85 (Funk 590. 17) Σολομῶντος βιβλία τρία Παροιμίαι Ἐκκλησιαστὴς Ἆσμα ᾀσμάτων.

τρία . . . ᾀσμάτων a etc., Jo. Schol.: πέντε (with omission, as in the cases of the books of Moses, of any names) d Lat-Ver. Syr. One cannot but suppose that the books of Solomon would be most naturally ranked as five, by the inclusion of Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus—according to the a text the book of Wisdom is altogether excluded from the canon: on the other hand the book of Ecclesiasticus is separately mentioned a line or two further on as a book used in the instruction of the young.

I think it may be fairly claimed that the cumulative effect of these various readings, in most of which d is certainly right against a, creates a strong presumption in favour of revising the principle on which Funk constructed his text. Funk's edition was an enormous improvement upon Lagarde's: and further, so far as I can see, there is not the same amount of serious difference in books iii–vii of the *Apostolic Constitutions* (d is not extant for the first two books) between the readings of the two leading MSS. Nor should I at all assert that, even apart from mere slips, d is always correct where it differs from a. But if I have established my case, it follows at least that its evidence must always be taken into definite account, even where it represents a tradition of the text unrepresented in any of the other MSS. If the variation is one of theological language, the presumption in favour of d is still stronger. I will close by citing one such instance from the earlier books. In v 16. 2 (Funk 283. 20) the reading of a is *τὸν πρὸ πάντων αἰώνων ἐξ αὐτοῦ γεννηθέντα, υἱὸν μονογενῆ*, that of a second group substitutes *ὑπ'* for *ἐξ* and *γεννώμενον* for *γεννηθέντα*, the editor with yet another MS gives *γεγεννημένον*. But d and its sister MS have the shorter reading *τὸν πρὸ πάντων αἰώνων υἱὸν μονογενῆ*, and this is surely right. On only two other occasions does even the printed text of the *Constitutions* use *γεννᾶσθαι* of the Divine generation, and in one of them (vii 41. 5 [446. 3, 4]) the text is suspicious. And for the phrase *ὁ πρὸ πάντων αἰώνων υἱὸς μονογενής* we have an almost exact parallel in viii 1. 10 (464. 3) *ὁ πρὸ αἰώνων μονογενής*.

C. H. TURNER.

Digitized by Google

AD 1 COR. XIII.

DE hoc capite quamquam multa a viris doctis acute scripta sunt,[1] tamen id dicendi genus, quod in eo nemo non facile animadvertat, usque adhuc nondum iuste illustratum esse ego opinor.

Solent interpretatores hanc epistulae partem eximia laude ornare, cum et res, quam explicat auctor, sanctissima esse et verborum compositio rei accommodata sermonem sublimem efficere videatur. Scribit autem apostolus de amore Christiano, quem carmine quodam celebrare eum plerique putant. Nam ΑΓΑΠΗ ita interpretantur, ut ei verbo vim mysticam attribuant; affectum enim intelligunt intimi pectoris, quo perfusi benignitate erga homines et desiderio Dei commoveamur, quique se per calamum apostoli in hymnum elatum, divino Spiritu inflatum, effundat.

At ego verba Paulina alia ratione interpretanda suspicor. EDWARDVS LEHMANN, vir ille acerrimus, in libro qui inscribitur STÄLLET OCH VÄGEN (Stockholmiae MCMXVIII) doctrinam de amore, quam explicat apostolus 1 Cor. xiii, stoico ingenio imbutam esse breviter contendit. Monet enim amorem ab apostolo laudatum praecipue virtutem negativam esse, cum id semper spectet, ut homo Christianus, ut se ab omni iniuria abstineat, ita omne incommodum aequo animo sustineat. Quod ad praecepta stoicorum (*ἀπέχου, ἀνέχου*) mire quadrare. Quam sententiam viribus iunctis excussimus, fructumque communis laboris mox in lucem edere cogitamus. His autem perspectis ad investigandam rationem, qua verba composita sunt, me res ipsa provexit meque impulit, ut in stoicorum scriptis si quid cum sermone Paulino conferre liceat quaererem. En quae repperi.

Epict. *Diss.* ii 12. 14.

τὸ πρῶτον δὲ τοῦτο καὶ μάλιστα ἴδιον Σωκράτους **μηδέποτε** *παροξυνθῆναι ἐν λόγῳ,* **μηδέποτε** *λοίδορον προενέγκασθαι μηδέν,* **μηδέποτε** *ὑβριστικόν . . .*

Epict. *Ench.* i 3.

ἐὰν δὲ τὸ σὸν μόνον οἰηθῇς σὸν εἶναι, τὸ δὲ ἀλλότριον, ὥσπερ ἐστίν, ἀλλότριον, **οὐδείς** *σε ἀναγκάσει οὐδέποτε,* **οὐδείς** *σε κωλύσει,* **οὐ** *μέμψῃ οὐδένα,* **οὐκ** *ἐγκαλέσεις τινί, ἄκων πράξεις* **οὐδὲ** *ἕν,* **οὐδείς** *σε βλάψει,* **ἐχθρὸν οὐχ** *ἕξεις* **οὐδὲ** *γὰρ βλαβερόν τι πείσῃ.*

Epict. *Diss.* iii 2. 14.

θέλεις σοι εἴπω, τίνα ἡμῖν ἔδειξας; ἄνθρωπον . . . μεμψίμοιρον, ὀξύθυμον,

[1] J. Weiss *Der erste Brief an die Korinther*, 1911; A. Harnack *Sitzungsberichte der Berliner Akademie*, 1911, p. 132; H. Mosbech *Dansk teologisk tidsskrift*, 3 Række v. Bind, p. 193; R. Reitzenstein *Historia Monachorum*, Göttingen, 1916, pp. 100 ff, 239, 272 ff, *Nachrichten von der kgl. Gesellschaft zu Göttingen*, Philologisch-historische Klasse, 1916; *Historische Zeitschrift*, 3. Folge 20. Bd.; A. Harnack *Preussische Jahrbücher*, Band 164 (1916), Heft 1; H. Kurfess *Sokrates* vi 11–12; P. Corssen *ibid.*

Digitized by Google

δειλόν, πάντα μεμφόμενον, πᾶσιν ἐγκαλοῦντα, μηδέποτε ἡσυχίαν ἄγοντα, πέρπερον.

Maximi Tyrii Philosophumena ed. Hobein xx 2 περὶ τῆς Σωκράτους ἐρωτικῆς γ'.

Ὁ δὲ ἔρως οὐδενὶ οὕτως πολεμεῖ ὡς ἀνάγκῃ καὶ δέει· καὶ ἐστὶν χρῆμα γαῦρον καὶ δεινῶς ἐλεύθερον, καὶ τῆς Σπάρτης αὐτῆς ἐλευθερώτερον. Μόνον γάρ τοι τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἔρως, ἐπειδάν τῳ καθαρῶς συγγένηται,
οὐ πλοῦτον τέθηπεν, οὐ τύραννον δέδιεν, οὐ βασίλεια ἐκπλήττεται,
οὐ δικαστήριον φυλάττεται, οὐ φεύγει θάνατον·
οὐ θηρίον αὐτῷ δεινόν, οὐ πῦρ, οὐ κρημνός, οὐ θάλαττα,
οὐ ξίφος, οὐ βρόχος, ἀλλὰ καὶ
τὰ ἄπορα αὐτῷ εὐπορώτατα, καὶ τὰ δεινὰ εὐμαχώτατα,
καὶ τὰ φοβερὰ εὐπετέστατα, καὶ τὰ χαλεπὰ εὐκολώτατα.
Ποταμοὶ πάντες περάσιμοι, χειμῶνες πλοϊμώτατοι, ὄρη εὐδρομώτατα·
πανταχοῦ θαρσεῖ, πάντων ὑπερορᾷ, πάντων κρατεῖ.

Cum his conferendum illud apostoli Pauli 1 Cor. xiii 4–6.

ἡ ἀγάπη μακροθυμεῖ, χρηστεύεται ἡ ἀγάπη,
οὐ ζηλοῖ ἡ ἀγάπη, οὐ περπερεύεται, οὐ φυσιοῦται,
οὐκ ἀσχημονεῖ, οὐ ζητεῖ τὰ ἑαυτῆς, οὐ παροξύνεται, οὐ λογίζεται τὸ κακόν,
οὐ χαίρει ἐπὶ τῇ ἀδικίᾳ, συγχαίρει δὲ τῇ ἀληθείᾳ·
πάντα στέγει, πάντα πιστεύει, πάντα ἐλπίζει, πάντα ὑπομένει.

Apud Maximum Tyrium Platonem cum philosopho stoico in unum corpus coaluisse credo. Neque enim dubium est, Maximum ad Platonis Symposium (p. 197) respicere; sed eadem verba doctrinam genusque dicendi, in quo versabatur stoica Διατριβή, redolent. Doctrina enim stoica praeceptorum duo genera amplectitur: 'ne feceris' et 'patiaris'. Quae leges cum sine exceptione in omnibus rebus diligenter servandae sint, frequenter magistro opus est his verbis: 'ne' sive 'nunquam' (οὐ, οὐδέποτε) et 'omnia' (πάντα), et ita quidem, ut studio inculcandae doctrinae flagrans eadem verba saepius iteret praeceptor (οὐ . . . οὐ . . . οὐ . . ., πάντα . . . πάντα . . . πάντα . . .). Quem dicendi modum communi usu atque consuetudine in sermonem philosophicum receptum apostolus suum fecisse videtur. Quae cum ita sint, eum non hymnum sed admonitionem gravem ad Corinthios scripsisse constat.

Neque abest suspicio, quin et versus 1–5 eiusdem capitis genus quoddam orationis imitentur ab aliis institutum. Scribit autem apostolus:

ἐὰν ταῖς γλώσσαις τῶν ἀνθρώπων λαλῶ καὶ τῶν ἀγγέλων, ἀγάπην δὲ μὴ ἔχω,
γέγονα χαλκὸς ἠχῶν ἢ κύμβαλον ἀλαλάζον. καὶ
ἐὰν ἔχω προφητείαν καὶ εἰδῶ τὰ μυστήρια πάντα καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν γνῶσιν, καὶ ἐὰν ἔχω πᾶσαν τὴν πίστιν ὥστε ὄρη μεθιστάναι,
ἀγάπην δὲ μὴ ἔχω,
οὐδέν εἰμι. καὶ

Digitized by Google

ἐὰν ψωμίσω πάντα τὰ ὑπάρχοντά μου, καὶ
ἐὰν παραδῶ τὸ σῶμά μου ἵνα καυθήσομαι,
ἀγάπην δὲ μὴ ἔχω
οὐδὲν ὠφελοῦμαι.

Cum his confero Epict. *Diss.* iv 8. 25:

'εἴ μέ τις', φησίν, 'βλάψαι δύναται,
ἐγὼ οὐδὲν ποιῶ·
εἰ ἄλλον περιμένω, ἵνα με ὠφελήσῃ,
ἐγὼ οὐδέν εἰμι·
θέλω τι καὶ οὐ γίνεται·
ἐγὼ ἀτυχής εἰμι.'

Adicio locum ex Vetere Testamento adhibitum, Ps. cxxxviii (LXX) *vv.* 8 s.:

ἐὰν ἀναβῶ εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν,
σὺ εἶ ἐκεῖ·
ἐὰν καταβῶ εἰς τὸν ᾅδην,
πάρει·
ἐὰν ἀναλάβω τὰς πτέρυγάς μου κατ' ὀρθὸν
καὶ κατασκηνώσω εἰς τὰ ἔσχατα τῆς θαλάσσης,
καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖ ἡ χείρ σου ὁδηγήσει με κτλ.

Haec eodem pertinent. In monendo Corinthios de excellentia amoris apostolus σχῆμα sequitur rhetoricum, non proprium sermonis genus et ex ipso natum affectu mystico incitatus procreat.

ANTON FRIDRICHSEN.

ΕΝ ΟΛΙΓΩ ΜΕ ΠΕΙΘΕΙΣ ΧΡΙΣΤΙΑΝΟΝ ΠΟΙΗΣΑΙ—ACTS XXVI 28.

IN Acts xxvi 28 Westcott and Hort, faithful to the documentary evidence, print ἐν ὀλίγῳ με πείθεις Χριστιανὸν ποιῆσαι. Yet primitive error is suspected, and Hort proposes πέποιθας for με πείθεις 'for the personal reference expressed by με loses no force by being left to implication'. A possible explanation of the text seems to have escaped notice, though the quotation may be found in Sophocles' Lexicon. In 3 Regn. xx 7 Jezebel taunts Ahab: Σὺ νῦν οὕτως ποιεῖς βασιλέα ἐπὶ Ἰσραήλ; Dost thou thus play the king over Israel? Hence we may translate in Acts, 'Almost, or lightly, or closely thou art pressing me to play the Christian'; unless, taking the present tense more freely, we

Digitized by Google

prefer, 'The next thing will be that you would persuade me to play the Christian'.

It is true that in 3 Regn. the reading of A is βασιλείαν, which corresponds to the Hebrew. That correspondence is, however, an argument, so far as it goes, against originality. A somewhat curious parallel to phrase and variation is to be found in Tacitus. In *Ann.* xiii 14 we read that 'Nero infensus iis quibus superbia muliebris innitebatur demovet Pallantem cura rerum quis a Claudio impositus velut arbitrium regni agebat': and in *Hist.* iv 21 'Proinde perfuga Batavus arbitrium rerum Romanarum ne ageret'. So the Medicean MS in each place. But in each place *arbitrium* is an early correction, and in *Ann.* xiii the apologetic *velut* lends probability to the correction. Is ποιεῖς βασιλέα an early example of Latinism in the κοινή? Perhaps not. The other quotations in Sophocles seem to shew that the use is idiomatic in later Greek, and it might have sprung up naturally in the popular speech of any period.

A. NAIRNE.

PROVERBS XXV 22.

'THOU shalt heap coals of fire upon his head.' The sense of these words is clear; as Wildeboer says (Marti *Kurzer Handcommentar*), they are an image of penitence. No satisfactory explanation, however, has been offered of the figure. In 4 Ezra xvi 54 a similar phrase describes the punishment of hypocrisy: 'Non dicat peccator se non pecasse, quoniam carbones ignis comburet super caput eius qui dicit: Non peccavi coram deo et gloria ipsius.'

A striking parallel occurs in the Egyptian story published by F. L. Griffith in *Stories of the High Priests of Memphis* (Oxford 1900) and called by him 'the Tale of Khamuas and Neneferkaptah'. In this tale (p. 32), after Setne has stolen the book of Thoth, Neneferkaptah says to his wife: 'Be not grieved in heart, I will cause him to bring this book hither, a forked stick (?) in his hand and a censer (?) of fire upon his head.' G. Maspéro (*Les contes populaires de l'Égypte ancienne* 2me éd. 1889) translates 'une fourche et un bâton à la main', and in a note speaks of the magical properties of fire and iron.

Griffith remarks: 'This curious penance (?) may have been a recognized one, but no other instance of it is recorded.'

The papyrus containing the Egyptian tale is said to be not earlier

Digitized by Google

than the Ptolemaic period. The tale itself may be older or may contain old ideas. The likeness to the verse in Proverbs is remarkable, and as no explanation can be given from Hebrew sources the idea may have been borrowed from Egyptian ritual.

A. S. TRITTON.

'THE JOHANNINE ACCOUNT OF THE EARLY MINISTRY OF JESUS.'

A FEW arguments may be added in support of the contention in Dr Cadoux's article in the last number of the JOURNAL that the Johannine account of the cleansing of the Temple stands as against the Synoptic.

Dr Cadoux's first five 'considerations' do not need comment: they stand unchallengeable. On 6 (a) I may refer to my article in *The Interpreter* for July 1910 on the *Misinterpretations in the Fourth Gospel.* On 6 (b) nothing needs to be added.

Approaching the incident of the cleansing of the Temple court from this point of view, we see these notable features in the Johannine account.

On His *first* visit to Jerusalem, coming up to the centre of the nation's religious life, with heart enkindled with historic memories and present anticipation, Jesus is overwhelmed with horror at the actual facts: 'My Father's House—this!' The anger of that day is probably an epoch in religious history. Two points are clear and relevant here: first, the anger and amazement of Jesus are psychologically incredible in the year 29, though entirely natural in 27. Second, Dr Oesterley's view (which I accept) that Jesus is abrogating entirely the Jewish sacrificial system is supported by the Johannine narrative, wherein Jesus bids the Jews (the religious authorities) go on with their work of destroying their religion, and He will build a new one. This is here ignored by the Synoptic narrative, but confirmed by Matt. xii 6: 'one greater than the temple is here' (a cotemporary statement). If the Fourth Gospel is psychologically correct, is it not likely also that it may be historically correct? This is made the more likely when we note Dr Oesterley's contention that Jesus abrogated both the Jewish sacrificial system and the Jewish Sabbath. According to my system (*op. cit. infra*) He did these things at the same period. Dr Oesterley brackets them psychologically, and separates them by two years in time.

Against Dr Cadoux, I must point out that in placing this incident at

Digitized by Google

the *beginning* of the first year, instead of at the end, he is sinning against the psychological situation. (*a*) *Could* Jesus have done this thing when entirely unknown? According to Dr Cadoux's arrangement it is His first appearance in public. This is to me incredible. (*b*) *Would* Nicodemus have said to an entire novice 'we know that thou art a teacher come from God'? Every word of Nicodemus implies a previous Galilean ministry. We must place the incident in A. D. 27, *after* the first Galilean ministry, which ends with Mk. ii 13–17 (*Disarrangements in the Fourth Gospel*, 31–33). Jn. ii 19, Matt. xii 6, 7, Mk. ii 28 give us the first great climax.

Dr Cadoux's arguments on pp. 316–317 turn chiefly on the word *Judaea* taken in a narrow sense. Surely a journey to Jerusalem from Galilee may be taken as a journey to Judaea. But it is also clear that you cannot go from Jerusalem into Judaea any more than you can go from Glasgow into Scotland, for you are already in Judaea. Yet Dr Cadoux would perpetuate the present arrangement whereby Jesus is made to do this.

Dr Cadoux has failed to allow for the fact that the narratives of the Fourth Gospel have great gaps intervening between them. This is what we have between ii 12 and iii 22 (as rearranged). He has also failed to allow for the fact that in these paragraphs we are not dealing with chess-board squares. In my rearrangement I place the Passover visit, not *after* the Judaean ministry, but *in* it, as Jerusalem is in Judaea. In that ministry fall the controversies, not only about the Temple, but also about Fasting and the Sabbath (Mk. ii 18–iii 6; *op. cit.* pp. 32–33), and then there follows the return to Galilee, unnoted in any other arrangement, yet plainly indicated in Mk. iii 7–8 and Matt. xii 15.

Finally, I think we must definitely discard iv 35 as a chronological datum—in my book it is only tentatively allowed. It is a proverbial saying, and the whole of 35–36 is figurative. Cf. David Smith's note (*Expositor*, Sixth Series, vi 442–443) and Dr Moffatt's in D.C.G. ii 670[b]. It is a little surprising that Dr Cadoux relies so confidently for chronological purposes on this passage. I do not see what verses 35–38 have to do with their present context at all.[1] *Where* had the disciples been reaping (verse 38)? This being so, I do not think he can make verse 35 a chronological datum. The Judaean ministry probably ended in May or June.

F. WARBURTON LEWIS.

[1] It is significant that Jn. iv 35–38 answers in length almost precisely to the leaf of the disarranged MS of this Gospel (*op. cit.* 33–34). It looks like a leaf astray from its context. The more I look into this matter, the more I feel that in the disarrangement a few leaves were lost.

Digitized by Google

'LIFTING UP' IN THE FOURTH GOSPEL.

DR BURKITT, in his note on 'lifting up' and 'exalting' in the July number of the JOURNAL, argues 'that the "lifting up" implied in זקף and its derivatives is of the nature of "fixing", "hanging", "staking", or "straightening", hardly ever of "raising to a higher level"'. This is contrary to a point that I had endeavoured to make in my summary of the 'Semitisms of the Fourth Gospel', immediately preceding, and, *pace tanti viri*, I venture to doubt whether the idea of 'lifting' can ever be entirely eliminated. As far as my own purpose is concerned, there is question chiefly of Aramaic. In Ps. xxi (Vulgate xx) 14 זקף is used to render רום, and is itself rendered *exaltare* in Buxtorf and in Walton's Polyglot; similarly in Ps. xcii (Vulg. xci) 10 (11), where Buxtorf has *erexisti*, Walton *exaltasti*. Other examples might be given.

I note that in the Introduction to the second volume of the *Grammar of New Testament Greek* begun by Dr Moulton, whose untimely end is so great a loss to New Testament philology, Mr Howard characterizes the Greek of the Fourth Gospel in a way that would square well with the hypothesis that has been set forth in this note. He writes that the Fourth Gospel is 'the work of a writer to whom Greek was evidently no mother-tongue', and again, 'the linguistic evidence all goes to shew that the author of the Fourth Gospel was a man who, while cultured to the last degree, wrote Greek after the fashion of men of quite elementary attainment. His uneasy movement in the region of unfamiliar idiom is never suffered to betray him into a breach of the laws of grammar' (pp. 31–33). This linguistic evidence is to be marshalled later in a part of the Grammar which at the time of writing has not yet appeared, and therefore one may be pardoned for some suspending of the judgement. But it would evidently tend to confirm Mr Howard's view if we could suppose that the evangelist had extended the meaning of a word beyond the limits set by Greek usage, owing to the sense attaching to the equivalent word in his native Aramaic and Hebrew.

CUTHBERT LATTEY.

ST MAXIMUS *CONTRA IVDAEOS*: PARALLELS IN EARLIER WRITERS.

IT may be worth while to draw attention to one or two resemblances between some passages in this treatise, as published by Mr C. H. Turner in the July number of the JOURNAL, and parts of earlier writers. Mr Turner has already stated (JOURNAL xvii [1916] p. 233) how much Maximus owed to Ambrose, Hilary, Ambrosiaster, Leo, and Cyprian; one or two further evidences of this debt may not be uninteresting.

Digitized by Google

Max. *c. Iud.* c. iii l. 32 ff (JOURNAL xx p. 297) 'nec uirginem *genuisse sine* uiri *coniunctione* credunt [Iudaei et pagani] . . . si enim hoc aliquantis auibus dedit [Deus] ut de *uento* aut de *puluere concipiant* sine maribus et generent, quanto magis ipse sibi, ut dictum est, corpus fabricare ? . . .'

A similar argument is used by Ambrose (*Hexaem.* 5. 20. 64–65) 'negantur uultures indulgere concubitu . . . atque ita sine ullo masculorum concipere semine et *sine coniunctione generare* . . . (65) . . . Impossibile putatur in Dei matre quod in uulturibus possibile non negatur. Auis sine masculo parit et nullus refellit, et quia desponsata Maria peperit, pudori eius faciunt quaestionem . . .' (This from Basil, *Hexaem.* Hom. viii § 76 D–E).

The same fact is stated in Rufinus, *Clem. Recogn.* viii 25 without the same application: 'aues nonnullae sicut gallinae interdum oua uel *uento* uel *puluere concepta* parerent.' (Cf. Plin. *N. H.* 10. 60. 80.)

In the same paragraph of the *Recognitions* we find another parallel:

Max. *ib.* c. iv l. 32 'uiperas ex immundis cineribus nasci'; Ruf. *Clem. Recog., loc. cit.* 'alia [animalia ex terra sumunt carnem], alia ex cinere ut uiperae'.

[More about the viper in Plin. *N. H.* 10. 62. 82; Apul. *Apol.* ch. 85 l. 14 ff (*ed.* Butler and Owen); Ambr. *In Ps.* xxxv 6, *In Ps.* xxxvii 8, *de Tobia* xii 41; Prud. *Hamart.* 585 ff; Petr. Chrysol. *Serm.* 137 (*ed.* Migne *P. L.* 52, Col. 570) and *Serm.* 31 (287 A); Fulgent. Rusp. *de Remiss. Pecc.* 1. 16 (*P. L.* 65, 541 B); commentators on Matt. iii 7 &c., e.g. John Chrysostom *in Matt.* Hom. 11. 2 (*init.*); *Op. Impf. in Matt.* Hom. 45. 33; Barthius *ad Pornob. Lat. Animadvers.* p. 312 (Francf. 1624).]

Besides these parallels from the *c. Iudaeos*, the paragraph in *c. Paganos* ll. 360–364 *salutis* (JOURNAL xvii [1916] p. 332) should be marked as taken word for word, with one slight addition, from Ruf. *Clem. Recogn.* v 5, while ll. 77 ff (*ib.* p. 323) seem a reminiscence of *Recogn.* v 15.

With *uermis* in the paragraph of Maximus already mentioned (JOURNAL xx p. 297) cf. Augustine *Ep.* 140. 8. 21 (on *Ego sum uermis et non homo*) 'ideo se hoc nomine Christum praenuntiare uoluisse quia uermis de carne *sine concubitu* nascitur, sicut ille natus est de uirgine'—a thought borrowed from Origen and Jerome (see Goldbacher *ad loc.*); and *Ep.* 102 (*quaest.* 6). 36 'namque hoc animal [*scil.* uermes] plerumque de carne uel de quacumque re terrena *sine ullo concubitu* nascitur'. Cf. Lucr. 2. 871 f.

Again Max. *c. Iud.* c. vii l. 20 (p. 303) 'luna dicitur aecclesia uel quia crescit adque decrescit tempore pacis uel persecutionis; crescit credentium lucris et aliquando . . . tenebratur cum persecutione multi uexantur . . .' *etc.* [Similarly Hom. 101 (*P. L.* 57, 488 B).]

Digitized by Google

Cf. Ambr. *Hex.* 4. 8. 32 'Ecclesia sicut luna defectus habet et ortus frequentes sed defectibus suis creuit et his meruit ampliari dum persecutionibus minuitur et confessorum martyriis coronatur . . .' *etc.* (quoted by Isidore *Nat. Rer.* 18. 6); also *de Sacram.* vi 25; *Ep.* 18. 26.

In Aug. *Enarr. in Ps.* 10. 3 f the moon is again a figure of the Church; when *obscura* it can (§ 4) be understood 'de ipsorum martyrum caedibus et tanta effusione sanguinis . . .'; also *in Ps.* 71. 10.

J. H. BAXTER.

THE AUTHORSHIP OF A HOMILY ATTRIBUTED TO ST MACARIUS OF EGYPT.

THE authorship of the homilies[1] attributed to St Macarius of Egypt is with one exception still undecided. This exception is to be found in Homily LI as it is numbered, that is to say the first of the Harvard homilies, which is also and with more propriety called a letter, for it has an epistolary beginning and end. The similarities which this letter presents to admittedly authentic letters of St Macarius of Egypt, one of which is preserved in Latin and seven others in Syriac, make its authenticity unquestionable. The aim of the present note is to place another of the homilies in the same boat with the Harvard Letter.

The last of the homilies printed by Migne—Number L—is remarkable in having an epistolary ending. The writer says that he has written only in brief,[2] as to men of intelligence. This epistolary conclusion is itself sufficient to prove that the composition should rather be styled a letter than a homily. Furthermore, the parallels which it presents with Homily LI are such as to compel the reader to conclude that it was written by the same man, to the same person, at more or less the same time, and under the same circumstances. Its purpose is to display the wonderful works of God wrought through the agency of His saints; and the list of saints given as well as the language in which their deeds are expressed tallies in a remarkable way with the list in Homily LI, as will appear from the following table:—

Hom. L.	Hom. LI.
§ 1 Ἠλίας.	§ 2 Ἠλίαν.
§ 1 Μωϋσῆς εἶπε τῇ θαλάσσῃ καὶ ἐμερίσθη.	§ 2 τῷ Μωσεῖ . . . ποιήσας τὴν θάλλασσαν δραμεῖν ἔμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ
§ 2 Δαβίδ.	§ 2 Δαβίδ.
§ 2 Ἰησοῦς ὁ τοῦ Ναυῆ . . . ἐν τῇ συμβολῇ τοῦ πολέμου.	§ 2 Ἰησοῦν τὸν τοῦ Ναυῆ . . . ἐν πασαῖς ταῖς συμβολαῖς τῶν πολέμων.

[1] Fifty are printed by Migne in *P. G.* tom. xxxiv and an additional seven in *Harvard Theological Studies* v, 1918.

[2] Hom. L *ad fin.* Διὰ πλειόνων δὲ . . . ἔχοντες ἐπιστεῖλαι . . . δι' ὀλίγων ἐδώκαμεν ὑμῖν ἀφορμήν.

Digitized by Google

After these examples from the Old Testament have been enumerated their application to the circumstances of the monks is explained :—

Hom. L.	Hom. LI.
§ 3 σὺ δὲ ἀκούων ταῦτα μὴ μακράν σου ἀπέλθῃ ὁ νοῦς κτλ.	§ 3 ταῦτα δὲ ἔγραψα ὑμῖν, ἀδελφοί, ἵνα γνῶτε κτλ.

Finally, the relation of Satan and of Grace to the soul is expressed in remarkably similar language.[1] It is plain that Homily L comes from the same hand which penned Homily LI. The former is no longer a floating island wandering about on a sea of uncertainty ; it is fixed to the fourth century, and is the work of the ascetic of the Scetic Desert known as St Macarius of Egypt.

This conclusion, based on internal evidence, finds confirmation in the documents. The two British manuscripts,[2] from which the text of the Harvard homilies is drawn, prefix to the fifty-first homily the notice τοῦ αὐτοῦ μοναχοῦ θείου πατρὸς Μακαρίου ἐπιστολὴ δευτέρα πρὸς τὸν ἀββᾶν Συμεὼν τὸν ἀσκητὴν τὸν ἀπὸ Μεσοποταμίας τῆς Συρίας καὶ πρὸς τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀδελφοὺς τοὺς ὄντας μετ' αὐτοῦ : while before the fiftieth homily they read τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Μακαρίου τοῦ Αἰγυπτίου ἐπιστολὴ πρώτη πρὸς τὸν ἀββᾶ (*sic*) Συμεὼν τὸν ἀπὸ Μεσοποταμίας τῆς Συρίας. Thus it appears that Homily L is an earlier and Homily LI a later letter of St Macarius to Symeon. In the former, as he says himself, he took as an ἀφορμή[3] or starting-point for meditation the acts of the Old Testament saints, while in the latter he made a further excursion into the realm of the Spirit by surveying the wonders of the Incarnation.[4] As for the identity of St Macarius's correspondent he is doubtless 'the admirable Symeon' mentioned in the Lausiac History,[5] of whom Palladius speaks as one among several who had been driven out of Bethlehem by what he ventures to call the bad temper of St Jerome.

G. L. MARRIOTT.

[1] Cf. Hom. L §§ 3, 4 with Hom. LI § 3.

[2] Cod. Graec. Barocc. 213 in Bodley's Library and D 2. 4. 6 Codex 55 at Holkham.

[3] See Hom. L *ad fin.*

[4] Hom. LI § 1.

[5] Cap. xxxvi *ad fin.*

Digitized by Google

REVIEWS

THE S.P.C.K. 'TRANSLATIONS OF EARLY DOCUMENTS'.

THE scholarly enthusiasm of Dr Oesterley and Canon Box, reinforced by the practical enterprise of the S.P.C.K., is providing English readers with a valuable series of volumes, which have thoroughly deserved the welcome which they have received. We ought not, indeed, to speak of *a* series; the editors and publishers, out of their abundant generosity, are giving us *three* series. The object is 'to provide short, cheap, and handy text-books' in translation. For the original texts, as well as for more elaborate commentaries, the student must go elsewhere. But enough is supplied to enable the reader to appreciate the book he is studying, to understand its place in the history of literature and religion, and to realize some of the problems as to authorship, date, and origin.

The editors of the volumes have been well selected. Who, for instance, could better treat of the *Jewish documents of the Time of Ezra* than Bodley's new librarian? Dr A. Cowley was one of the first editors of the original Aramaic papyri containing the documents, which date from 494 to 400 B.C. These texts are of enormous value for the history of Judaism, at several points they touch on the situation at Jerusalem, and (as is well known to Biblical students) they throw light on the early history of the post-exilic community. But they do more even than this. It may be said that the history of the lore of the folk is as important in its way as the history of its culture; folk-lore is indeed a significant aspect of humanism. Hence we rejoice to see that Dr Cowley has included the Aramaic fragment of the Story of Aḥiḳar. And who shall say to which branch belongs *The Apocalypse of Ezra*, so ably edited by Canon Box himself? At all events its importance is beyond question, and students will be grateful to Prof. Box for having given them, besides his earlier critical edition of the Second Esdras, this admirable version of the Visions which occupy chapters three to fourteen. This is not the place to discuss the question of the *unity* of the text. If one has to make any criticism of some of these delightful volumes it is that the editors tend occasionally to present one-sided views as though these were completely proven and generally accepted.

One would also like to break a lance with Mr H. St John Thackeray, whose *Letter of Aristeas* is a first-class piece of work. He dates the

Digitized by Google

Letter 'about 120–80 B.C.' To my mind it is a good century earlier. Is there really much force in the following argument? 'It is hard to believe that a fictitious story, as Schürer admits that of Aristeas to be, could have gained credence within little more than half a century after the period to which it relates.' That 120 B.C. is rather too late is suggested by various considerations. One of them is this. The LXX Psalms can hardly have been later than 'the second half of the second century' (Swete *Introduction* ch. i § 16). Now, in *The Letter of Aristeas* there is what seems to be a clear quotation from the hundred and thirtieth Psalm. Asked how a king might inspire terror into his enemies, the Sage (§ 194) replies: 'God also, *by granting reprieves . . . instils terror into every breast.*' The parallel cited with Wisd. xii 16–18 scarcely explains this. What does explain it is Ps. cxxx 4: 'But there is forgiveness with thee that thou mayest be feared.' Aristeas, however, does not quote the LXX version of the Psalm, his phraseology is quite other. It has been argued, with much plausibility, that Aristeas does quote the LXX in a few passages. But he only quotes the *Pentateuch*, and this confirms Aristeas's story that it was only the Pentateuch that was translated into Greek in the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus. Mr Thackeray, it must be pointed out however, gives strong grounds for his own opinion. His translation is very fine.

What may be called specifically the *Jewish* 'Sibylline Oracles' (books iii, iv, and v) are well edited by the Rev. H. N. Bate, and his views on the dates of the various sections are sound. Is it however certain that v 256–259 is 'a Christian oracle'? It may well be that the whole passage is merely a hope of the reappearance of Moses. The Jewish character of the passage is confirmed by a fact often overlooked. The 'best of the Hebrews', i. e. Moses, 'stretched forth his hands upon the fruitful tree, and stayed the sun' (Mr Bate reads 'shall stay'). The latter miracle obviously, it is thought by Mr Bate among others, refers to Joshua (x 12–13). But is this so? Now in the Midrash Tanhumah to Exod. xvii 18 (cf. Rashi's Commentary) we read: 'His hands were steady until the going down of the sun.' The Amalekites had calculated the hours by means of their astrology. But Moses caused sun and moon to stand still, and it is this to which the prophet Habakkuk alludes when he says (iii 10–11): 'He (Moses) lifted up his hands on high. The sun and moon stood still.' Thus, Jewish traditional exegesis would explain the whole passage of Moses, who caused the sun to stand still even as Joshua did. (See S. A. Hirsch's essay on the *Jewish Sibylline Oracles* in *J. Q. R.* ii 424, reprinted in his 'Book of Essays'.) There seems good reason therefore to believe that the Sibyllist was working on Jewish material in this particular passage. Such problems apart, Mr Bate's edition is most acceptable and ought

Digitized by Google

to be the means of introducing many readers to a literature previously inaccessible to them. And yet no one can understand Virgil's Fourth Eclogue without some knowledge of the Sibylline Oracles.

A passing reference was made above to the desirability of editorial information as to differences of opinion regarding the period and provenance of the literature treated in these volumes. A striking instance of the effect with which this can be done is given in *Joseph and Asenath*, edited by E. W. Brooks. The latter has accomplished his task ably, and will win fresh admirers for this charming narrative of Asenath's love story and spiritual adventure. In the Introduction the general editors have interpolated a full statement of the views of Dr K. Kohler from the *Jewish Encyclopedia* (ii 172–176). This serves a double purpose. In the first place Dr Kohler makes some original points. In the second place the student is introduced to Dr Kohler, whose work on this type of literature belongs to the best Jewish contributions to the subject. By the way, a reference may be made to an earlier English translation of Batiffol's text. In 1890 was published a meritorious rendering 'Prepared by Mary Brodrick, from notes supplied by Sir Peter Le Page Renouf' (London, Philip Wellby). 'Asenath' also appears in Dr M. R. James's more recent *Old Testament Legends*.

Dr James is, moreover, the editor of one of the most important of the series now under notice. Indeed it differs from most in the particular that it is the first attempt to present its original to English readers. In this respect it may be compared to the Rev. R. G. Finch's translation (in the same series) of parts of *Kimḥi's Commentary on the Psalms*. Mr Finch makes a promising appearance as an interpreter of Rabbinic literature, and may be emphatically complimented on the ability which he has displayed. *The Biblical Antiquities of Philo* belongs, however, to a considerably earlier age. It is translated by Dr James into English for the first time. Assigned erroneously to Philo, the book is nevertheless 'a genuine and unadulterated book of the first century—a product of the same school as the Fourth Book of Esdras and the Apocalypse of Esdras, and written, like them, in the years which followed the destruction of Jerusalem in A.D. 70'. In assigning this early date to the book, Dr James has the support of the late Dr Leopold Cohn, the famous Philonean editor, who passed away during the War. How came the book to be ascribed to Philo? 'The attribution to Philo', answers Dr James, 'I regard as due to the accident that the (Latin) text is transmitted in company with genuine Philonic writings. Certainly if the *Antiquities* had come down to us by themselves, no one in his senses could have thought of connecting them with Philo; unless, indeed, knowing of but two Jewish authors,

Digitized by Google

Philo and Josephus, he assumed that, since one had written a history of the Jews, the other must needs have followed suit.'

That the surviving Latin text is a translation from the Greek is obvious. 'It is hardly less plain that the Greek is a translation from the Hebrew.' For, 'as Dr Cohn has pointed out, the whole complexion, and especially the connecting links of the narrative, are strongly Hebraic, and there is a marked absence of the Greek use of particles, or of any attempt to link sentence save by the bald *et*, which occurs an incredible number of times'. Dr James points to an interesting mistranslation. 'In viii 13 *Visui* occurs as a proper name. It seems clearly to be a mistake for *and Isui*. The error implies a Hebrew original: it is not found in the LXX.' Further, Dr Cohn found a positive indication of the date of the book. It was written after A. D. 70, and probably before the century was ended. 'The writer of *Baruch* was acquainted with (this) *Philo*.' There can be no doubt, therefore, as to the importance of the work which Dr James has edited. He somewhat underrates his service. It is far nearer being a critical edition than he claims. It places the reader in a position to realize the value of the work, its relations to other literature, and it renders him competent to estimate textual niceties. Dr James has done all this, and students will be deeply grateful.

I. ABRAHAMS.

BESIDES the books noticed above by Mr Abrahams there are already published in this series, of translations included in Dr Charles's edition of *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament in English*, *The Third and the Fourth Books of Maccabees* by Mr C. W. Emmet, *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* and *The Apocalypse of Baruch* by Dr Charles and Dr Oesterley, and *The Book of Enoch* and *The Ascension of Isaiah* by Dr Charles; and with fresh translations *The Wisdom of Solomon* and *The Wisdom of Ben-Sira* by Dr Oesterley: all with excellent introductions and notes. In addition to Mr Brooks's translation of *The Book of Joseph and Asenath*, we are also given for the first time in English, by Mr Box, with the assistance of Mr J. I. Landsman, a translation from the Slavonic of *The Apocalypse of Abraham* which contains a graphic picture of the patriarch's conversion from belief in the gods of his father's manufacture, as a preface to the narrative of the revelation which was made to him. Mr H. St J. Thackeray contributes to the series an attractive volume of *Selections from Josephus* which includes the passages most relevant to Christian origins and New Testament study, and Mr W. J. Ferrar's *The Uncanonical Jewish Books* supplies a very useful compendium of information about 'the Apocrypha and the Jewish writings 200 B.C.–A.D. 100'.

Digitized by Google

So, through the enterprise of the S.P.C.K., the hope expressed in the JOURNAL (xv 142) in a notice of Dr Charles's great edition, that handier editions of the various books might soon be forthcoming, is more than fulfilled. It is the fault of the times that they all cost about double the price at which they could have been published then.

J. F. B-B.

Les mystères païens et le mystère chrétien, by ALFRED LOISY. (E. Nourry, Paris, 1919.)

THE origin of this book, M. Loisy tells us, was a course of lectures on the idea of 'Sacrifice' in the different religions, in which he found that he had to bring the pagan mysteries into relation to one another and ultimately to the Christian Mystery. Except for a few pages of Conclusions the book was already printed when the War broke out. No doubt it will be very variously appreciated, but I think there can be no question as to the value of the first six chapters (more than half the book) the subjects of which are 'National Religions and Mystery-Cults', 'Dionysus and Orpheus', 'The Mysteries of Eleusis', 'Cybele and Attis', 'Isis and Osiris', and 'Mithra'. In these chapters M. Loisy surveys the most recent researches and conjectures of other investigators and gives an account of the various mystery-cults which many readers, I think, will find the most lucid and interesting that exists, alike as to their origins and history and as to their meaning and the developements they underwent. Much, as M. Loisy fully recognizes, is matter for conjecture. For example, among the ideas he emphasizes at the outset is the theory that in rites which imitate the movement of Nature, the life and death of vegetation, it is not mere imitation that is involved or intended. In some the idea is to co-operate with the action of Nature, to promote, to produce, and to direct it: while in others the idea is rather to incorporate in certain individuals the spirit which works in Nature, of which those individuals are to become the organs (hence the eating of the plant or animal). The growth of the belief that initiation into the mysteries secured a happy immortality is difficult to trace. The Egyptian and the Dionysiac-Orphic rites, in spite of great differences, agree in the fundamental idea of a mystic communion between a mortal man and a dead god who is resuscitated. In the Eleusinian rites, on the other hand, M. Loisy thinks that attention was concentrated on the thought that the initiate were admitted to the favour of the goddesses, which was enough to guarantee them happiness in the future life.

Digitized by Google

In all these chapters there are many illuminating suggestions and points of special interest in detail; as, to take one example (p. 68), M. Loisy's rejection of the emendation ἐγγευσάμενος in the formula of the Eleusinian mysteries cited by Clement *Protrept.* ii 21 (and Arnobius v 26), and with it of the idea of eating a cake, in favour of the reading of the MSS ἐργασάμενος 'having performed the act'—the box containing a symbol with which a ritual gesture was made.

It is when we come to the chapters dealing with 'the Christian Mystery' that we enter on more debateable ground and are brought face to face with questions on which scholars are somewhat sharply divided. I can only write as one who shares M. Loisy's conviction that the Pauline and the Johannine interpretations of the Gospel, whatever actual experience may underlie them, are conditioned by ideas that were current in the mystery religions of the time, and originated in a mystery religion environment. This view, that 'Paulinism' was largely the product of Hellenistic influences, and that under those influences the primitive 'Gospel of Jesus' became a 'mystery of salvation', M. Loisy sets out with all the learning and literary and artistic skill of which he is master. It is a view, however, which does not involve nearly so complete a dissolution of the received facts of the Gospel history as they suffer at M. Loisy's hands. Why, for example, should he reject the tradition that our Lord was baptized by John?—a tradition, in every way historically probable, that received from early times the most divergent interpretations. We can watch the story grow in the Gospels from Mark to John. Had it been an invention of the kind M. Loisy suggests, it surely would have been produced full grown. And again, while I am entirely with him in the opinion that our Lord 'instituted' no sacraments, and have long held that the real origin of the Lord's Supper is to be found in the experiences of the disciples when gathered together at their evening meals after the Crucifixion; yet not to allow that at the Last Supper Jesus used the words 'This is my body . . .' is to make the later developements far less natural and explicable than otherwise they are. Was it not M. Loisy himself who said of a certain German scholar some years ago that he made of our Lord 'un docteur de la morale, presque un professeur, comme lui-même'? There are other recorded sayings of Jesus, which I think M. Loisy would not dispute, that are at least as 'extravagant' as this, and as possible on His lips. It does not follow that He meant by them what later Christians supposed, but if He said them the later interpretations of them are intelligible and the gap between the facts of the Last Supper, the primitive 'breaking of the bread', and the Pauline and Johannine conceptions of the Sacrament can be bridged. Especially—a very important point which M. Loisy notices, though rather in-

Digitized by Google

adequately I think—we can understand why there is no trace of any opposition on the part of the older apostles and disciples to the sacramental teaching of St Paul. It surely must have had some basis in remembered fact. The strange words, capable of such an expansion as they have in the Fourth Gospel, supply the basis for the later 'mystery religion' structure.

Resemblances in detail between the pagan and the Christian rites are noted by M. Loisy in passing, and he observes how the idea of magic is excluded from the latter by the stress that is laid by St Paul on moral qualifications. He dismisses the suggestion of borrowings or imitation, though he cites the evidence of Justin and Tertullian, which is often ignored by Christian apologists, to shew that they knew that the pagan rites were first in the field. He is concerned above all with the fact that ideas which were not Jewish and are not traceable in the teaching of the synoptic Jesus controlled St Paul's presentation of the Gospel, and that these ideas are those of 'mystery religion'; while he none the less clearly sees the truth that it was Judaism and the Gospel of Jesus that gave the Christian Mystery the special character that secured its victory over all its rivals. 'Or le mystère chrétien possédait ce qui manquait aux mystères païens; il le possédait grâce au judaïsme et grâce à l'Évangile de Jésus.'

J. F. B-B.

The Atonement and Ourselves. By P. L. SNOWDEN. (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1919.)

THERE are signs in current theological thought of a renewed insistence upon that side of the doctrine of the Atonement which was fully, sometimes exclusively, represented in the older soteriologies, but in more recent times had fallen out of prominence. That side is concerned with the notions of the holiness of God, of the need for an objective atonement, and of the presence in the sufferings of Christ of an element which, however conceived of in respect of its operation, is to be described as penal. It would be inexact to speak of the reaction as especially antagonistic to Dr Moberly's influential book, but there are marked differences as to presuppositions and as to the distribution of emphasis, with a pronounced aversion from the idea of vicarious penitence, in respect of its truth, and not merely of its adequacy. Mr Snowden's leading ideas are those mentioned above. The holiness of God is 'the basis of His character', and makes necessary the vindication of His moral law in opposition to sin: the sinner must make reparation. The position is developed on the classic lines of this redemption-doctrine; the inability of the sinner leads on to the need

Digitized by Google

for one who shall do what he cannot do; that one is Christ who stands in the sinner's place, experiences in the sufferings, and especially in the desolation of the Cross, the penal consequences of sin, and makes full reparation by his perfect obedience. But Mr Snowden puts forward no doctrine of mere substitution; he presses to great lengths a conception of the identification—though with 'real distinctness' remaining—of the Christian's personality with Christ, so much so indeed that he can say that because of this identification 'it is not the suffering of the innocent, but of the guilty—not of Christ but ourselves—which satisfies the claims of justice'. This is one indication, which does not stand alone, that he has not completely harmonized his thought; if, after all, by whatever means, we, the guilty, make the reparation, the work of Christ on the Cross was not more than a great preparation. But, as a whole, the book is a strong one in the treatment both of ethical concepts and of the teaching of the New Testament.

What is the Kingdom of Heaven? By A. CLUTTON-BROCK. (Methuen & Co., London, 1919.)

MR CLUTTON-BROCK has been deeply impressed by the contrast between the prominence of the idea of the Kingdom of Heaven in the teaching of Christ, and its absence from the formularies of the Church and from the mind of Christians. He has written this book to expound the doctrine and to draw out its consequences for life. Those who approach the doctrine, or, rather, the notion, of the Kingdom as set forth in the Gospels, from the point of view of critical or theological students of the New Testament, are familiar with the difficulties in the way of a definition of the Kingdom, and of a statement of its relationship to human life which will cover the various elements in the evidence. Mr Clutton-Brock writes with the pen of the artist and mystic rather than of the exegetical student, yet despite his passionate attachment to the idea of the Kingdom, and his belief that it is the one fundamental Christian dogma, that apart from the realization of the Kingdom within human life salvation is impossible, I am not sure that his readers will feel that he has given a quite lucid and intelligible answer to the question of his title. He is more successful—and he is exceedingly successful—in speaking of the effects than of the essence of the Kingdom. The later chapters on 'The Kingdom of Heaven and Politics', and 'The Kingdom of Heaven and the Individual', are full of inspiration: it is a pity that in the earlier part of the book the tone is unduly dogmatic, and likely to alienate orthodox readers by sweeping phrases such as 'the universe is not good, it is nonsense, if some men are saved and others not': the problem involved in a universe which includes free spirits is not to be solved by this sort of dictatorial *obiter*

Digitized by Google

dictum. And there is too much of the all-or-nothing attitude in the remark that 'in our present unconverted state we can know nothing' of such matters as the divinity of Christ, or the existence of God, or the immortality of the soul. Nevertheless the book will, far more than many a balanced theological treatise, help men towards a vision of the Kingdom and of its meaning for their lives.

Lay Religion. By HENRY T. HODGKIN, M.A., M.B. (Headley Bros., London, 1919.)

THIS is the first volume of 'The Christian Revolution Series', and in some respects it is probably typical of the contributions which are to follow. A desire to get back behind formal theology to the teaching and spirit of Jesus as shewn in the Gospels, especially in the Synoptists, a feeling that Christianity has, through the undue influence of the 'religious specialist', become unintelligible and unattractive to the modern mind, and, consequently, a considerable amount of criticism and complaint at the expense of organized Christianity, are prominent features of Mr Hodgkin's attitude. He expounds various 'demands'—for adventure, freedom, fellowship, harmony, and other realities which ought to be found in true religion, but are only feebly represented in Christian life to-day. His ideal is of a democratic religion which eschews compromise, works by love, and finds in Christ its leader and the one true way to God.

Mr Hodgkin's book, marked as it is by sincerity of feeling and religious devotion, would have been more impressive if the writer had remembered or given space to three things: first, that the Church is engaged on the very toughest work there is—not merely the appeal to a humanity ready to respond to words of true life, but the struggle with a humanity too often deaf or recalcitrant; secondly, that simplification in religion is not to be so easily achieved as is, apparently, at times assumed; virtue is not knowledge, but a great deal of virtue depends, for its practical manifestation, upon a knowledge to which there is for most people no royal road; and finally, that, while it is easy to say that 'Jesus Christ drove the "religious specialist" from the world', those who are prepared to welcome that action are not therefore prepared to own His authority and to see in Him 'the Liberator, the Leader into Freedom'. That there should be in the Church more of what Mr Hodgkin desires is perfectly true, but its presence would not be a remedy for all our ills. And 'Lay Religion', as here expounded, omits more than a little of what does attract people to and in Christianity, of elements which are no later growth upon the purity of the faith, but are found in the Gospel which apostles preached.

J. K. MOZLEY.

Digitized by Google

CHRONICLE OF HISTORICAL WORKS.

A LARGE number of English works, some of which have already established their reputation, await notice here. Two features in particular stand out; there are some excellent biographies and there are some short studies of great interest written by those who were fighting or, to our sorrow and the hurt of historical work, perished in the War.

Among the biographies two are of remarkable interest and promise. Miss C. M. Ady's *Pius II* (Methuen & Co.) was fortunate in its subject, the Humanist Pope, who had won his spurs at the Council of Basle, who had shewn himself a diplomatist skilful enough to regain Germany for the Papacy, who had travelled almost as widely as he had read, and who, in the end, left us histories of his days almost as interesting as himself. A personality, which is adorned by humour (quite modern in its touch) and also by literary style, does not always inspire those who attempt its description with the same happy gifts or fortune or training, but Miss Ady is not an unworthy biographer of Aeneas Sylvius. When she leaves, as the historian of Aeneas must, the private home, if indeed the great citizen of Pienza could be said to have a home at all, for the wider field of history, her work still keeps its interest and she is adequate for her task: she gives us a good sketch of the Council of Basle (chap. iii) and of the Conclave of Pius II (chap. vii): the pathetic endeavour which Pius made to call Christian Europe to a crusade is described with sympathy and power (chap. xiv), even if the details of the last journey are quite rightly taken from the Pope's favoured companion, the Bishop of Pavia, Ammanati, a Cardinal of his own creation.

Although Pius has interested many through his own peculiar gifts, his life was typical of his day and noteworthy in itself. Born at Pienza (a town which he beautified by a cathedral, a unique specimen of Renaissance architecture) on St Luke's day 1405, he was trained at the University of Siena, the city from which his family, the Piccolomini, had sprung. Then came a time of travel as secretary: as a layman he bore a not unworthy part in the Council of Basle, and indeed a Cardinal's secretary had many chances: in 1442 he was one of a deputation from Basle to the Emperor Frederick III: from his imperial hands he received the laurel wreath of poets, and a little later in the same year he became a secretary in the Chancery at Vienna. He might have done well to leave the Council some four years earlier when he had begun to lose hopes of any real reform from that tardy and too long-lived assembly; but whether he stayed on at the cost of sacrificing his convictions is an open question, for there was something to be said for the Council after

Digitized by Google

all, as that non-resident but afterwards reforming ecclesiastic, Cardinal d'Allemand, could have told him. As a layman Aeneas was rewarded with a benefice near Botzen, and then with another, Anspach in Bavaria. After three years he was ordained (1446). In 1447 he became Bishop of Trieste, and in 1451 of Siena; but his work lay in Germany to which (1452) he returned, and it was here he gained the laurels not of poesy but of diplomacy. In 1456 he received the Cardinal's hat, but more remunerative honours had to be sought after: he was ready for 'anything he could obtain'. In 1458 Calixtus III, who had made Aeneas Cardinal, died, and in the new Conclave the future Pope was the heart of the Italian as opposed to the French party: after many ups and downs he gained nine votes (not eight as the scrutineer at first gave out): there were twenty-four cardinals in Conclave, and slowly, in spite even of violence, four more 'acceded' to Aeneas: once more fortune had favoured him, and he became Pius II. He was sometimes haunted by ghosts from his more secular past (that determined Teutonic lawyer, Gregory of Heimburg, once reminded him of the lascivious verses he had written long before), yet as Pope he rose to his position, even if piety had not been always the mainspring of his life. But his papacy, like his work in letters, is better known than his earlier and more adventurous days. His death on the eve of the Assumption, 1464, when the Venetian fleet after long (and intentional) delays had just reached Ancona, was the last and not the least pathetic scene in that long history of the Crusades which a greater and very different Pope, Gregory VII, had been the first to plan. Through this changeful and significant life of the last Crusading Pope (for he was this in the original sense of a Crusade) Miss Ady carries us deftly, with a careful use of authorities and much literary skill.

Mr A. G. Ferrers Howell in his book on *St Bernardino of Siena* (Methuen & Co.) deals with the city over which Pius II was bishop, but with a very different character and with a wider scope in point of time if not in place. He has given us a work, like Miss Ady's, written with skill, with ample use of authorities and of late researches (it is pleasant to see prefixed to the book a *corrigendum* due to the researches of Fr Johannes Hoper published as the work was progressing). Such care has enabled Mr Ferrers Howell to give us a really important contribution to Franciscan history. The sketch of it down from St Francis to St Bernardino (who was born in 1386) is excellent, and the account of Abbot Joachim and the story of his writings may be instanced for this: the growth of Observants, Conventuals, and Fratricelli, with their special relations among themselves, is sketched clearly and accurately: even a reader somewhat versed in Franciscan history might learn much from the first chapter, and the beginner could get from

Digitized by Google

it a firm outline of the history. Some hundred and twenty pages sketch the life of the saint: the care of a blind aunt kept him long from becoming a mendicant, but on her death he decided to dwell in a wood, and live on water and herbs; he bought a Bible and a cloak and a goat-skin to keep the Bible dry; then he went back to Siena for a hermit's life, giving himself to devotion and the study of theology. A vision impelled him to join the Franciscan Order (1402), which by both his work and his example he was to regenerate. His study, the knowledge of the human soul which he had gained from himself, thoroughly fitted him to become one of the greatest mediaeval preachers. His life is significant partly as a study of his own beautiful if singular character, and partly as a study of a preacher's career. He had his dangers, which largely arose indeed from his weaknesses: his singularities no less than his ideals had made enemies for him, and (1427) just when the Pope Martin V was at the request of the Sienese about to make him their bishop, he was summoned to Rome on a charge of heresy. The Pope, a supporter of the Observants, over whom he had made Bernardino Vicar-General for Italy in 1438, was deeply grieved yet had no choice but to go on with the trial, and its story is one of the most interesting parts of the book. On the Eve of the Ascension, 1444, Bernardino died after a death-bed scene of great beauty and interest. Chapter iii of the book treats fully of his sermons and his power as a preacher. His minor works are described in chapter iv, and chapter v, written by the capable pen of Mrs Ady (Julia Cartwright), deals with Bernardino in Art. A word of praise is deserved by the appendices dealing with the fifteenth-century biographies (a careful piece of work), the dates of his sermons, his knowledge of Greek, which even if small was noteworthy in his day, and two unpublished letters. It should be added that this excellent work, like Miss Ady's *Pius II*, is beautifully illustrated.

Little space has been left for the late Dr Alex R. MacEwen's first volume (A.D. 397–1546) of *A History of the Church of Scotland*. It is by far the most complete and exhaustive work for the period it covers: perhaps Dr MacEwen does a little injustice to St Wilfrid, and some critics might dissent from his views about the much discussed Culdees. The notes added at the end of some of the chapters are sound in workmanship and, like the whole of the book, are well balanced and instructive. Scotch Church history has been the unhappy victim of too much controversy and too wild fancies, but Dr MacEwen moves on a different plane from many previous writers, and to his work we must return again.

J. P. WHITNEY.

(*To be continued.*)

Digitized by Google

RECENT PERIODICALS RELATING TO THEOLOGICAL STUDIES

(1) ENGLISH.

The Church Quarterly Review, October 1919 (Vol. lxxxix, No. 177: Spottiswoode & Co.). R. ALLEN Concerning some hindrances to the extension of the Church—A. B. BROWNE Prayer Book enrichment—A. E. TAYLOR The philosopher of Mysticism—E. W. WATSON American civil Church Law—G. H. BOX The Book of Judges—W. JENKINSON The Bishops' Palaces in old London—'Unrest'—Short notices.

The Hibbert Journal, October 1919 (Vol. xviii, No. 1: Williams & Norgate). L. P. JACKS Why we are disappointed—MRS J. W. WOOTON Is progress an illusion?—R. K. WILSON Humanism: an experiment in Religion—L. J. WALKER Time, eternity, and God—W. CALDWELL A new birth for Education—H. L. STEWART Wilfrid Ward—S. BROOKE Byron's 'Cain'—E. J. PRICE Jewish Apocalyptic and the Mysteries—J. W. HARPER Industrial unrest: a plea for national guilds—E. A. JELF Time and place in practical politics—R. LL. LANGFORD-JAMES Regrouped religion: a High Churchman's view—D. DRAKE Shall we remain in the Church? a layman's view—E. M. CHAPMAN Mother England—Discussions, Survey, and Signed Reviews.

The Expositor, October 1919 (Eighth Series, No. 106: Hodder & Stoughton). G. G. FINDLAY The world-hope of Scripture—J. MOFFATT Augustine on the Lord's Prayer—D. S. MARGOLIOUTH The Matthaean narrative of the Nativity—E. W. WINSTANLEY The outlook of the Apostolic Fathers—F. R. M. HITCHCOCK Some New Testament Notes—T. H. BINDLEY Eschatology in the Lord's Prayer.

November 1919 (Eighth Series, No. 107). A. T. ROBERTSON The use of ὑπέρ in business documents in the Papyri—W. BARTLETT The Saints at Ephesus—G. H. WHITAKER 2 Tim. iii 10 f—J. A. ROBERTSON James the householder—R. MACKINTOSH The moral necessity of atonement—W. F. ADENEY The nature of the 'Advent'—F. GRANGER The communist production of the Greek New Testament—F. R. M. HITCHCOCK Some New Testament Notes.

December 1919 (Eighth Series, No. 108). W. M. MACGREGOR Professor A. B. Bruce—A. C. DEANE The Christian doctrine of Reward

Digitized by Google

—R. MACKINTOSH Christ's thought of His death—G. H. WHITAKER Barnabas, Luke, and Bithynia—J. H. HINGSTON The early Roman church to the close of the Neronian persecution—W. EWING The Samaritan Pentateuch and the higher criticism—E. J. GOODSPEED 'Sufficient unto the day'.

(2) AMERICAN.

The American Journal of Theology, October 1919 (Vol. xxiii, No. 4: University of Chicago Press). A. E. HAYDON The theological trend of Pragmatism—C. H. DICKINSON Our soldiers' doctrine of death—G. W. GILMORE Tantrism: the newest Hinduism—H. T. ANDREWS The legacy of Jesus to the Church—W. MUSS-ARNOLT Puritan efforts and struggles 1550–1603—E. S. BRIGHTMAN The Lisbon earthquake: a study in religious valuation—H. P. SMITH Moses and Muhammad.

The Princeton Theological Review, October 1919 (Vol. xvii, No. 4: Princeton University Press). B. B. WARFIELD Albrecht Ritschl and his doctrine of Christian perfection—J. G. MACHEN Recent criticism of the Book of Acts—C. A. MITCHELL A study in the ethics of Shakespeare—S. T. LOWRIE Romans xii 1–8: translation and interpretation—Notes and Notices—Reviews of recent literature—Survey of periodical literature.

Digitized by Google

The Journal
of
Theological Studies

APRIL, 1920

THE *SHEPHERD* OF HERMAS AND THE PROBLEM OF ITS TEXT.

THERE lived at Rome, during the first half of the second century, an elderly Christian of servile origin named Hermas. At some period of his career—after his children had grown up, but apparently while he was still in early middle life—he had been the recipient of visions and revelations addressed primarily to his own personal and family affairs, but at times of a wider than merely individual scope. In this experience his was not of course an isolated or exclusively favoured case. The early Christians were profoundly convinced that they moved in an atmosphere charged with influences of the Spirit, directing, overruling, and controlling their whole lives. The book of Acts, especially if we read it in the text offered by the Codex Bezae, illustrates this for the first generation of Christians on almost every page: and much later, not less than a century after Hermas, the correspondence of St Cyprian, the sanest and most practical of saints, shews him defending his course of action on more than one occasion by appeal to the visions which had been vouchsafed to him.[1] So far then as the spiritual guidance which had been experienced by Hermas was nothing peculiar or unique, there was no special necessity for publishing his experiences in book form to the community at large, nor is there any evidence that at the time he did so.

But about the year 140 after Christ the fortunes of the family of Hermas took a sudden turn. As successor to bishop Hyginus, the Roman Christians chose Pius to be their head, and Pius was brother to Hermas—probably younger brother, for Hermas must by this time have been an old man, and Pius's tenure of the

[1] Cf. *epp.* xi 3, 4, lvii 1, 2, lxvi 9, 10, *mortal.* 20, *Vita* 12, 13: and of visions seen by others than himself *epp.* xvi 4, xxxix 1, *mortal.* 19.

Digitized by Google

Roman see was, if we may trust the traditional chronology of the early popes, longer than that of any of his predecessors. That the scion of a servile family should become bishop of Rome shewed indeed that the Church was not unmindful of the principle asserted by St Paul, that in Christ is neither bond nor free: yet the parallel case of Callistus early in the next century may make us suspect that Pius would perhaps have found the situation not without its difficulties. Possibly the antecedents of Callistus were really dubious, and gave some handle to the attacks of the aristocratic old rigorist Hippolytus: but certainly the edge of Hippolytus's theological bitterness against his opponent was sharpened by the consciousness of social differences as well. An ex-slave uses his episcopal prerogative to sanction the union of slaves with freeborn Roman ladies: that is his gravamen, side by side with the charge of quasi-Patripassian heresy. And so, though we have no reason at all to suppose that the earlier slave-pope found any enemy like Hippolytus, yet we may well suppose that his policy and actions would be more liable to criticism at the hands of his clergy than might have been the case with another pope. Anyhow, as the *Shepherd* was published by Hermas during his brother's tenure of the see,[1] and as it seems probable that in Mandate xi he is intending to glance at conditions actually prevailing within the Roman community, then the conclusion is natural that Hermas comes before the public at this particular time both because his relationship to the bishop will attract attention to his revelations, and because in his capacity as a seer he can do something to assist his brother in the difficulties of his position.

This description of the historical setting and surroundings of the *Shepherd* does not claim to be more than tentative: but it is at any rate a good deal less unlikely in itself than other theories which have been ventilated about the book. In especial, the theory that the purpose, or part of the purpose, of the book was to oppose the introduction of monarchical episcopacy in Rome somewhere towards the middle of the second century is in my judgement a serious travesty of facts. It is ridiculous to accept the dating of the book at A.D. 140 or 145 on the ground of the statement in the Muratorian Canon that Hermas published

[1] 'Nuperrime temporibus nostris ... sedente cathedra urbis Romae ecclesiae Pio episcopo fratre eius' is the statement of the Muratorian Canon about A.D. 200.

Digitized by Google

when his brother Pius was bishop, and then to use the book to prove that at that date there was no such thing as a bishop in Rome, and that Hermas in particular did not want one.

Let us turn now to the *Shepherd* itself, and see what are the contents of this book, which in the early centuries of the Church had so remarkable a vogue that it even appears in the New Testament of the Codex Sinaiticus. What does it consist of, and why is it called the Ποιμήν or *Pastor Hermae*?

The editions divide the book into three parts under the following names: the Visions, which are numbered from one to five, the Mandates, of which there are twelve, and the Similitudes, of which there are ten. But even as to names we should give ourselves a more exact idea of the book and of its position in relation to the Canonical Scriptures, if we talked of the Twelve Commandments and the Ten Parables, for the Greek words used by Hermas are the same as are represented in the Gospels by these familiar terms. And as to subject-matter, a more scientific arrangement of the contents, and one which would better keep before our minds the apocalyptic nature of the writing, would be into two parts, the 'Visions' of the Church and the 'Revelation' of the Shepherd. On four separate occasions the Church manifested herself—between the first and second manifestations a year elapsed, between the third and the fourth twenty days: we are not told the interval between the second and the third[1]—first as an aged lady seated in an arm-chair, next time as erect, on the third occasion as young and beautiful and seated on a bench, lastly as a virgin in bridal white. The progressive changes, so Hermas is told, symbolize the progressive rejuvenescence of the Christian community as they put aside their infirmities and return to their pristine faith. At the close of the four Visions the order is given to Hermas to spread the knowledge of them among his fellows, in order that all may be strengthened to bear the coming tribulation. The remainder of the book, that is to say, three-quarters of the whole, falls properly under the single heading 'The Revelation',[2] being the message

[1] It cannot, however, have been more than a few months since the first Vision is still spoken of in the third as belonging to 'last year' (*Vis.* iii 10. 3).

[2] The title of the 'Revelation' is in the editions limited to the first introduction of the Shepherd, and is numbered as a fifth Vision.

Digitized by Google

conveyed to Hermas by the Shepherd-angel into whose charge he is delivered, 'a man glorious in his visage, in the garb of a shepherd', 'the shepherd, the angel of repentance'. The Commandments and Parables that follow are in fact the message and the revelation.

The subjects of the Twelve Commandments are respectively (1) Monotheism, (2) Guilelessness, (3) Truth, (4) Purity, (5) Patience, (6) Faith in goodness, (7) Fear of God, (8) Self-control, (9) against Doublemindedness, (10) against Depression, (11) against False-prophecy, (12) against Evil Desire. The two most individual characteristics of the ethical teaching of Hermas are, on the one hand the value which he sets on cheerfulness and a single mind, with his corresponding horror of διψυχία and λύπη, and on the other hand the proclamation by the Shepherd, as an accompaniment of his call to repent and do the first works, of one single opportunity of clearing off all former, even post-baptismal, sins. Here is the first insight that history gives us into the long controversy over the readmission of penitents to communion, which agitated the Western Church and gave rise to the schisms of Hippolytus and Novatian: it was in connexion too with this problem that the work of Hermas excited most attention and exercised most influence. The rigorist party would have none of his proffered readmission of penitents: Tertullian denounced the book as 'that apocryphal *Shepherd* of adulterers': but after the milder policy had triumphed and the discipline of perpetual exclusion had been dropped for one class of offences after another, there are still definite traces—in Clement of Alexandria, in Origen, and in the Syrian *Didascalia*—of the limitation to one readmission after one penance; and it is difficult not to see in this compromise (as it were) between two opposing conceptions a direct trace of the influence of Hermas, and of the deference paid during the second and third centuries to his authority.

If we may judge from the space they occupy, the real interest of Hermas lay in his Parables. And probably we should say the same for ourselves, for the Gospel Parables are one of the most striking features of our Lord's manner of teaching, and it is in Hermas more than anywhere else in early Christian literature that we find the echo and imitation of them. There is something

Digitized by Google

still in Hermas of the freshness and simplicity of the Galilean ministry: but it must be admitted that no contrast could be greater than that between the brevity and directness, the short sharp outline, of the Parable as it is found in the pages of the Synoptists, and the ponderous and on occasions distressing prolixity of their second-century imitator.

Of the Ten Parables two, the seventh and the last, are not really new parables at all: in effect the number is eight, and of these the first four are relatively brief, the other four are considerably longer. The subject of the first in the series is the contrast between the two cities, the earthly and the heavenly: of the next, the elm and the vine, as the type of the mutual benefit exchanged between poor and rich: of the third the similarity of all trees in winter, whether dead or living: and of the fourth, the distinction of the same trees in summer as leafy or leafless. Of the longer parables the fifth is that of the Vineyard entrusted to the Servant, and of his promotion to be co-heir with the Son. The sixth, the sheep and their aspect and fortunes under the shepherd of self-indulgence and the shepherd of punitive and remedial discipline. The eighth that of the willow and the rods cut from it. The ninth and longest is the Parable of the Gate, and the Tower built on it, and the Stones that make up the Tower; and of the Twelve Mountains. From these, Parables in the strict sense, the seventh distinguishes itself as being no more than the application of the preceding Parable to the case of Hermas and his family, and the tenth as containing simply the final message and farewell of the angel.

The numeration of the Parables given above is that of most of our authorities whether printed or manuscript. But certain Egyptian documents (it should be mentioned in passing), both Greek and Coptic, number them differently: in one Greek papyrus of the fourth century, and in the fragment of a Coptic MS, Parable III is numbered IV; in the same Coptic fragment Parable IV is numbered V; in another early Greek papyrus Parable V is numbered VI. It is clear that this aberrant numeration was common, perhaps even regular, in Egypt: but it does not seem to have any claim to supersede the system with which we are familiar in the printed texts. In order, however, to be really in a position to estimate the balance of the evidence

Digitized by Google

on such a point, we must first make ourselves familiar with the history, whether in manuscripts and versions or in editions, of the text of the *Shepherd*.

Greek was the language of the Roman Church until at any rate the end of the second century. It is possible that of late years there has been a tendency to prolong unduly far into the third century this Greek character of the church of the capital: but it does not admit of doubt that down to the latest date when Hermas can have been writing, the official proceedings of the Roman Church and the worship of the Roman Christians were conducted in Greek and in Greek only. It was inevitable then that the Visions and Revelations of which Hermas had been the recipient should be given to the world in Greek; and this all the more if they were to be circulated in foreign churches. But though Hermas certainly published his book in Greek, there may be reason to suspect that his own origins were less Greek than Latin. His brother's name is purely Latin (Clement was the first, Pius was the second, Roman bishop to bear a Latin name) though his own is Greek: and there are features in his style which make one wonder if he is not writing in Greek but thinking in Latin.[1]

Anyhow, whether or no we are correct in finding traces of it in Hermas himself, it was certainly in a Latin atmosphere that his book obtained its most flourishing developement. It is a commonplace to remind ourselves how strong was the reaction in Hellenic Christian circles, from at least the third century, against apocalyptic literature in all its forms, from the Apocalypse of St John downwards. Only two manuscripts of Hermas, both of them incomplete, have come down to us in Greek: and it is quite possible that both of these derive their descent from the one province which in this, as in so many other matters, represented a tradition divergent from the rest of the Greek East. For Egypt was wholly unaffected by the ban upon apocalyptic

[1] Besides a few Latin words transliterated, e.g. *συμψέλιον* (*Vis.* iii 1. 4 &c.), *κερβικάριον* (*ib.*), *λέντιον* (*ib.*), *στατίων* (*Sim.* v 1. 1), consider phrases like *Vis.* ii 2. 6 *ἵνα ἀπολάβωσιν ἐκ πλήρους τὰς ἐπαγγελίας*, cf. Latin phrase 'in pleno'; *Vis.* ii 4. 2 *ἠρνησάμην δεδωκέναι*, Latin idiom 'negaui dedisse'; *Vis.* ii 3. 4 *ἐάν σοι φανῇ*, 'si tibi uidetur'; *Sim.* vi 5. 5 *τῷ ἑαυτοῦ πάθει τὸ ἱκανὸν ποιῶν*, Lat. 'satis faciens'.

Digitized by Google

literature. Among the papyri recently brought to light are fragments of more than half a dozen separate manuscripts of the *Shepherd*, ranging in date from the third century to the sixth. And an Ethiopic version and Coptic fragments bear further testimony to the vogue which the book enjoyed in the Egyptian Church. Of the two late Greek writers who made large, if silent, use of Hermas, the one, Antiochus, was a monk of the monastery of St Saba near Jerusalem early in the seventh century, the other, author of Διδασκαλίαι πρὸς Ἀντίοχον ἄρχοντα that passed under the name of Athanasius, is of uncertain date though presumably of Egyptian origin. But there is a gap of not less than a thousand years between the date of these manuscripts or versions or writers, and the date of their re-discovery.[1] So far as the *Shepherd* of Hermas was continuously known or read between, say, the eighth century and the nineteenth, it was only in its Latin form.

Of the earlier history of the Latin version something will be said at a later point. Here we take our start at the renaissance of learning with the first printed text. The palm of priority in the recovery of the sub-apostolic literature—only it is true in a Latin dress, and for the most part only of spurious writings—belongs unquestionably to the French scholar, Jacques Lefèvre of Étaples, better known as Faber Stapulensis. In 1498 appeared at Paris a first edition, in 1515 a second, of the Apostolic Fathers proper; this contained versions of the works of pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite, of the letters of Ignatius in their longer (fourth-century) form, and of the genuine letter of Polycarp. Between these two editions, in 1513, falls the book which now concerns us, the *Liber trium virorum et trium spiritualium virginum*, a collection of six revelations, in which the place of honour is accorded to the *Shepherd*—'Hermae discipuli Pauli liber', as the editor calls it on the authority of St Jerome. Of this edition in its external aspect one need only say that it is worthy of the founder of the great printing house of Stephanus: while its text, unsatisfactory as it is, remained dominant through the work of one editor after another. Cotelier at Paris, Fell at Oxford, Le Clerc in his re-editions of Cotelier, contributed something to our better knowledge: but after the first quarter of the eighteenth

[1] Antiochus and ps-Athanasius were both printed in the seventeenth century, but they were not made fully available for the text of Hermas till much later.

Digitized by Google

century matters slumbered till the middle of the nineteenth. Even now the only edition with an *apparatus* is that by Hilgenfeld (Leipzig 1873), which itself rests apparently on the full collation of only one MS, and that a late one.

The task of critically editing the Latin Hermas is therefore still to be performed, and it is still a crying need. But attention was diverted from the Latin version by sensational discoveries, during the nineteenth century, of other forms of the text.

Before the middle of that century nothing at all was known of the Greek original of Hermas, save the patristic quotations and one catena-fragment published in Grabe's *Spicilegium* (1698). But in 1856 Anger and Dindorf published at Leipzig an edition of the Greek text (an emended critical edition of the Latin was included on the title-page, but I do not know that it ever saw the light): this new Greek text was nearly but not quite complete, and had been acquired by the University of Leipzig in the preceding year from a Greek scholar, one Constantine Simonides. In fact, of the nine leaves sold by Simonides, three were genuine relics of a fourteenth-century MS; the others were admittedly in his own handwriting, but he claimed that they were a transcript executed on Mount Athos from the other leaves of the same fourteenth-century MS. Simonides, however, was a fraudulent liar: it was true that he had copied the whole MS, but he had kept back the copy and sold a composite text of his own making. The *editio princeps* was therefore for two-thirds of its Greek text quite worthless, and the title and credit belong rather to Tischendorf, who in the year following Anger's volume edited for Dressel's *Patres Apostolici* a new Greek text consisting of the three fourteenth-century leaves and of Simonides's actual transcript of the remainder. So far so good—though there were not wanting in Germany eminent scholars who still pinned their faith to the forgeries—but at the best Simonides was only a second-rate copyist, and if there was an original MS of Hermas on Mount Athos it was essential that its real evidence should be made available. Nevertheless both critical editions of Hermas, that published in 1877 by Gebhardt and Harnack (*Patrum Apostolicorum Opera* fasc. iii) and that in 1881 by Hilgenfeld, still depended for their Greek text on the 'apographon Simonidis': it was not till 1888 that Dr Armitage Robinson published at

Digitized by Google

Cambridge a collation, with Gebhardt and Harnack's text, of MS 96 of the monastery of Gregory on Mount Athos.[1] This collation marked a great step in advance: but it has in turn been superseded by Prof. Kirsopp Lake's photographic edition, with transcript facing each photograph, of the six Athos leaves (Oxford 1907). Even now the evidence has still to be incorporated in an edition of the text.

To sum up: the Greek text, not indeed of the whole of the *Shepherd* but of the first nine-tenths of it, is at length accurately known according to a late Greek MS, of which three leaves at Leipzig have been already utilized in a critical edition, while the six leaves still at Athos are available through Prof. Lake's photographs for any future editor. But when all is said and done, the Athos MS is not only not quite complete, but it is very unsatisfactory as a unique authority. How unsatisfactory it is, even when freed of the added mistakes of modern transcribers, can easily be seen when it is brought into comparison with the still more sensational discovery of a piece, but only a piece, of the *Shepherd* in the Codex Sinaiticus of the Greek Bible.

In the fourth century after Christ the limits of the New Testament had not yet acquired everywhere the precision of later times: and of the two Greek New Testaments which have come down to us entire from the fourth or fifth century each contains by way of appendix some books excluded from our present Canon. The Vatican codex being mutilated at its close, before the end of the Pauline Epistles, we cannot tell whether it contained either the Apocalypse or any additional books: but the Alexandrine codex adds to the Canon the two Epistles of Clement of Rome, and the Sinaitic adds the Epistle of Barnabas and the *Shepherd* of Hermas. Unfortunately, while Barnabas is complete, Hermas is a mere fragment, less than a quarter of the whole. Tischendorf published his text of the N. T. of Codex Sinaiticus in 1863: and short of photography the reproduction was as perfect as could be, though now that Prof. Lake has published this part of ℵ (Hermas of course included) in photographs

[1] The collation was based on a transcript by a pupil of Prof. Lambros, the distinguished author of the catalogue of the Athos MSS: on which work his fame will rest more securely than on his achievement as Prime Minister under the ex-king Constantine.

Digitized by Google

(Oxford 1911), all previous presentations of the evidence are again superseded. Where ℵ is extant, that is to say, for the Visions and, speaking roughly, for the first two Commandments and the first half of the fourth, its testimony of course takes the first place. Yet even ℵ is not by any means a perfect text. The ancestry of the MS of Hermas must have come down through very ignorant hands, for the itacisms and such-like minor defects are far grosser than one commonly meets with: moreover the numerous corrections—partly by a contemporary hand, acting perhaps as the *diorthota*, but largely also by a hand of about the sixth century who must have had a different MS at his command—shew that the text was felt at a quite early date to call for systematic improvement.

Another source of Greek evidence was opened up with the study of the papyri: and it is obvious that Hermas was a favourite author with Egyptian Christians, for fragments of seven different MSS of the *Shepherd*, ranging in date from the third to the sixth century, have been published in England or Germany, besides a quotation from the book in an eighth MS. But the papyri are fragmentary, some of them very fragmentary, and only one of them overlaps the text as preserved in ℵ.[1] The actual amount of matter that they preserve between them is so minute that they can hardly take rank as a new witness. But on occasion they

[1] I name and classify them as follows:

Pap.-a: s. iii–iv: a quotation of a few lines from *Mand.* xi. *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* i no. 5 (1898).

Pap.-b: s. vi: seven fragments, spread over the whole book from *Vision* i to *Sim.* ix, coincident with ℵ at the one end, and reaching beyond the Athos MS at the other end. *Amherst Papyri* ii 190 (1901).

Pap.-c: s. iii–iv: a very fragmentary text of about a page (in Lightfoot's *Apostolic Fathers*) from the end of *Sim.* x, where we have no other Greek authority. *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* iii 404 (1903).

Pap.-d: s. iii: two fragments containing the end of *Sim.* ii and a piece near the beginning of *Sim.* iv. Berlin pap. 5513: in Schmidt and Schubart *Altchristliche Texte* (1910) p. 13.

Pap.-e: s. vi: a page near the beginning of *Sim.* viii. Berlin pap. 6789: Schmidt and Schubart, *op. cit.* p. 17.

Pap.-f: s. iv: nearly the whole of *Sim.* ii, coincident in part with Pap.-d. *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* ix 1172 (1912).

Pap.-g: s. iv–v: a small piece with the end of *Sim.* iv and beginning of *Sim.* v. Hamburg Town Library: Schmidt and Schubart in the *Sitzungsberichte* of the Berlin Academy for 1909, p. 1077.

Pap.-h: s. iv: a page and a half from *Sim.* viii. *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* xiii 1599 (1919).

Digitized by Google

enable us to restore what is unquestionably the true reading, and thus serve to deepen our distrust of a text that reposes only on the authority of the Athos MS. In illustration two passages may be cited from the Parable of the Elm and the Vine. In the first passage, *Sim.* ii 3 (Lightfoot 343. 23), the editors follow the Athos MS with the intelligible if uninteresting statement that the Vine cannot bear fruit *ἐὰν μὴ ἀναβῇ ἐπὶ τὴν πτελέαν*, 'unless it ascend on to the Elm'; but when the same verb reappears in the interpretation of the Parable, *ib.* 5 (344. 8) *ὅταν ἀναβῇ ὁ πλούσιος ἐπὶ τὸν πένητα*, it is less intelligible, and the reading of Pap.-f *ἐπαναπαῇ* (possibly we should read *ἀναπαῇ*) 'rest on', 'support himself on', is an obvious improvement. But then we find, on looking back to the similar phrase at the commencement of the Parable, that the Latin version rendered 'applicata fuerit ut *super illam refrigeret*', and we cannot doubt that this again is nothing but a paraphrastic version of *ἀναπαῇ* or *ἐπαναπαῇ*, which should be substituted in both places for the banal *ἀναβῇ* of the Athos MS. The second passage to be cited consists of the last words of the same Parable: in the printed texts they run *οἱ γὰρ ταῦτα φρονοῦντες δυνήσονται ἀγαθόν τι ἐργάζεσθαι*, for the Athos MS omitted the clause altogether, and the editors, rightly divining that the sense was to be found in the Latin version, had just made shift to retranslate the words 'qui hoc enim senserit poterit aliquid (or 'aliquid boni') ministrare'. But Pap.-f gives *ὁ γὰρ συνίων τοῦτο δυνή[σεται] καὶ διακονῆσαί τι ἀγαθόν*, and Pap.-d, which here overlaps the other papyrus, and is the oldest of them all, gives the same reading with the omission of the final word *ἀγαθόν*. The rejection of the testimony of the Athos MS by the editors is abundantly vindicated: but the misfortune is that though the Latin evidence may shew us time after time what is in substance the true sense, it cannot give us any certainty about the actual words. For that purpose fresh Greek evidence such as that of the papyri is essential, and we can only regret that the amount of the text as yet recovered in this form is so inconsiderable.

Meanwhile the authorities for the text of Hermas were being reinforced from other directions by the publication of an Ethiopic and of a second Latin version, each of them resting on the text of only a single manuscript. From Abyssinia the French scholar

Digitized by Google

Antoine d'Abbadie had brought back a transcript of an Ethiopic MS of the *Shepherd* under the title 'Of Hermas the prophet', and this was issued, together with a Latin rendering of the Ethiopic, in the transactions of the German Oriental Society in 1860 (*Abhandlungen der Deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft* vol. ii part i, Leipzig). The Ethiopic version is believed by experts to have been made direct from the Greek: but it must represent of course a Greek text current in Egypt, and its close resemblance to the inferior text of the Athos MS shews that its text is not of the purest type, and may suggest also that the Athos MS itself is ultimately of Egyptian descent. At the best an oriental version, owing to the different genius of the language, is a far more inadequate representative of a Greek text than a Latin version; and it is not from this quarter that we can expect much new light.

The second Latin text rests on the witness of a fourteenth-century MS now in the Palatine collection at the Vatican (cod. Vat. Pal. 150) and is known, in contradistinction to the Vulgate or ordinary Latin version of Hermas, as the Palatine. It was first edited by Albert Dressel, in his edition of the Apostolic Fathers, in 1857 (*Patrum Apostolicorum Opera*, Leipzig, ed. i, 1857, ed. 2, 1863), and has been republished—apparently with a fresh collation of the MS, though I do not see this definitely stated—opposite the Greek text in Gebhardt and Harnack's critical edition of 1877. Thus the testimony of this version is now easily and fully accessible. But it is later and less important than the Vulgate Latin. The most superficial comparison of the two translations is enough to shew the superior antiquity of the Vulgate, and though Haussleiter in 1884 published a pamphlet intended to shew that the Palatine was an older African version, the Vulgate later and Italian, I do not think that he made any converts. No doubt the two versions are not independent: and since the Palatine is a revision of the earlier one made no doubt with the help of a Greek MS, it has, in the relative absence of good Greek authority, some importance of its own wherever its differences from the Vulgate indicate a different underlying text.

But it has another importance also. Though in date the revision is, as I suppose, some centuries later than the Vulgate, it must presumably have been carried through when Greek MSS

Digitized by Google

were still available in the West, that is hardly after about the year A. D. 550: and so far as it retained the Vulgate text unaltered it becomes a witness to the Vulgate text, and a witness as old in all probability as the archetype of all existing MSS of the Vulgate version. Gebhardt and Harnack enumerate sixteen MSS of the Vulgate: except one or two quite late copies, all of them come from Switzerland, South Germany, Northern France, and England. The oldest of them are (1) a fragment of the *Shepherd* in the great St Germain Bible (Paris Bibl. Nat. 11553[1]; at an earlier time known as Sangermanensis 15) of the ninth century: the fragment consists of only the last three leaves of the manuscript as it stands, foll. 187–189, for, just as with the Codex Sinaiticus, so here too this deutero-canonical book was copied at the end of the MS and most of it has perished. (2) St Gall 151, pp. 195–316, saec. x. (3) Carlsruhe Augiensis clxxxiii, written in the tenth century at the island of Reichenau near the town of Constance, consisting of the *Shepherd* only. (4) Oxford, Bodley Laud. miscell. 488 (not, as Gebhardt and Harnack conjecture, Hatton 22, which has nothing to do with the text of the *Shepherd*, but only contains mention of it in a list of canonical books), of the second quarter of the twelfth century, written according to our palaeographical experts in the South of Germany. (5) Paris Bibliothèque Nationale 14656, from the monastery of St Victor, foll. 103–150: of the twelfth century. (6) Lambeth cod. 73, of the late twelfth or early thirteenth century, probably of English *provenance*. (7) Vienna lat. 821 (Theol. 705), foll. 1–62, twelfth century: not quite perfect, for it wants *Vis.* v 2–*Mand.* viii 9: closely related to the St Gall MS. (8) Cambridge University Library Dd. iv 11, foll. 68–90, thirteenth or early fourteenth century.[2]

[1] In this case, as in some other cases, the data of Gebhardt and Harnack were quite inadequate for the identification of the MS.

[2] Of the remaining MSS, Trin. Coll. Camb. Gale O. 2. 29 is nothing more than two fragments, containing the commencement of the Visions, and most of the Mandates, in a hand of the thirteenth century. To the fourteenth century there appear to belong Vatic. 3848, foll. 1–40, and St Omer 234: to the fifteenth century Paris Arsenal 337 MS A, foll. 167–216 (an Italian MS from the library of the Carmes Déchaussés or Barefooted Carmelites of Paris, wrongly supposed by Gebhardt and Harnack to be lost); Dresden A 47 (a MS of the Bible, with Hermas on foll. 247–266 between Psalms and Proverbs); Cues on the Moselle 30; Vienna lat. 1217 (Theol. 51), related to the Dresden MS; York Minster XVI 1. 1.

Digitized by Google

The date and geographical distribution of these manuscripts seem to make it tolerably certain that they descend from some common archetype of the time of Charles the Great. Nothing was more characteristic of the work of the scholars of the Carolingian revival than the reproduction of the literature of Christian or classical antiquity of which isolated copies had been found, written in the fifth, sixth, or seventh century, and sometimes in script that was unfamiliar or even unintelligible. We may conjecture that a single manuscript of Hermas had turned up, that copies of it were made and circulated, and that all known exemplars descend from this solitary archetype. Obviously the best that we can in the first instance hope to do with the Vulgate Latin version is to restore the text of this single MS. But it was certainly in places corrupt, and very likely it was not older than the sixth century.

We must not then expect too much from a new edition of the Latin Hermas. Nevertheless the preparation of such an edition is the indispensable preliminary to a really critical edition of Hermas, firstly because the version to be edited is so old as to be nearly contemporary with the original, secondly because existing editions are so extraordinarily unsatisfactory.

Of the antiquity of the Vulgate Latin I feel more and more strongly convinced. I believe it to be by far our oldest witness to the text—older probably by at least a century than the Codex Sinaiticus—and to belong to very nearly the oldest stratum of Old Latin versions. It may not be quite so primitive as the Gospels and Pauline Epistles of St Cyprian's Bible: for though it shares with them the original rendering of μακάριος by *felix* rather than *beatus*, it shews no trace of their use of *clarifico* for δοξάζω. It is likely that we have to do here with the next stage of translations, and that the *Shepherd* was turned into Latin at the same sort of date, and under the same sort of auspices, as other books like the Catholic Epistles that hovered on the fringe of the New Testament Canon. Its language is primitive; it does not yet know *blasphemia* but finds Latin equivalents, nor *paeniteri* for μετανοεῖν. With *k* of Mark x 19 it renders ἀποστέρησις by *abnegantia*: cf. Pliny's letter 'ne depositum appellati abnegarent'. Instead of *presbyteri* and *diaconi* it uses *seniores* and *ministri*. For ἄγγελος it employs *nuntius*, and is almost the only

Digitized by Google

witness to any other rendering than the transliteration *angelus*.[1] We are still in a very early stage of the creation of Christian Latin.

It is worth some pains to try to reproduce this, the most ancient witness we possess for the text of Hermas, in something more like its original form: first by collation of the older MSS, and then by some use of conjectural emendation. Of the results to be expected from the former a specimen will be given at the end of this paper. Two or three simple suggestions may suffice here in illustration of the latter.

Vis. iv 1. 1 tulerunt cathedram iterum ad orientem. *For* iterum *read* et ierunt. *Gr.* καὶ ἀπῆλθον.

Vis. iv 1. 1 in illa via Campana. *For* in illa *read* in uilla, *Gr.* εἰς ἀγρόν.

Mand. v 1. 7 scies et si non custodieris te . . . perdes spem tuam. *For* scies et *read perhaps* scilicet; *Gr.* καὶ μήν.

Mand. xii 54 'ad homines seruos dei.' *Read* ad omnes *with Gr.* ἐπὶ πάντας.

Sim. i 5 propter aliquos apparatus. *Read* propter reliquos *with Gr.* ἕνεκεν τῆς λοιπῆς ὑπάρξεως.

Sim. viii 2 data eis ueste candida et sic eos dimisit. *For* sic eos *the Oxford MS has* sic illos. *Read* ueste candida et sigillo (*or* sigillis) *with Gr.* ἱματισμὸν καὶ σφραγῖδας.

Now this very antique specimen of Christian Latin is practically known to us only through editions of the sixteenth and seventeenth century. No modern edition is of the least real value. That by Dressel (included in the same volume of the *Patrum Apostolicorum Opera* [1857] as contained his *editio princeps* of the Palatine version) rested on a collation of the late Vatican MS 3848: the second, which still holds the field, was due to Hilgenfeld (1873), whose title-page asserts 'veterem latinam interpretationem e codicibus edidit Adolphus Hilgenfeld', though in fact he appears to have relied entirely on printed books save for a collation of the late Dresden MS. Neither of the two editors, it seems, had inspected any one of the six or eight older MSS. More was really done by Gebhardt and Harnack, who did make use, in their *apparatus criticus* to the Greek text, of the testimony of the St Gall MS. But they did not print the

[1] Pontius *Vita Cypriani* 13 has "angelus . . . Dei nuntius'.

Digitized by Google

older Latin version as a whole, and that task still remains to be done. My own material at the present time includes photographs of the Paris St Germain fragment and of the St Gall MS, and collations of the Oxford and Lambeth MSS (the latter was most kindly lent by the Archbishop of Canterbury to the Bodleian for my use), and a collation of the first three-fifths of the Paris St Victor MS. The sum total is still very imperfect: I know as yet nothing of one of the two earliest complete manuscripts[1]: but imperfect though it may be, it is enough to shew how real an improvement can be made in the text. Of course in only a small proportion of cases does the true text of the Latin enable us to restore the true text of the Greek. But very frequently the Greek and Latin are brought into accord with one another in the order of the words: and on occasion the results are of crucial import.

Such an occasion is provided in the Fifth Parable, where the elements of the true text were all present either in the Greek or in the printed Latin, but the true text of the Latin itself has them all. Hermas lived in a period when Christian thought was being directed to the subject of Christology. He experienced the influence of his surroundings so far as to venture himself at times upon this topic: but his intellectual capacity was not equal to the enunciation of any clear line of doctrinal thought, and it would probably be difficult or impossible to reconcile the point of view of the Fifth Parable with the statements and implications of the Ninth. In the Fifth Parable he interprets the servant entrusted with the Vineyard to be the Son of God, while the son of the lord of the Vineyard is identified with the Holy Spirit. It is to the credit of our witnesses that, strange as this language must have seemed to scribes accustomed to the formulated theology of the Church, they have not attempted to tamper with it more than they have done. But if we compare certain parts of the sixth chapter of this Parable (1) in the Greek of the Athos MS, (2) in the printed text of the Latin, (3) in the text of the Bodleian MS (O), we shall see reason to conclude that there is still much to do in the criticism of the text.

[1] I hope to be able to arrange for a complete set of photographs of the Carlsruhe MS, the Denyer and Johnson Trust having kindly made a grant towards the expenses of an edition.

Digitized by Google

Athos MS	Hilgenfeld	Bodley MS
(1) *ἄκουε· τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ προόν, τὸ κτίσαν πᾶσαν τὴν κτίσιν, κατῴκισεν ὁ θεὸς εἰς σάρκα ἣν ἐβούλετο·*	quia nuncius audit illum spiritum sanctum qui creatus est omnium primus in corpore quod ei uidebatur :	audi. illum spiritum sanctum qui creatus est omnium primus [1] in corpore in quo inhabitaret deus collocauit, in[t]e[l]lecto [2] scilicet corpore quod ei uidebatur [3] :
αὕτη οὖν ἡ σὰρξ ἐν ᾗ κατῴκησε τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον . . .	hoc ergo corpus in quo deductus est [4] spiritus sanctus . . .	
(2) [*ἰσχυρῶς καὶ ἀνδρείως ἀναστραφεῖσαν μετὰ τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ ἁγίου εἴλατο κοινωνόν*]	corpus illud seruiliter conuersatum est sed fortiter cum spiritu sancto conprobatum deo receptum est.	corpus illud, sed uiriliter conuersatum esset et fortiter, cum spiritu sancto comprobatum deo receptumque est.
(3) *ἐν ᾗ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον κατῴκησεν*	in quo habitandi gratia constitutus fuerit [fuerat O] spiritus sanctus	

Here then for the time we part from Hermas. If he does not take us back so near Apostolic times as St Clement, if he does not illuminate so many problems of faith and order as St Ignatius, he has yet, one cannot but feel, been unfairly neglected. Granted that neither his mind nor his style entitles him to a place in the first rank, yet his moral earnestness, his simple enthusiasms, his championship of a straightforward cheerfulness, *ἱλαρότης*, as a great Christian virtue, should assure him a rightful place in the august company of the Christian worthies of the generations that followed the Apostles.

C. H. TURNER.

[1] The Greek original was probably something like *τὸ πρωτόκτιστον πάσης κτίσεως*.

[2] Intellecto *cod*: in electo *coniecī*.

[3] The fullness of the Latin is due to the desire of rendering *κατοικίζειν* fully, 'set in order to dwell': compare passage (3).

[4] Both here and in passage (3) the Greek *κατῴκησε* should be corrected to *κατῴκισε* (*sc.* *ὁ θεός*) or *κατῳκίσθη*.

Digitized by Google

NOTES AND STUDIES

GENESIS I—III AND ST JOHN'S GOSPEL.

In his introduction to the 'Johannine Vocabulary' Dr Edwin Abbott points out the real difficulty of Johannine exegesis: 'A mere glance at the R.V. marginal notes on the Gospels will shew the reader that, in the synoptists, the notes mostly suggest alternative readings, but in the Fourth Gospel they suggest alternative renderings. The former imply corruption in editors or scribes, the latter imply obscurity in the author ...' The Fourth Gospel contains many words and phrases which bear two or even three meanings, and each different meaning carries with it further allusion and suggestion. Those commentators who are concerned with the problem of historicity often fail to note the suggestive character of the Gospel; whilst others, who feel the ambiguity of meaning, take refuge in a bald and crude symbolism, which confines the author's meaning within too narrow limits, and ultimately destroys his ambiguity. The notes which follow endeavour to fix the origin of a series of suggestions in the Gospel; but it is not intended to limit the meaning of the passages discussed, or to exaggerate such suggestions so as to turn allusion into symbolism.

The quotations from the Fathers in the Corderius catena on John xix 31 ff, and the passage in Ephraem's commentary on the Diatessaron (Moesinger 260) shew that, in the interpretation of the Johannine account of the Crucifixion, traditional exegesis apparently naturally compared and contrasted Adam and Christ. This raises certain considerations. Are the Fathers imposing such an interpretation upon the text, or are they drawing out a meaning suggested in the text itself? And further, are there other passages in the Gospel which presuppose a similar parallel? The problem may be approached by a study of John xix 26, 27.

The Beloved Disciple and Mary the mother of Jesus are standing by the cross, *παρὰ τῷ σταυρῷ*; and Jesus, seeing them there, unites them as mother and son. Mary is called *ἡ Μήτηρ* absolutely and *Γύναι*. *Ἰησοῦς οὖν, ἰδὼν τὴν μήτερα καὶ τὸν μαθητὴν παρεστῶτα ὃν ἠγάπα, λέγει τῇ μητρί, Γύναι, ἰδού, ὁ υἱός σου.* That they do not immediately go away is shewn clearly in *v.* 35, in which the mysterious eyewitness, who is the authority for the Gospel, and who is variously described as *ὁ ἄλλος μαθητής*, and *ὁ μαθητὴς ὃν ἠγάπα ὁ Ἰησοῦς*, sees the Blood and the Water coming from the pierced side, and presumably falling on those who

Digitized by Google

stand below, that is upon the Mother and the Son. This is the scene St John is describing. For our purpose verses 30 and 34 are important. Καὶ κλίνας τὴν κεφαλὴν παρέδωκε τὸ πνεῦμα, with its parallels, ἀφῆκε τὸ πνεῦμα (Mt.), ἐξέπνευσε (Mk.), πάτερ, εἰς χεῖράς σου παρατίθεμαι τὸ πνεῦμά μου (Lk.). St Mark suggests that there is a mystery connected with ἐξέπνευσεν, by noting that the centurion was compelled to faith when he saw that He thus 'breathed out'. St Matthew also describes suggestively that 'He let go the spirit', not 'His spirit'. St Luke reports a saying which explains the death as the handing over of His spirit—to the Father. St John says that having inclined His head, He handed over the Spirit; and from the chapters which precede, it is suggested that the Spirit is handed over to the Mother and the Son, whilst the second meaning of κλίνας τὴν κεφαλήν, of reclining in sleep, suggests the peace of the return to the Father, which is also foretold in the preceding chapters. In the description of the death St John therefore suggests that while Jesus returns to the peace of the Father, the Spirit is left with the believers, which is what we have been led to expect from chapters xiii–xvii. The Spirit of Life is thus handed over to the Mother and the Son, and they are re-created or reborn with a new life, which is eternal, ζωὴ αἰώνιος; and the Spirit, freed by the sacrifice of the only-begotten Son, is the means of re-creation, as in Gen. i 2 the Spirit of God is the means of the original creation. Mary, the Mother, is, however, not re-created merely as an individual; the title 'mother' implies children, and it is through her that the life is passed on. Her new son already stands by her side.

The title, Γυνή, is thus significant, standing as it does immediately following ἡ μήτηρ. Its meaning in Jn. xvi 21 is clear, where St John describes the pain and joy of the woman who bears a man. The change of παιδίον to ἄνθρωπος and ἡ ὥρα suggests that it is to the birth of believers the passage refers in point of fact. ἡ γυνὴ ὅταν τίκτῃ λύπην ἔχει, ὅτι ἦλθεν ἡ ὥρα αὐτῆς· ὅταν δὲ γεννήσῃ τὸ παιδίον, οὐκέτι μνημονεύει τῆς θλίψεως, διὰ τὴν χαρὰν ὅτι ἐγεννήθη ἄνθρωπος εἰς τὸν κόσμον. In any case, whatever suggestions there may be, ἡ γυνή is the woman as mother, and this use of γυνή can be exactly paralleled in Gen. ii 23. αὕτη κληθήσεται Γυνή (Theod. Ζωογόνος) and in Gen. iii 20 καὶ ἐκάλεσεν Ἀδὰμ τὸ ὄνομα τῆς γυναικὸς Ζωή, ὅτι αὕτη μήτηρ πάντων τῶν ζώντων. If this be the true significance of γυνή as applied to Mary, its use in Jn. ii 4 τί ἐμοὶ καὶ σοί, γύναι; οὔπω ἥκει ἡ ὥρα μου becomes clear. Because Mary is the mother of Jesus, she will become the mother of those who believe in Him. This second motherhood of Mary is anticipated, whose hour will come when the sacrifice on the cross has been offered. 'Woman' is a far better translation than 'Lady'. When, therefore, the Fathers say that Mary is the new Eve, they have caught the meaning of the

Digitized by Google

passage far better than modern commentators; for, while Eve was the mother of a sinful people who ceased to have real contact with God, Mary is the mother of believers, who, redeemed from sin, are reborn and abide (*μένειν*) with God. In this Christian motherhood of Mary the other great women of St John's Gospel to some extent share. The woman of Samaria brings the Samaritans to Jesus, that is to Life; Mary Magdalene first sees the living Lord in the garden and tells the disciples. This idea of motherhood explains the group of women, who in St John's account of the Crucifixion stand *παρὰ τῷ σταυρῷ*, and not as in Mk. xv 40 *ἀπὸ μακρόθεν*. The 'sister of his mother' is further defined as the [mother] of Cleopas, a disciple, Lk. xxiv 18, or if it be translated the 'wife of Cleopas' (Alphaeus), she would be the mother of James, Mt. x 3. They are all mothers; Mary Magdalene finding her true motherhood springing from the sacrifice of the Lamb. They are the mothers of the new Israel, among whom Mary, the mother of Jesus, is supreme.

The same allusion is found in the twelfth chapter of the Revelation, where the Γυνή–Μήτηρ is also referred to. There the woman is first the mother of the child, who is caught up to God and to His throne, xii 5, and then also the mother of the Christians, who are called 'the remnant of her seed, who keep the commands of God and have the testimony of Jesus' (a phrase which incidentally is Johannine). Both the mother and her seed fly to the desert, where they are persecuted by the great dragon, the old serpent, called in *v.* 15 simply 'the serpent'. The Mother of the Messiah is also the mother of the believers, and is persecuted by the serpent, but in contrast to Eve protects her seed from the serpent's power. The suggestion is that the mother of the Lord and of those who believe in Him is the new Eve, still persecuted by the serpent; but, where Eve failed by handing her seed over to death, the new Eve is victorious by bearing children who possess eternal life.

Justin Martyr in the Dialogue 100, commenting on Lk. i 35, draws the same parallel between Eve and Mary, . . . *καὶ διὰ τῆς παρθένου ἄνθρωπον γεγονέναι, ἵνα δι' ἧς ὁδοῦ ἡ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄφεως παρακοὴ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔλαβε, διὰ ταύτης τῆς ὁδοῦ καὶ κατάλυσιν λαβῃ. Παρθένος γὰρ οὖσα Εὔα καὶ ἄφθορος, τὸν λόγον τὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄφεως συλλαβοῦσα παρακοὴν καὶ θάνατον ἔτεκε· πίστιν δὲ καὶ χαρὰν λαβοῦσα Μαρία ἡ παρθένος, εὐαγγελιζομένου αὐτῇ Γαβριὴλ ἀγγέλου ὅτι πνεῦμα Κυρίου ἐπ' αὐτὴν ἐπελεύσεται καὶ δύναμις ὑψίστου ἐπισκιάσει αὐτήν* . . . There is no reason to suppose that such a comparison was first drawn in the second half of the second century, and we may even suggest further that the mother of Jesus was historically of far more importance within the community of original believers than modern critics have allowed.

Returning to the Gospel, xix 31 ff, the mother and the son remain

Digitized by Google

with the other women by the cross whilst the soldier pierces the side, from which is poured out Water and Blood. The earlier chapters of the Gospel prepare us for the interpretation of the death on the cross as the sacrifice of the true Lamb of God, by which those who believe receive both purification and life. Modern commentators have pointed out that St John describes the Crucifixion so as to draw attention to the truth that Jesus is the real Paschal Lamb; but they have not seen that the Lamb presupposes a people to receive the benefit of the sacrifice, and that the group at the foot of the cross are in fact the new and true Israel. Thus the original believers stand beneath the cross to receive the new birth very literally 'from above' through the Spirit breathed upon them, and through the Water and the Blood poured out upon them. Very striking passages in the Gospel anticipate and interpret this incident, *ἐάν τις διψᾷ, ἐρχέσθω πρός με καὶ πινέτω. ὁ πιστεύων εἰς ἐμέ, καθὼς εἶπεν ἡ γραφή, ποταμοὶ ἐκ τῆς κοιλίας αὐτοῦ ῥεύσουσιν ὕδατος ζῶντος*, vii 37, 38. The ambiguity of *ὁ πιστεύων εἰς ἐμέ*—it may be subject to *ἐρχέσθω* and *πινέτω*, or explanatory of *αὐτοῦ*—is caused by the double nature of Christian experience; the new life comes from Jesus, but is passed on to the world through the faithful. *Ἀμὴν ἀμὴν λέγω σοι, ἐὰν μή τις γεννηθῇ ἄνωθεν, οὐ δύναται ἰδεῖν τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ Θεοῦ*, iii 3. In iii 5 *ἄνωθεν* is explained as *ἐξ ὕδατος καὶ πνεύματος*, and the whole passage both illustrates and is illustrated by the account of the Crucifixion, where Jesus is lifted up in death and those below receive both Spirit and Water. The connexion between the Blood of Jesus and eternal life is definitely stated, *ὁ τρώγων μου τὴν σάρκα καὶ πίνων μου τὸ αἷμα ἔχει ζωὴν αἰώνιον*, vi 54, whilst the famous passage in the first Epistle 1 Jn. v 8 provides the basis for the true interpretation of the incident in the Crucifixion with which we are dealing. In the Epistle St John brings together the Spirit and the Water and the Blood which bear witness to the conquest of the world by Jesus, and to the new birth of the Christians as nothing less than birth from God.

The idea of re-creation and new birth therefore underlies St John's account of the death on the cross, and Mary herself, as the mother of the faithful, shares in this rebirth. If this be accepted we can hardly dismiss as fantastic the allusion implied in the account of the reclining of the head of Jesus in sleep, followed immediately by the rebirth of Mary from his side. The account suggests Gen. ii 21–22 *καὶ ἐπέβαλεν ὁ θεὸς ἔκστασιν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀδάμ, καὶ ὕπνωσεν· καὶ ἔλαβεν μίαν τῶν πλευρῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀνεπλήρωσεν σάρκα ἀντ' αὐτῆς. καὶ ᾠκοδόμησεν Κύριος ὁ θεὸς τὴν πλευράν, ἣν ἔλαβεν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀδάμ, εἰς γυναῖκα*, and Tertullian's comment *De anima* 43 represents real insight, 'For as Adam was a figure of Christ, Adam's sleep shadowed out the death of Christ, who was to sleep a mortal slumber, that from the wound inflicted on His

Digitized by Google

side, might, in like manner (as Eve was formed), be typified the church the true mother of the living.'

The study of Jn. xix 31 ff has shewn the idea of re-creation to be fundamental to St John, and has further presented some evidence that in his narrative he alludes to the opening chapters of the book of Genesis. If other passages in the Gospel can be interpreted in the same way, the argument will be strengthened.

Some modern commentators have noticed that in the account of the Crucifixion St John alone uses the words *κῆπος*, *κηπουρός*. In the parable of the mustard seed St Luke uses the word once, Lk. xiii 19, but otherwise the word is not used in the N.T. The Johannine passages are: *ταῦτα εἰπὼν ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐξῆλθε σὺν τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ πέραν τοῦ χειμάρρου τῶν Κέδρων, ὅπου ἦν κῆπος, εἰς ὃν εἰσῆλθεν αὐτὸς καὶ οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ*, xviii 1, cf. xviii 26; *ἦν δὲ ἐν τῷ τόπῳ ὅπου ἐσταυρώθη κῆπος, καὶ ἐν τῷ κήπῳ μνημεῖον καινόν, ἐν ᾧ οὐδέπω οὐδεὶς ἐτέθη*, xix 41; *λέγει αὐτῇ ὁ Ἰησοῦς, Γύναι, τί κλαίεις; τίνα ζητεῖς; ἐκείνη, δοκοῦσα ὅτι ὁ κηπουρός ἐστι, λέγει αὐτῷ, Κύριε . . .*, xx 15. For St John, therefore, the Betrayal and the Resurrection take place in a garden, and the site of the Crucifixion is closely connected with a garden. In the O.T. the word *κῆπος* is used as a synonym for *παράδεισος*, *ἐποίησά μοι κήπους καὶ παραδείσους*, Eccles. ii 5; in Ecclus. xxiv 23–34 Wisdom waters her garden, and creates the true garden of Eden, which the first man did not perfectly know, *ὡς ὑδραγωγὸς ἐξῆλθον εἰς παράδεισον· εἶπα Ποτιῶ μου τὸν κῆπον*. In the LXX the 'Garden of the Lord', גן־יהוה, is translated by *παράδεισος* in Gen. ii and iii, but the version of Aquila has *κῆπος* in Gen. ii 8, iii 2, and in Isa. xli 3, 'For the Lord hath comforted Zion; he hath comforted all her waste places, he hath made her wilderness like Eden, and her desert places like the garden of the Lord; joy and gladness shall be found therein, thanksgiving and the voice of melody.' Cf. also Ezek. xxxi 8, 9 where the Garden of the Lord is Eden. The version of Theodotion also has *κῆπος* in Gen. iii 2, Isa. li 3, Ezek. xxviii 13, xxxi 8. We may therefore conclude that the Garden of the Lord, the true Eden, could be in Greek either *ὁ παράδεισος τοῦ κυρίου* or *ὁ κῆπος τοῦ κυρίου*, but that in the translation made in the first half of the second century A. D. *ὁ κῆπος τοῦ κυρίου* is preferred.

Κηπουρός is used neither in the O.T. nor in the N.T. except in Jn. xx 15. Mary thinks that Jesus is the gardener. The real question is, is she right or wrong? There are passages in St John's Gospel where a statement is made which at first sight is obviously mistaken, but which proves on further consideration to be as a matter of fact true, because the speaker makes use of words which have a double meaning. The woman of Samaria says, *πόθεν οὖν ἔχεις τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ ζῶν; μὴ σὺ μείζων εἶ τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἰακώβ . . .*; iv 12. Jesus will not give her 'running

Digitized by Google

water' as opposed to well-water, which she wishes; but he will give her 'living water', which she really requires; and as a matter of fact he is greater than Jacob. The true interpretation depends on an understanding of the double meaning of *τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ ζῶν*. Caiaphas says *συμφέρει ὑμῖν, ἵνα εἷς ἄνθρωπος ἀποθάνῃ ὑπὲρ τοῦ λαοῦ, καὶ μὴ ὅλον τὸ ἔθνος ἀπόληται* xi 50; as he means it, what he says is totally false; and yet what he says is true, if the words *ἀποθάνῃ, ἔθνος, ἀπόληται* be rightly understood. St Peter says *ὑπάγω ἁλιεύειν* xxi 2. He was wrong if he meant that he was going back to Galilee to return to his old occupation; but, as the miracle which follows shews, he is as a matter of fact to go away into the world to catch men. In its true meaning *ὑπάγω* picks up xv 16, *ἐγὼ ἐξελεξάμην ὑμᾶς, καὶ ἔθηκα ὑμᾶς, ἵνα ὑμεῖς ὑπάγητε καὶ καρπὸν φέρητε . . .*, and *ἁλιεύειν* has the same double meaning as is implied in Lk. v 1–11. When therefore Mary thinks that the risen Lord is the gardener, we cannot be content merely to say that she was mistaken. The key to the interpretation of the incident is to be found in the further meaning suggested by *κῆπος, κηπουρός*. By emphasizing that the great deeds by which Christian redemption was effected took place in a garden, St John suggests that the events which caused the original fall are here reversed, and once again the Garden of Eden is open to men. Mary's words are then true, the risen Lord is *ὁ Κηπουρός*, for He is the Lord of the Garden, and once more He walks in His garden in the cool of the day, the early morning, xx 1, and converses not with the fallen but with the redeemed. The importance of the Betrayal in a garden is also now clear; Satan, the prince of this world, in Judas (xiii 2–27) again attempts to betray the Man; but, where the serpent succeeded, Judas failed, since the death which Judas-Satan caused was not a punishment for sin, but the means of new creation by which Eden was reopened. 'The Prince of this world cometh, but he hath nothing in me': cf. xviii 3. Incidentally this series of suggestions explains the *ἔξω* in xii 31. The Prince of this world is cast 'out' not 'down' (syr sin, it, chrys, read *κάτω* in recollection of Lk. x 18).

The use of *ἐμφυσᾶν* in xx 22 is important for our purpose; *καὶ τοῦτο εἰπὼν ἐνεφύσησε καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς, Λάβετε πνεῦμα ἅγιον.* The word *ἐμφυσᾶν* occurs in the N.T. only in this passage, but it is used in the LXX twelve times, where it describes the method by which creation or re-creation or healing or destruction is effected. *ἐνεφύσησεν εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ πνοὴν ζωῆς*, Gen. ii 7, Wisd. xv 11; *ἐμφύσησον εἰς τοὺς νεκροὺς τούτους*, Ez. xxxvii 9, cf. Tob. xi 11; *ἐνεφύσησεν τῷ παιδαρίῳ τρίς*, 1 Kings xvii 21; *ἐν πυρὶ ὀργῆς μου ἐμφυσήσω ἐπὶ σέ*, Ez. xxi 31, cf. xxii 20–21, Job iv 21, Na. ii 1, Ecclus. xliii 4. It would appear that Jn. xx 22 re-echoes Gen. ii 7, as do all the other O.T. passages. When, therefore, the Lord breathes upon His disciples, they are through this action

Digitized by Google

reborn to the new life, and given new powers, and, because they are reborn from God Himself, they share both in His creative and in His destructive power; they too have power to re-create men by loosing them from sin, and to destroy them by retaining their sins. This explains naturally the words which follow immediately, *ἄν τινων ἀφῆτε τὰς ἁμαρτίας, ἀφίονται αὐτοῖς· ἄν τινων κρατῆτε, κεκράτηνται* xx 23. The verbal parallel with Gen. ii 7 ceases to be fanciful and unnatural, if once we are clear that St John is describing Christianity as the new creation by God Himself, and the Christians as the new race. The phrase *γεγεννημένοι ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ—ἐκ τοῦ πνεύματος* is either stated or implied throughout the Gospel, as it is in the first Epistle, iii 3–8, xvi 21, 1 Jn. ii 29, iii 9, iv 7, v 1, 4, 18. This underlying idea explains the importance which St John attaches to the fact that the blind man in the ninth chapter was blind 'from his birth'. Jesus does not merely heal him, He re-creates him. And the meaning of the miracle was truly seen by those who ordered this chapter to be read on the third Sunday in Lent, when the catechumens were being finally prepared for baptism (Ambr. *de sacr.* iii 2). Since Jesus is Himself born from God as the Eternal Word, those who share in His life are also born from God, and whether in i 13 we read *ὃς . . . ἐγενήθη* or *οἳ . . . ἐγεννήθησαν*, both senses are Johannine, and the problem can be understood better by the theologian than by the textual critic. If St John wrote *ὅς* he implied *οἵ*, and *vice versa.*

If re-creation by God is St John's primary explanation of Christian experience, the Prologue ceases to present real difficulty. Dr Rendel Harris in his 'Origin of the Prologue to St John's Gospel' has brought back the study of i 1–14 from Hellenistic Philosophy to the Old Testament Wisdom Literature, and for this we cannot be too grateful. But he has not explained the use of the word Λόγος. If his argument were finally adequate, the Gospel should have opened with the words *Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ἡ Σοφία.* If, however, we take the opening chapters of Genesis rather than the Wisdom Literature as the starting-point, and then use the Wisdom Literature where it also is alluding to the Book of Genesis, the theological as well as the linguistic difficulties of the Prologue can be explained. *Ἐν ἀρχῇ, ὁ θεός, ἐγένετο, σκοτία, κόσμος, φῶς, ζωή,* all suggest the first chapter of Genesis. In his Johannine Grammar 2134 Dr E. Abbott explains the use of the Hebraic narrative *καὶ*: 'In the opening of the Gospel John follows the style of the opening of Genesis, not in affectation, but with a symbolism natural to him, sympathetically describing what was "in the beginning" of Spiritual Being, as Genesis describes what was in the beginning of material creation. But after the Resurrection, when the apostles are receiving their morning meal before going forth to convert the whole world, Greeks as well as Jews, "all

Digitized by Google

things are become new", and the old-world Hebraic style is thrown aside.' St John's natural and instinctive sympathy with the first chapter of Genesis, to which Dr Abbott has drawn attention, supports an interpretation of the Gospel which insists on the importance to St John of Christianity as the new creation, and the return to the presence of God, which had been lost by the sin of Adam and Eve.

The relation of the Prologue to the opening of Genesis is, however, not primarily one of grammar or of vocabulary. The parallel lies rather in the underlying conception of creation as effected by the Word of God: speech being thought of as effective and creative rather than as descriptive. 'And God said, Let there be light; and there was light.' This attitude to the Word of God is preserved by the prophets. When God has spoken creation or destruction follows inevitably. The dramatic situation, for instance, of the Book of Amos, is not due primarily to any historical causes, but to the fact that God has spoken and destruction is imminent. The prophet is able to announce the coming destruction and to warn the people, because he has heard the Word of God uttered. This is the line of thought which lies behind the Prologue. Since Christianity is the new creation, such a creative act can only be explained by the claim that Jesus was the incarnate Word of God. For the same reason throughout the Gospel the words of Jesus are effective both in creation and in destruction, and thus both ζωή and κρίσις follow inevitably. This may be illustrated most clearly in the account of the raising of Lazarus: καὶ ταῦτα εἰπών, φωνῇ μεγάλῃ ἐκραύγασε, Λάζαρε δεῦρο ἔξω xi 43. These words actually caused the recreation of the decayed body of Lazarus. St John draws attention to this by noting that Jesus cried 'with a loud voice', and by his description of the miracle in xii 17 ἐμαρτύρει οὖν ὁ ὄχλος ὁ ὢν μετ' αὐτοῦ ὅτε τὸν Λάζαρον ἐφώνησεν ἐκ τοῦ μνημείου καὶ ἤγειρεν αὐτὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν. All who hear the word of Jesus have eternal life vi 68, are clean xv 3, have joy xvii 13, because the words of Jesus are creative words.

The conception of κρίσις in the Gospel belongs to the same line of thought. He who does not hear or believe the creative word comes under κρίσις. ὁ ἀθετῶν ἐμὲ καὶ μὴ λαμβάνων τὰ ῥήματά μου ἔχει τὸν κρίνοντα αὐτόν· ὁ λόγος ὃν ἐλάλησα, ἐκεῖνος κρινεῖ αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ ἐσχάτῃ ἡμέρᾳ xii 48. But destructive judgement takes a secondary place in the Gospel, because St John is concerned primarily with Christianity as creative rather than destructive. 'For God sent not the Son into the world to judge the world, but that the world through Him might be saved.'

To sum up. What originally appeared a somewhat fantastic interpretation of a single incident in the account of the Crucifixion has led to an interpretation of other passages, and has thrown considerable

Digitized by Google

light on the great underlying claims of the Gospel. The theory, with which we started, has been found to explain much which has often appeared inexplicable, and since this is the only means by which a theory can be tested, the fact that it does explain what commentators do not explain inspires confidence that the theory at least contains truth. St John is dealing with the experience of Christianity, and he asserts that it is nothing less than a new creation. He explains this experience by saying that the author of the original creation and the author of Christianity are the same—namely God Himself. But since Christian tradition claimed Jesus of Nazareth as the founder of the religion, St John harmonizes Christian experience and Christian tradition by interpreting the life of Jesus as the life of the incarnate Word of God, by whom the universe was originally created. Thus the Life of Jesus is rewritten in St John's Gospel from this point of view, and the passages, which we have examined, shew that the account of the Creation and of the Fall in Genesis has influenced his account of the life and death of Jesus.

E. C. HOSKYNS.

Digitized by Google

LITURGICAL PRAYERS OF INTERCESSION.

I

THE GOOD FRIDAY *Orationes Solemnes.*

(1)

THE letter of Pope Celestine I to the bishops of Gaul, written about 431, is directed against certain presbyters who had apparently been preaching the doctrines of Pelagius. The letter properly so called ends with c. 2, which contains a eulogy of St Augustine. Attached to it are certain 'praeteritorum sedis apostolicae episcoporum auctoritates de gratia Dei'. These *Auctoritates* are now generally believed not to have formed part of the original letter sent by Celestine, but to have been appended to it some time afterwards. They were added to it, however, certainly not later than the end, and perhaps even before the middle, of the fifth century. They appear with the letter, and as part of it, in the collection of Papal Decretals made by Dionysius Exiguus in the pontificate of Symmachus (498–514), and they are cited as belonging to it by Peter the Deacon and his companions in their letter to the exiled bishops of Africa, written from Rome about 519–520. It is evident that Dionysius and Peter the Deacon must have found the *Auctoritates* already incorporated with the letter of Celestine in the papal archives at Rome; and it is probable that this incorporation had taken place some considerable time before.[1] From the beginning of the sixth century and onward they invariably appear as part of the letter and are treated as Celestine's.

In addition to actual papal utterances, the *Auctoritates* adduce as evidence of the official teaching in opposition to Pelagianism (or semi-Pelagianism) the tenor of the public prayers employed by the Church, thus[2]:—

Celestine I *Ep.* xxi c 11: Praeter has autem beatissimae et apostolicae sedis inviolabiles sanctiones, quibus nos piissimi patres, pestiferae novi-

[1] It is possible indeed that the *Auctoritates* were first compiled by Prosper of Aquitaine under Sixtus III, Celestine's successor (432–440), and presented to that Pope as an inducement to him to take the same strong line against Pelagianism as had been taken by his immediate predecessors. See the evidence collected in Coustant-Schoenemann *Pontificum Romanorum Epistolae genuinae* pp. 858–860.

[2] The passage which follows is quoted in its entirety as part of Celestine's letter by Peter the Deacon (Migne *P. L.* lxv 450–451).

Digitized by Google

tatis elatione deiecta, et bonae voluntatis exordia et incrementa probabilium studiorum et in eis usque ad finem perseverantiam ad Christi gratiam referre docuerunt, obsecrationum quoque sacerdotalium sacramenta respiciamus, quae ab apostolis tradita in toto mundo atque in omni ecclesia catholica uniformiter celebrantur; ut legem credendi lex statuat supplicandi. Cum enim sanctarum plebium praesules mandata sibimet legatione fungantur, apud divinam clementiam humani generis agunt causam, et tota secum ecclesia congemiscente postulant et precantur,

(1) ut infidelibus donetur fides,
(2) ut *idololatrae* ab impietatis suae *liberentur* erroribus,
(3) ut *Iudaeis ablato cordis velamine* lux veritatis appareat,
(4) ut *haeretici* catholicae fidei perceptione *resipiscant*,
(5) ut schismatici spiritum redivivae caritatis accipiant,
(6) ut lapsis poenitentiae remedia conferantur,
(7) ut denique catechumenis ad *regenerationis sacramenta* perductis caelestis *misericordiae aula reseretur*.

It cannot be doubted that this passage has in view a series of prayers identical in character with those which are still said after the reading of the Passion on Good Friday, though representing them at an earlier stage of their developement and probably not yet in the textual form in which they are extant in the Roman Sacramentaries.

The prayers in question are 'obsecrationes sacerdotales'; but though it is the celebrant who says them, they are made with the concurrence and participation of the people—'tota secum ecclesia congemiscente'. This sufficiently describes the manner in which the Good Friday prayers are now said. But further, the clauses in which some of the prayers are summarized exhibit verbal coincidences with the current Roman prayers that cannot be accidental. With the words which have been italicized in nos. (2), (3), (4), (7) above are to be compared the following phrases taken from the Good Friday prayers as they appear in the Gelasian Sacramentary (ed. Wilson, pp. 76–77):—

(2) et *libera* eos *ab idolorum cultura*.
(3) ut Deus et Dominus noster *auferat velamen de cordibus eorum* (the Jews).
(4) ut omni *haeretica* perversitate depulsa errantium corda *resipiscant*.
(7) pro *catechumenis* nostris, ut Deus et Dominus noster *adaperiat* aures praecordiorum ipsorum *ianuamque misericordiae*, ut per lavacrum *regenerationis* . . . inveniantur in Christo Iesu Domino nostro.

It will have been noticed that the subjects for prayer mentioned in the *Auctoritates* follow an order which is the reverse of that found in the Roman Good Friday prayers, beginning as they do with infidels and idolaters, placing the Jews before heretics and schismatics, and these before the catechumens. But there is possibly no significance

Digitized by Google

in this order: it might have resulted from a desire to place in the forefront those examples which most strikingly illustrate the action of divine grace on the human will. Again, that the prayers actually appealed to do not represent the full series then in use may be regarded as certain; for the examples adduced—the prayers for infidels, Jews, heretics, schismatics, the lapsed, and catechumens—are those which alone would be relevant in the argument against Pelagianism.[1]

We must not attach too much significance to the description of these prayers as 'quae ab apostolis tradita in toto mundo atque in omni ecclesia catholica uniformiter celebrantur'; we may, however, safely deduce from it that the prayers were in use long before the *Auctoritates* were compiled, and that they were at the time widely current in the West, and this in much the same form as at Rome.

(2)

We must now turn our attention to another document.[2] The anonymous treatise *de Vocatione omnium gentium*, in two books, is an anti-Pelagian work, and that it was written some time before the end of the fifth century is proved by the fact that it is quoted by Pope Gelasius I (†496) as the work of 'a certain teacher of the Church'.[3] Attempts have been made, unsuccessfully, to claim as its author either Prosper of Aquitaine or Pope Leo I. Bardenhewer considers that it must have been written about the middle of the fifth century. Commenting on the first verses of 1 Tim. ii the author writes:—

Lib. i cap. 12: De hac ergo doctrinae apostolicae regula, qua ecclesia universalis imbuitur, ne in diversum intellectum nostro evagemus arbi-

[1] It seems probable, on the other hand, that the series contained a special prayer for the 'lapsed'. We may compare St Leo *Serm.* xlix (*de Quadr.* xi) 3 'Lapsos quoque (he has just spoken of the catechumens) . . . poenitentiae lacrymis ablui, et portas misericordiae apostolica clave reserante, ad remedia reconciliationis admitti'. The *lapsi* are at this date merely penitents; but it may be worth considering whether the persons originally prayed for were not those who had actually lapsed under persecution.

[2] I owe the reference to Coustant's note to the passage already cited from the *Auctoritates*.

[3] *Adv. Pelagianam haeresim* c. 12 (Thiel, i 585) 'sicut quidam magister ecclesiae sapienter edocuit, dicens: *Ad magnam enim utilitatem fidelium materia est servata certaminum, ut non superbiat sanctitas, dum pulsatur infirmitas*'. The words are from the *de Vocatione* lib. i cap. 8. In c. 2 of the same work of Gelasius there is a possible reminiscence of the *Auctoritates* also: 'Iam vero legis tempore neminem fuisse sanctorum qui non hostiam obtulerit pro peccato, lectio veneranda testatur, in tantum ut etiam *pontifices sic apud Deum causas agerent populi tunc fidelis*, ut ipsi quoque pro suis delictis hostias immolarent.' Cf. in the *Auctoritates*: 'praesules . . . apud divinam clementiam humani generis agunt causam', where the argument is similar.

Digitized by Google

trio, quid ipsa universalis ecclesia sentiat requiramus; quia nihil dubium esse poterit in praecepto, si obedientia concordet in studio. Praecepit itaque apostolus, immo per apostolum Dominus, qui loquebatur in apostolo, fieri obsecrationes, postulationes, gratiarum actiones pro omnibus hominibus, pro regibus ac pro his qui in sublimitate sunt (1 Tim. ii 1–2). Quam legem supplicationis ita omnium sacerdotum et omnium fidelium devotio concorditer tenet, ut nulla pars mundi sit in qua huiusmodi orationes non celebrentur a populis christianis. Supplicat ergo ubique ecclesia Deo non solum pro sanctis et in Christo regeneratis, sed etiam *pro omnibus infidelibus* et inimicis crucis Christi, *et pro omnibus idolorum cultoribus*, pro omnibus qui Christum in membris ipsius persequuntur, *pro Iudaeis*, quorum caecitati lumen evangelii non refulget, *pro haereticis et schismaticis*, qui ab unitate fidei et caritatis alieni sunt. Quid autem pro istis petit, nisi *ut relictis erroribus suis convertantur ad Deum*, accipiant fidem, accipiant caritatem, et de ignorantiae tenebris liberati in agnitionem veniant veritatis? (Migne *P. L.* li 664: among the works of Prosper).

In the same work, lib. ii cap. 37, there is this further passage: 'Oret itaque sancta ecclesia, et pro iis qui crediderunt gratias agens proficientem eis perseverantiam petat; pro iis autem qui extra fidem sunt poscat ut credant. Nec ideo ab obsecrationibus cesset, si pro aliquibus exaudita non fuerit' (Migne *ib.* 722).

In the first of these two passages we find another verbal coincidence with the Good Friday prayers which appears not to be merely accidental: 'ut relictis erroribus suis convertantur ad Deum.' Compare with this the priest's bidding before the prayer for pagans: 'ut relictis idolis suis convertantur ad Deum verum et unicum filium eius Iesum Christum dominum nostrum' (Gelasian text).

It is unfortunate that we know no more about the author of the *de Vocatione* than that he wrote in the fifth century and that he was, apparently, not an African.[1] If he was not a Roman, he was probably a native of Gaul; and in this case it will appear that in Gaul too in the fifth century there were in use prayers for all conditions of men which must have borne a close resemblance to those then employed at Rome.[2]

[1] This seems to be indicated by the reading *postulationes* in 1 Tim. ii 1. Cf. St Augustine *Ep.* cxlix § 16 (ad Paulinum) '*interpellationes* autem, sive ut vestri codices habent *postulationes*'. See also § 14, and Sabatier's note to this verse.

[2] In the seventh or eighth century we have a Gallic counterpart of the Roman Good Friday prayers in the different forms of *Orationes Paschales* found in the *Missale Gothicum*, the *Sacramentarium Gallicanum* ('Bobbio Missal'), and the *Missale Gallicanum vetus*; but these contain no prayers for infidels, Jews, heretics and schismatics. Except in their outward form they mark a wide departure from the prayers of the fifth century. Prayer for the Jews seems to have been kept up nowhere but at Rome; there we find it emphasized already by Justin Martyr (*Dial.* c. 35; cf. cc. 96, 133; 1 *Apol.* c. 14).

Digitized by Google

When we compare the passage from the *Auctoritates* appended to Pope Celestine's letter with the first of the two passages from the *de Vocatione*, we cannot help noticing certain points of resemblance in addition to that involved in the common argument. In the former we have the expression 'lex supplicandi', and in the latter 'legem supplicationis'; in the former it is said of the prayers: 'in toto mundo atque in omni ecclesia catholica uniformiter celebrantur', in the latter: 'quam legem . . . ita omnium sacerdotum et omnium fidelium devotio concorditer tenet, ut nulla pars mundi sit in qua huiusmodi orationes non celebrentur'. Again, in the *Auctoritates* the prayers are called 'obsecrationes sacerdotales', and in the second passage from the *de Vocatione* they are referred to as 'obsecrationes'. It may be suspected therefore that the two documents are not wholly independent of each other. Which is the earlier there is not much to indicate: though the style of the *Auctoritates* is the more forcible, and the striking phrase 'ut legem credendi lex statuat supplicandi' may seem to be rendered by, rather than to render, the less telling aphorism in the *de Vocatione*, 'nihil dubium esse poterit in praecepto, si obedientia concordet in studio'. But as both documents are of the fifth century, it is not of great importance for the present purpose to settle the question of priority. Both evidently refer to the same set of prayers—those which became our Good Friday *Orationes Solemnes*.

(3)

We pass over now to Africa and St Augustine. In his *Ep.* lv cap. 18 § 34 St Augustine recommends the practice of singing hymns and psalms in church: a matter in which, he says, many Catholics in Africa were remiss. Then he has this sentence:—

Quando autem non est tempus, cum in ecclesia fratres congregantur, sancta cantandi, nisi cum legitur aut disputatur, aut antistes clara voce deprecatur, aut communis oratio voce diaconi indicitur? (Migne *P. L.* xxxiii 221).

Here *legitur* and *disputatur* seem to shew us that St Augustine is speaking of the Scripture lessons followed by the sermon at mass. If so, the prayer of the bishop and the *communis oratio* will naturally be referred to the beginning of the Mass of the Faithful. His 'common prayer' is, anyhow, usually understood to mean the 'Prayers of the Faithful', made after the dismissal of the Catechumens. But what are we to think of the next words, 'voce diaconi indicitur'? Do they mean, as some have understood them to mean, that the *communis oratio* took the form of a litany recited by the deacon, after the Eastern fashion? Our next passage will throw some light on this question.

Digitized by Google

In *Ep.* ccxvii (ad Vitalem) St Augustine reproves Vitalis for his semi-Pelagian views on the subject of divine grace. What, he asks, will be the attitude of a man who holds such opinions when he listens to the prayers of the Church? He twice employs this argument in the letter.

(*a*) Cap. 1 § 2: Exsere (*v.l.* exerce) contra orationes ecclesiae disputationes tuas, et quando audis sacerdotem Dei ad altare Dei exhortantem populum Dei orare

> pro incredulis, ut eos Deus convertat ad fidem,
> et pro catechumenis, ut eis desiderium regenerationis inspiret,[1]
> et pro fidelibus, ut in eo quod esse coeperunt eius munere perseverent,

subsanna pias voces et dic te non facere quod hortatur (Migne *P. L.* xxxiii 978–979).

(*b*) Cap. 7 § 26: Numquid, ubi audieris sacerdotem Dei ad eius altare populum hortantem ad Deum orandum, vel ipsum clara voce orantem, ut incredulas gentes ad fidem suam venire compellat, non respondebis Amen? (*ib.* 988).

It is manifest from these two passages that, as with our Good Friday prayers, the celebrant performed both the bidding and the vocal praying; he exhorted the people to pray for various classes of persons, and then himself made the prayers for them *clara voce*, the people answering only with *Amen*.

This sends us back to the question which arose out of our first passage from St Augustine (*Ep.* lv 18 § 34), viz. What is the meaning there of the words 'communis oratio *voce diaconi indicitur*'? Are the prayers which are referred to here in *Ep.* lv the same as those referred to in *Ep.* ccxvii, or are they something distinct? We may notice in the first place that in both letters the expression *clara voce* is used to describe the manner in which the bishop makes the prayers. Next, the prayers spoken of in passages (*a*) and (*b*), from *Ep.* ccxvii, as both announced and pronounced by the bishop, are elsewhere in the same letter referred to as 'orationes credentium' and 'orationes fidelium' (§§ 13, 29). But these expressions can hardly have a different meaning from that of 'communis oratio' in *Ep.* lv. There is no room for doubt, I think, that the prayers of the people referred to in *Ep.* lv are identical with those spoken of in *Ep.* ccxvii, and that they too were made (both as regards the biddings and the actual petitions) by the bishop alone. The deacon certainly had a part to play, as we see from *Ep.* lv ('voce diaconi indicitur'); but it can only have been a very subordinate one. It will be remembered that in the Roman Good Friday prayers the deacon tells the people to kneel down and then to stand up again—

[1] Very interesting is the parallel to this in the bidding to the prayer 'pro neophytis' among the *Orationes Paschales* of *Miss. Gall. vet.* (Muratori ii 738): 'ut eis desiderium beatae et perpetuae regenerationis infundat'.

Digitized by Google

this between the bishop's bidding and his prayer. If in the African rite of which St Augustine speaks the deacon gave some such direction as *Flectamus genua*, that would be enough to satisfy the words 'voce diaconi indicitur'. And indeed *indicere* naturally implies no more than such a short signal; it would not be an appropriate word to describe the deacon's part in a running litany of the Eastern type.[1] This point, however, need not be argued: there is actual authority for *indicere orationem* in reference to the *Flectamus genua* itself. Among the sermons in the Appendix to those of St Augustine there are two by St Caesarius of Arles which speak of the people's genuflexion at a signal for prayer given by the deacon.

1. *Serm.* cclxxxv § 1: Supplico, fratres carissimi, et paterna pietate commoneo, ut quotiescumque *oratio indicitur*, qui forte pro aliqua infirmitate non potest *genua flectere* et dorsum incurvare, vel cervicem humiliare non differat (Migne *P. L.* xxxix 2284).

2. *Serm.* cclxxxvi § 1: Rogo et admoneo vos, fratres carissimi, ut quotiescumque iuxta altare a clericis oratur, aut *oratio diacono clamante indicitur*, non solum corda sed etiam corpora fideliter inclinetis. Nam dum frequenter, sicut oportet, et diligenter attendo, diacono clamante *Flectamus genua*, maximam partem velut columnas erectas stare conspicio (Migne *ib.* 2285).

When the passages quoted from St Augustine are compared together, and considered in relation to those taken from the *Auctoritates* at the end of Pope Celestine's letter and from the treatise *de Vocatione*, it hardly admits of doubt that in Africa also, at the beginning of the fifth century, there was already established the practice of reciting a series of prayers for 'all sorts and conditions', and that these prayers (both in content and in the manner of their recital) were closely analogous to the Roman *Orationes Solemnes*. And indeed St Augustine makes it even more clear than do the other two authorities that the manner in which those prayers were conducted was that to which we are now accustomed, though his references supply less material for a textual comparison. We need not, of course, suppose that the African prayers of which he speaks were identical, either textually or in the series of subjects prayed for, with the contemporary Roman prayers; but there was evidently a considerable element of agreement, and there must have been a real historical connexion between the two sets of prayers—for one thing, both took place shortly after the reading of the Scriptures.

[1] Pope Innocent I in his letter to Decentius uses *indicere* for the reading out of a list of names; but this is still a mere announcement, and suggests nothing in the nature of prayer or bidding. In the same letter he uses *indicere* for the announcing of the kiss of peace. I would add that '*voce* diaconi indicitur' suggests to me more readily a short call to prayer than the virtual making of the prayer which is involved in the recital of a litany.

Digitized by Google

(4)

We have now seen that the Roman *Orationes Solemnes* can be traced back to the fifth century in Rome, and perhaps also in Gaul,[1] and that they were appealed to as a witness to the Church's teaching on the subject of divine grace against Pelagianism. We have found St Augustine in Africa making the same appeal to the Church's prayers. As he was the protagonist on the Catholic side in this controversy, it is perhaps more probable that the argument was first used by him.[2] But on whichever side of the water it originated, it is clear that the borrowers on the other side recognized the prayers appealed to as identical in character with a series of prayers in use among themselves. And from the evidence provided by the documents just reviewed we can see that the identification was justified. This is true of the fifth century. But St Augustine's letters shew us that he assumed the use of these prayers to be general in Africa; they must therefore have existed already before his time; and in view of what is said in the *Auctoritates* and the *de Vocatione* as to their antiquity and wide circulation, we may say with some confidence that they were current generally in the West before the end of the fourth century.

We have now to ask, In what special light were these prayers regarded? They were of course in character wholly intercessory. But I think there can be no doubt that they were regarded as specifically the people's prayers, in fact the 'Prayers of the Faithful' or 'Common Prayers', said from very early times, and practically everywhere in the Church, after the exclusion of those who were not baptized or who for other causes were not permitted to pray with the faithful. St Augustine, although he tells us that the bishop made both the invitatory (or biddings) and the prayers, speaks of them as *orationes fidelium*, *orationes credentium*, *communis oratio*: just as in the second century St Justin Martyr had described the prayers said by the people after the reading of the Scriptures and the delivery of the homily as κοιναὶ εὐχαί. And similarly in the passage cited from the *Auctoritates* it is said: 'sanctarum plebium praesules ... tota secum ecclesia congemiscente

[1] For the *de Vocatione* may be a Gallic work; and the fact that Pope Gelasius did not, apparently, know the name of its author may perhaps be thought to favour this view.

[2] In the letter of the Council of Carthage, of 416, to Innocent I we find a similar appeal to the terms of the episcopal benedictions: 'Contradicitur etiam istorum contentione benedictionibus nostris, ut in cassum super populum dicere videamur quidquid eis a Domino precamur, ut recte ac pie vivendo illi placeant ... Si ergo voluerimus benedicendo super populum dicere: Da illi, Domine, virtutem corroborari per spiritum tuum: istorum nobis disputatio contradicit' (c. 4). Similarly St Augustine *Ep.* clxxix § 4.

Digitized by Google

postulant et precantur'—an expression which recognizes the common character of the prayers, in spite of the fact that the vocal part now fell exclusively to the celebrant.

I am of opinion that all allusions found in the West during the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries to prayers of the faithful or of the people during the liturgy—and indeed all allusions to public intercessory prayer—are to be referred to our *Orationes Solemnes*, or what they historically represent. I append here the instances of such allusion (or possible allusion) which are usually alleged, reserving to a later section of this paper the treatment of what is technically called the liturgical 'Intercession'—that is, the series of intercessory prayers which in the East were said by the celebrant within the Canon or Anaphora.

1. Pope Siricius *Ep.* i c. 5 (to Himerius of Tarragona, A.D. 385) speaks thus of those who have returned to sin after having already undergone penance:—

De quibus, quia iam suffugium non habent poenitendi, id duximus decernendum, ut sola intra ecclesiam fidelibus oratione iungantur, sacrae mysteriorum celebritati, quamvis non mereantur, intersint; a dominicae autem mensae convivio segregentur.

This means, in sum, that the persons in question may be present throughout the mass, but may not communicate. But it is possible that Siricius does not use 'oratione' and 'mysteriorum celebritati' as commensurate terms, but means to say rather that the persons in question may take part in the prayers of the faithful, and also be present at the rest of the mass. This interpretation is suggested by a passage of Felix II, presently to be given. If it be not correct, then 'fidelibus oratione iungantur' refers to the mass as a whole, and cannot be used to illustrate the *Orationes fidelium* in any sense understood.

The next two items relate to prayer for the Emperor; and being so closely connected in point of time, they must evidently be given one and the same interpretation.

2. Boniface I *Ep.* vii (to the Emperor Honorius, A.D. 420): Ipsa . . . ecclesia hac pietatem vestram legatione, quam suis sacerdotibus commisit, appellat . . . Vobis, inquit, religiose imperantibus modo tutus est populus, tam fidus Deo quam tibi principi christiano. Ecce enim inter ipsa mysteria, inter preces suas quas pro vestri felicitate dependit imperii, teste apud quem et de cuius sede agitur sancto Petro, sollicitis pro religionis observantia vocibus clamat: cum sollicita petitione miscetur oratio, ne hos in varias res semel evulsa (? evulsos) distrahat a cultu solito, tentatore sollicitante, discordia.

The interpretation of this passage turns on the meaning of 'inter ipsa mysteria'. Do the words denote that the Emperor was prayed for

Digitized by Google

within the more solemn part of the mass, the Canon, or merely in the course of the mass? Innocent I in his letter to Decentius of Gubbio certainly employs *mysteria* to describe the Canon, or, as he explains it, those things 'quae aperire non debeo'. But then Innocent in this passage is dealing expressly with the different parts of the mass, while Boniface is not. Again, the expressions 'sollicitis . . . vocibus clamat' and 'cum sollicita petitione miscetur oratio' suggest some sort of spontaneous acclamation on the part of the congregation rather than any known form of liturgical response. Nor does the emphasis laid on the exclamations of the people (with which the prayer is said merely to be 'mingled') seem to accord with the idea that they were formal responses to the prayer—an *Amen* or the like. There are many instances on record in which the people gave voice in church with bursts of applause; and acclamations, or *laudes*, for Emperor, Pope, or Bishop were a recognized institution. It is not improbable therefore that Boniface represents the people of Rome as crying out with the usual formula of such *laudes*, 'Exaudi Christe, Honorio Augusto vita!'—this repeated many times, as the manner was. Such acclamations would come very naturally at the point where the Pope made the bidding (as in the *Orationes Solemnes*) before the prayer for the Emperor; they would then be followed by the prayer itself. Such a proceeding would, it seems to me, quite well satisfy the expression 'cum sollicita petitione miscetur oratio'. We need not suppose that these acclamations were the rule: the occasion described was evidently a special one.

3. Celestine I *Ep.* xxiii c. 1 (ad Theodos. iun.): Ecce nunc domus Domini orationibus vacant, et vestrum per omnes ecclesias Deo nostro oblatis sacrificiis commendatur imperium.

We can gather nothing from this passage except that the Emperor was prayed for during the mass. The words 'oblatis sacrificiis' cannot be pressed to mean that the prayer for the Emperor took place 'after the consecration', or at any particular point in the mass; they tell us only that it was made when the Eucharist was celebrated.[1]

4. Felix II (III), *Ep.* xiii (A. D. 487–488), deals with the case of those who have allowed themselves to be baptized, or rebaptized, by heretics.

(*a*) Cap. 2 (as to members of the higher clergy): Sed quia idem Dominus atque salvator clementissimus est et neminem vult perire, usque ad exitus sui diem in poenitentia, si resipiscunt,[2] iacere conveniet, nec orationi non modo fidelium sed ne catechumenorum quidem omni-

[1] For 'sacrificium offerre' in the sense of celebrate the Eucharist cf. Siricius *Epp.* i c. 7, x c. 2.

[2] Cf. in the Good Friday prayer for heretics and schismatics the words 'Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, qui omnes salvas et neminem vis perire . . . errantium corda resipiscant'.

Digitized by Google

modis interesse; quibus communio laica in morte redhibenda est (Thiel, i p. 263).

Here 'oratio fidelium' is contrasted with 'oratio catechumenorum', and so may reasonably (though not with full certainty) be referred to the Prayers of the Faithful rather than to the Mass of the Faithful as a whole.[1]

(*b*) Cap. 3 (as to other clergy, monks, and lay folk): Servari praecipimus hunc tenorem, quem Nicaena synodus circa eos qui lapsi sunt, vel fuerint, servandum esse constituit . . . tribus annis inter audientes sint, septem vero annis subiaceant inter poenitentes manibus sacerdotum; duobus etiam oblationes modis omnibus non sinantur offerre, sed tantummodo popularibus in oratione socientur[2] (*ib.*).

The last clause may, especially in view of the underlying Greek, reasonably be understood in reference to the 'Prayers of the Faithful'.

(*c*) Cap. 4: Quodsi ante praefinitum poenitentiae tempus despectus (= *desperatus*) a medicis aut evidentibus mortis pressus indiciis, recepta quisquam communionis gratia convalescit, servemus in eo quod Nicaeni canones ordinaverunt: ut habeatur inter eos qui in oratione sola communicant,[3] donec impleatur spatium temporis eidem praestitutum (*ib.* 264).

The same remark applies here that is made under (*b*) above.

5. Council of Lyons (517) can. 6: Domini quoque gloriosissimi regis sententiam secuti, id temperamenti praestitimus, ut Stephano praedicto vel Palladiae usque ad orationem plebis, quae post evangelium legeretur, orandi in locis sanctis spatium praestaremus (Mansi, vol. viii col. 570).

It has been thought that this canon may have in view not a series of prayers after the manner of the *Orationes Solemnes*, but a litany of the type found in the Ambrosian Missal for Sundays in Lent or of that in the Stowe Missal. Mgr Duchesne understands that the canon refers to such a litany.[4] It may be so; but in that case we have in Gaul at the beginning of the sixth century a type of 'Prayers of the Faithful' very different in character from those which St Augustine a century

[1] See what is said under no. 1 above as to Siricius.

[2] Concil. Nicaen. can. 11 *ὅσοι οὖν γνησίως μεταμελῶνται, τρία ἔτη ἐν ἀκροωμένοις ποιήσουσιν οἱ πιστοί, καὶ ἑπτὰ ἔτη ὑποπεσοῦνται, δύο δὲ ἔτη χωρὶς προσφορᾶς κοινωνήσουσι τῷ λαῷ τῶν προσευχῶν.*

[3] *Ib.* can. 13 *εἰ δὲ ἀπογνωσθεὶς καὶ κοινωνίας πάλιν τυχών, πάλιν ἐν τοῖς ζῶσιν ἐξετασθῇ, μετὰ τῶν κοινωνούντων τῆς εὐχῆς μόνης ἔστω.*

[4] *Christian Worship*, fifth English ed. (1919), p. 198. The litany for the Sundays in Lent found in the Mozarabic Missal (Lesley, p. 94) is of a somewhat different type, and is not considered in this connexion by Mgr Duchesne.

Digitized by Google

earlier described as 'communis oratio', 'orationes fidelium'. In other words, the Council of Lyons presents us with an innovation due to Greek influence; for it is wholly improbable that the old Gallican Prayers of the Faithful (say of saec. iv–v) are represented by the litanies in the Ambrosian and Stowe Missals. Mgr Duchesne himself points out that these formulae are 'absolutely of the same type' as the litanies found in the Greek liturgies; and he adds: 'We may go even further and say that the examples given are nothing more than translations from a Greek text.'[1]

What appears to be the first plain reference in Gaul to prayers said by the deacon after the Scripture lessons occurs in the letters attributed to St Germanus of Paris (†576). In the first of these letters we read:—

Preces vero psallere levitas pro populo ab origine libri Moysacis ducit exordium, ut audita apostoli praedicatione levitae pro populo deprecentur et sacerdotes prostrati ante Dominum pro peccata populi intercedant (Migne *P. L.* lxxii 92).

This seems unmistakeable: but Edmund Bishop has left on record his opinion that these letters were not written by St Germanus, but later. In his last work he has this note on the subject:—

'The MS of these letters, long considered lost, still exists, though it is not at present available. A friend who has seen it tells me it is of the eleventh century,[2] not of the eighth, as Martene gives to be understood. It may be as well to add in passing that, after full consideration, I have come to the conclusion that this document is not of the sixth century, and therefore not by Germanus of Paris, but a production of the second half of the seventh or even, it may be, of the early eighth century' (*Liturgica Historica* p. 131).

6. The author of the fifth-century treatise *de Sacramentis* insists (l. iv c. 4 § 14) that the consecration of the Eucharist is effected by the words of Christ: 'Nam reliqua omnia, quae dicuntur in superioribus, a sacerdote dicuntur: laudes Deo deferuntur (*or* laus Deo defertur), oratio petitur pro populo, pro regibus, pro ceteris; ubi venitur ut conficiatur venerabile sacramentum, iam non suis sermonibus utitur sacerdos, sed utitur sermonibus Christi'.

It has been inferred from this passage that 'laudes Deo deferuntur' denotes the Preface concluded with the *Sanctus*, and that the intercessory prayers for the people, &c., mentioned next, must have followed

[1] *Op. cit.* p. 200. The older Gallican prayers are more probably represented (however imperfectly) by the *Orationes Paschales* of the Gallican books (see p. 224 n. 1 above).

[2] This is probably a slip of the pen: I understand that the MS is of about s. ix–x.

Digitized by Google

the Preface, and so have stood between the *Sanctus* and the words of Institution. But the evidence reviewed in this paper makes it difficult to believe that these prayers 'for people, kings, and the rest' can have been anything other than the *Orationes Solemnes* said after the Gospel. I conclude therefore that the author, starting from the words of Institution, mentions the earlier elements of the mass in a backward order (cf. *J. T. S.* vol. xx p. 224 n. 2). The same view appears to be favoured by Dr Srawley in a note to the late Mr T. Thompson's translation of the *de Sacramentis*, p. 110 (S.P.C.K., 1919).

We have now traced back the *Orationes Solemnes* to the fifth century, so far as Rome is concerned. And we have identified them, as regards their general form and the manner in which they are said, with a series of prayers used in Africa before St Augustine's day. On the strength of this identification we have concluded that both the Roman and the African prayers were in use already in the fourth century. Then we have seen that St Augustine describes these prayers as 'oratio communis', 'orationes fidelium', 'orationes credentium'; and we have been led to infer that the Good Friday prayers are in fact nothing but the old Western Prayers of the Faithful.

In a second part of this paper an attempt will be made to trace the history of the Prayers of the Faithful farther back and over a wider field, in the East as well as in the West, and to determine their relation to the liturgical Intercession. Meanwhile there is just a word to be said in regard to the conclusion already drawn.

The identification of the *Orationes Solemnes* with the old Western Prayers of the Faithful will not appear new, though the evidence for it has not previously, so far as I know, been set out in a formal manner: it was made long ago by Mgr Duchesne, who writes: 'These are the same petitions which we encounter, frequently repeated, in the daily liturgies of the Eastern Church. I am of opinion, therefore, that these prayers once formed part of the ordinary Roman Mass, and that they were said after the lections, that is, at the place in which they long continued to be recited on Wednesday and Friday in Holy Week.'[1] Edmund Bishop, on the other hand, appears to contradict this view of the Good Friday prayers. But he is not to be understood as denying that, as he puts it, they 'are a survival of some ancient general practice in Rome'. In his paper on *Kyrie eleison* (*Lit. Hist.* p. 122) he was concerned immediately with the view that the *Orationes Solemnes*

[1] *Christian Worship* p. 173. The recital of these prayers on the Wednesday is prescribed in the first Roman Ordo of Mabillon, c. 28, but in connexion with the office of the third hour, not with the mass of the eighth hour.

Digitized by Google

answer to the diaconal litanies of the Eastern Church. He refused to accept the analogy, pointing out that in the Good Friday prayers the priest both propounds the theme and then himself makes the prayers. From other passages in his writings it is evident that Edmund Bishop connected the Roman prayers in his mind rather with the liturgical Intercession than with the diaconal litanies of the East. Whether that view is consistent with the conclusion drawn in this paper, that these prayers represent the Western Prayers of the Faithful, is a question which must wait for an answer until we have seen more of the history and relation of the liturgical Intercession, Prayers of the Faithful, and the diaconal litanies; but without unduly anticipating I may say at once that I follow Mr Bishop in his refusal to connect the Good Friday prayers with the Eastern litanies; and in this there is a difference between the explanation here offered and that given by Mgr Duchesne.

I must not omit to mention that for my knowledge of the passages from St Augustine's letter ccxvii (at p. 224 above), as also of that from *Ep.* clxxix (p. 226 n. 2) and the two from St Caesarius (p. 225), I am indebted to the valuable article of Mr W. C. Bishop on 'The African Rite' in vol. xiii of this JOURNAL (pp. 250 ff). It may not be amiss, however, to point out that Mr Bishop has run the two separate passages from *Ep.* ccxvii into one (p. 271), and that by a slip he has given to *Ep.* clxxix the number clxxxix (p. 277).

R. H. CONNOLLY.

Digitized by Google

NOTE ON THE TABLE OF NATIONS (GENESIS X).

THE tenth chapter of the Book of Genesis consists of an enumeration of Nations, exhibited in the form of a genealogy of Shem, Ham, and Japheth, the three sons of Noah. First we have the sons of Japheth: seven northern peoples, including the Greeks (Javan—Ionians), *vv.* 2–5. Next come the sons of Ham: the four main stocks are 'Cush' and 'Miṣraim' (i. e. Egypt) and 'Put' and 'Canaan', *vv.* 6–20. Last come the sons of Shem, *vv.* 21–31.[1]

The main purpose of the following Note is to point out a resemblance between certain parts of this Table of Nations and the newly discovered Sumerian Dynastic List. Before making the comparison, however, a few words about the composition of the Table itself are necessary. I am venturing to treat the Table as a single whole, but modern critics regard it as composite: *vv.* 8–19, 21, 24–30 are assigned to J, the 'Jahwist' compiler of ancient traditions, while the remainder (*vv.* 1–7; 20; 22, 23; 31, 32) are assigned to P, the writer of the 'Priestly Code'.[2] P belongs to the period of the Exile, while J is placed in the eighth century B. C., about the time of Ahaz and Tiglath-Pileser.

If we divide up the Table between J and P two points seem to me to demand explanation: (1) if *ver.* 22 f[3] belong to P, then P gave Shem's family tree twice over, for no one doubts that Gen. xi 10 ff[4] is P's genealogy of Shem; and (2) if *vv.* 13 and 14 be assigned to J, as no doubt they should be, then as Prof. Francis Brown says 'P's list of the sons of Miṣraim has not been preserved'—a highly improbable conclusion, seeing that geographical knowledge must have been much more extensive in the fifth century B. C. than in the eighth.

The question is really a little broader than the immediate scope of these details. If P's list of the peoples allied to the Egyptians is not extant, it is probable that it never had any existence. What interest

[1] Shem is always reckoned as the eldest, but the general method of this Table is to exhaust the side lines and come last to the main stock.

[2] So e. g. Driver *Introd. to Lit. of O.T.* pp. 12, 13; so also Prof. Francis Brown, whose Article on *Geography* in *Ency. Bibl.*, published in 1901, seems to me the best account of Genesis x that I have read.

[3] 'The sons of Shem; Elam and Asshur and Arpachshad and Lud and Aram. . . .'

[4] 'These are the generations of Shem. Shem was an hundred years old, and begat Arpachshad two years after the flood, and Shem lived after he begat Arpachshad five hundred years, and begat sons and daughters', &c.

Digitized by Google

had the Priestly Writer in the tribes of the Gentiles? None whatever. He begins with the Creation of Heaven and Earth, but his object is to describe the successive covenants of God with Man, each successively more elaborate, but more restricted in scope, and his interest is with the direct ancestors of the Chosen People. J, on the other hand, though less scientific, is far more human and encyclopaedic. Almost anything he knows comes in handy. He does not shrink from loading his pages with a list of the thirteen races of the Joktanites,[1] i. e. the S. Arabian tribes, whose existence can never at any time have bulked very largely in Israelite life and polity. We seem in Gen. x 26–30 to be listening to a Jewish trader's tales of foreign parts, when he had come back from King Solomon's venture down the Red Sea.

For the same reason I doubt the propriety of assigning to P the list of the Sons of Japheth (*vv.* 2–5). I do not see what interest P would have in naming them. In fact, I do not see what P has to do with Genesis, chap. x. Possibly the final editor of the Pentateuch put 'These are the generations of' as a heading to the Table, but beyond that I do not see any necessity for analysis.[2] The word *mishpaḥōth*, 'clans' or 'families', which occurs in *vv.* 5, 18, 20, 31, 32, is a particular favourite of P, but it is found elsewhere than in his work, and indeed its use here is almost unavoidable.

But, of course, if the whole of ch. x be regarded as the work of one author it is necessary to shew that it has general cohesion. Minor contradictions are not excluded, for indeed they are not absent from modern works on Ethnology, but the general plan must be shewn to be reasonable. It is not my purpose to make a full commentary, but a few explanatory remarks will not be out of place.

To begin with, the Table is neither strictly geographical nor strictly historical. It is not strictly geographical, i.e. it does not give an accurate list of the Nations in the writer's own day, because it professes to represent the conditions of an earlier time, when for instance Israel had not entered Palestine. But, on the other hand, apart from Israel and some allied peoples it does give a Table of the Nations as they were in the writer's day, i. e. as they are assumed always to have been, so that it is mainly geographical. The method is quite clearly exhibited

[1] Joḳṭān is otherwise unknown. The Arab genealogists identified the name with Ḳaḥṭān, the mythical ancestor of the non-Ishmaelitic S. Arabian tribes. In other matters the Arabic forms of Bible names are worthless, but in this case is it not possible that the Biblical *Yoḳṭān* was originally a traveller's mishearing of Ḳaḥṭān? Gen. x 26–30 rests ultimately on good information, for it contains the name Ḥaḍramaut.

[2] Note that the construction of 'unto them were sons born' in x 1 is very similar to that of 'unto Shem . . . also were children born' in x 21, a verse universally assigned to J.

Digitized by Google

in the treatment of the sons of Canaan (*vv.* 15–19): I can best exhibit it by giving a modern paraphrase of these verses. The author says in effect:—

'The peoples of Palestine (not counting the Philistine strangers referred to above, *ver.* 14) are the Phoenicians, whose oldest settlement was Sidon; the Hittites; the various clans that traditionally occupied the hill-country before we Israelites arrived; the people of Arca, of Siana (?),[1] of Aradus, of Simyra, along the northern Phoenician coast; and the people further inland about Hamath. Some of these stocks have developed considerably since their earliest settlements.[2] From Sidon to Gaza, and then across to the Dead Sea [all the land W. of the Jordan] is reckoned as Palestine.'

We have now to consider what meaning is to be given to the words Shem, Ham, and Japheth, as used in Genesis x, if we are to transfer them from the naive patriarchology of the Israelites to our way of speaking. I venture to think we may define these names thus: *Shem* includes all the peoples and tribes to which 'we Israelites' (as the writer might say) feel ourselves akin; *Japheth* includes all the peoples to the North and North-West, while *Ham* includes all the peoples to the South and East. 'Japheth' and 'Ham' are on this view essentially geographical rather than ethnological terms, while 'Shem' on the other hand does include the notion of racial kinship. Thus the Greeks and the Medians and the unknown peoples who lived in the direction of the Black Sea are all 'Japheth', while Egyptians and Babylonians are 'Ham'.

Here we come to the heart of the matter. What has 'Cush', which means Ethiopia or Nubia, to do with 'Cush' who 'begat Nimrod'? And if Abraham came from Ur of the Chaldees, how are the Babylonians to be reckoned as the children of Ham?

The first of these questions is an old difficulty, and of course it is quite impossible to get rid of all confusion, whatever view we take. The two Cushes cannot really be the same peoples; they have been confused by some one, and it does not make a very great difference whether we call him a 'writer' or a 'reviser'. After all, the man who drew up this Table was a compiler, not himself an original source of information. He had not himself visited Phoenicia and Egypt and 'Cush' and 'Put', and found that the inhabitants of these countries were ethnically 'Hamite'! No doubt he was working on previous Lists, or semi-historical accounts of foreign parts. He had no Atlas or

[1] Not clearly identified.

[2] I presume *ver.* 18 really means that many great towns, notably Tyre, had sprung up in later times, but that all the Phoenicians were to be regarded as originally Sidonians.

Digitized by Google

Map to help him. I imagine he simply confused Cush (= Ethiopia) with the 'Cush' that is really connected with the land of Shinar, with Babylonia.

Who was this Cush? The name has often been connected in recent years with the Kossites, an Elamitic people who invaded Babylonia at various times. But neither in myth nor in sober history did they have anything to do with the beginning of Babylonian civilization. It is here that the results of the American excavations at Nippur help us, particularly what is known as the Sumerian Dynastic List. This document, published by Dr Arno Poebel,[1] consists of lists of the earliest rulers of Babylonia, arranged according to the towns which successively held the hegemony in these early times. It has been admirably discussed by the late Dr Leonard King in his *Legends of Babylon and Egypt* (Schweich Lectures for 1916), published in 1918.[2] These early, though fragmentary lists of historical and semi-mythical rulers 'prove that Berossus and the later Babylonians depended on material of quite early origin in compiling their dynasties of semi-mythical kings. In them we obtain a glimpse of ages more remote than any on which excavation in Babylonia has yet thrown light, and for the first time we have recovered genuine native tradition of early date with regard to the cradle of Babylonian culture' (King, p. 22).

But fully as Dr King discussed the Sumerian Dynastic List he did not bring forward our Table to illustrate it, and it is just that which I wish here to do. Indeed it is all the more appropriate, as it seems probable that the List professes to be concerned with the Post-Diluvian period (King, p. 31).

I am not going into details, because even if I were competent to do so the names of individual Sumerian rulers would have as little interest for most of us as they would have had to the Jahwistic compiler. But the striking thing is that the first Sumerian Dynasty is the Kingdom of *Kish*, and when that comes to an end the Kingdom passes to *Erech*. I suggest that the source of Gen. x 8–12 is Babylonian information (whether written or oral) based on the Dynastic List literature.

Let us see whether this hint will not help us better to understand the Hebrew text. The Dynastic List suggests that *ver.* 10 does not refer to Nimrod but goes back to 'Cush' (or, as I shall henceforth vocalize it, 'Kish'); and in *ver.* 11 it will be best to take Asshur as the nominative.[3] Nothing therefore is left to Nimrod but his hunting reputation.

[1] A. Poebel *Historical Texts* (Univ. of Pennsylvania Museum Publ., Bab. Sect., vol. iv, no. 1, 1914). [2] See esp. pp. 28–39, 144–146.

[3] So *A V* and *R V*^{mg}. 'Asshur' is semi-personified, like 'Sidon' in *ver.* 15; 'went forth', of course, means 'was a later colony', as in *ver.* 14, not 'started on a journey'.

Digitized by Google

He owes his mention to the proverb here quoted. The only serious objection I can see to this is Micah v 6, where 'the land of Nimrod' is used as a poetic synonym for Assyria, but in such a context the difference between one part of Mesopotamia and another is unimportant. It is like using 'Columbia' for the United States, although Columbus never visited North America.

The view I am here putting forward is that the glimpse into the ancient history of Babylonia given in Gen. x 8–10 is ultimately derived from the Babylonian historical tradition, of which the newly discovered Sumerian Dynastic List is a surviving monument. Who are these people who founded Kish and Erech and the other ancient seats of civilization in lower Mesopotamia? They were what we call the Sumerians, that is to say a non-Semitic race. And therefore they are quite properly not included in the children of Shem, but among the Hamites, i.e. according to J's usage all the non-Semitic peoples to the South.

I imagine that J had a real difficulty in 'placing' the Babylonian civilization, to speak in modern terms. It was so obviously different from all the other Semitic national organizations in language, custom, and developement, and the same source from whence he got his information about its early beginnings may have told him something corresponding to what we mean when we talk about 'the absorption of the earlier Sumerian culture by the Semitic Babylonians'. In these circumstances the identification of the *Kish* where Babylonian civilization had its first seat with *Kūsh* the son of Ham must have seemed like a ray of light in the darkness.

When he comes to the sons of Shem in *ver.* 22 we find among them Asshur and Arpachshad as well as Elam and Aram. The fact of Asshur coming here is of course not quite consistent with *ver.* 11, if Asshur there be taken as nominative and meaning the nation, not the land. But it may be noted that it is not said in so many words that Asshur is a son of Cush or Kish ; what is noted, as in the case of the Philistines, is that the Assyrian power is not immemorial, but its beginnings only date after the general settlement of the older nations.[1]

Finally, if a further conjecture be added to what in the nature of

[1] The rendering which makes Asshur in *ver.* 11 a nominative, meaning 'the Assyrians', is that of the Targums, and it seems to me most in accord with Hebrew syntax generally and with the construction of the clause in *ver.* 14 about the Philistines in particular For 'to Assyria' J writes אשורה (Gen. xxv 18). In *ver.* 10 'Babel' seems to be an anachronism, natural enough in a foreign writer, for the city of Babylon was founded later than Kish and Erech. What is wanted, of course, is 'The beginnings of the Babylonian civilization were in Kish and Erech and Accad . . .'

Digitized by Google

things must be so tentative, may we not see in the story of the confusion of tongues at the building of the Tower of Babylon a far-off echo of the rise of that monstrous jargon, the 'Semitic' Babylonian language, neither a definitely alien tongue, nor a genuine Semitic manner of speech? It seemed to the Jews of Isaiah's time and Jeremiah's like the talk of a drunken man (Isa. xxviii 11), you could not understand what they say (Jer. v 15). Neither the Bible, nor as yet the cuneiform literature, gives any intelligible picture of the penetration of the Sumerian civilization by what we call the Semitic Babylonians: in Biblical phraseology we simply do not know how Arpachshad became the heir of Kish (= 'Cush'). According to J the ancestors of Abraham and Terah were Arpachshad and Eber. Arpachshad seems to be connected with the Kashdim or Chaldaeans, and to be used as the ethnic name for the Sumerianized Chaldaeans. Eber, on the other hand, seems to denote the tribes that did not settle down and so escaped Sumerian influence. After Eber's day the Sumerianized Chaldaeans and the Semites who escaped Sumerian influence part company. The land is divided, as we read in Gen. x 25; what that means appears to be that in a few generations the ancestors of the Israelites leave 'Ur of the Chaldees' altogether, and go West.

It is time now to drop fancy and come back to the main points here brought forward, which are: (1) There is no reason to think that the Table of Nations in Genesis x is not the work of a single compiler; the minor contradictions found in it are best explained as inevitable, in view of the real difficulty of equating foreign names and of a reasonable grouping of foreign nations. (2) The passage about early Babylonia is founded ultimately upon native Babylonian historical tradition, of which a fragment has now reached us in the Sumerian Dynastic List. (3) The 'Cush' of Gen. x 8 owes its pronunciation to a confusion with Cush (= Ethiopia); it does not signify the invading Kossites, but really means Kish, the town which Babylonian tradition regarded as the first seat of government, earlier than Erech. (4) The assignment of the earliest Babylonian civilization to a son of Ham implies a true knowledge that this earliest civilization was not Semitic.

F. C. BURKITT.

Digitized by Google

NOTES ON SOME HEBREW PASSAGES.

1 Kings xviii 21.

עַד־מָתַי אַתֶּם פֹּסְחִים עַל־שְׁתֵּי הַסְּעִפִּים

THIS passage is involved in some obscurity. The meaning of פֹּסְחִים can hardly be other than 'limp' or 'go lame'; but the sense attached to סְעִפִּים cannot be regarded as much better than guess-work. A.V., R.V. 'How long halt ye between two opinions?' adopt the rendering of the Great Bible and the Bishops' Bible, which is also found in Matthew's Bible with the variant 'Why'? for 'How long'? The rendering 'halt (i. e. walk hesitatingly) *between*' is of course illegitimate for פסחים על, which can only mean 'halt *upon*'. Coverdale, in rendering more correctly 'How long halte ye on both the sides?' depends on Luther, 'Wie lange hinket ihr auf beiden Seiten?' and this translation —whether by accident or design—preserves an ambiguity as to the meaning of סעפים (sides of a controversy or sides of the body). Wycliffe renders 'How long halt ye into two parties?' in accordance with Vulg. 'Usque quo claudicatis in duas partes?' The interpretation of סעפים as 'parties' or 'opinions' is also found in Targ. and Pesh., where it extends itself to a paraphrastic rendering of פסחים:—אימתי אתון פלגין לתרין פלגון, 'How long are ye divided into two divisions?' It depends, we may presume, upon the fact that there is a word סָעִיף meaning 'cleft' of a rock (Judg. xv 8, 11, Isa. ii 21, lvii 5), and another סָעִיף meaning 'branch' (Isa. xvii 6, xxvii 10; cf. Ezek. xxxi 6, 8) which is inferred to be so called as *divided* from the main trunk; and if, as some have thought, שְׂעִפִּים '(disquieting?) thoughts' (Job iv 13, xx 2; שַׂרְעַפִּים Ps. xciv 19, cxxxix 23) is connected, a possible deduction, in view of what follows ('if the Lord be God, &c.') is that the term denotes *divergent opinions* which tear the mind asunder. Yet, though the sense intended by the whole phrase (doubt as to which of two conclusions is correct) seems clear from the context, the method of expressing it by an incomplete metaphor—פסחים = 'limp', metaphorical; סעפים = 'opinions' or 'parties', literal—is surely very un-Hebraic. We should expect the metaphor to be completely carried out; and in this respect LXX shews a sound sense in its interpretation of סעפים as *a part of the legs*, 'the hams', Ἕως πότε ὑμεῖς χωλανεῖτε ἐπ' ἀμφοτέραις ταῖς ἰγνύαις; It may be doubted, however, whether the rendering of סעפים by ἰγνύαι can be philologically sustained, unless the idea is that of the two divisions into

Digitized by Google

which the lower part of the body is *cleft* (somewhat upon the analogy of Babylonian *purîdu* 'the fork' of the body). But at any rate the fem. שִׁתִּי is strongly in favour of the view that the obscure term really denotes *some part of the body which forms a pair.*

The suggestion has not, I believe, been put forward that סעפים may be identical with Babylonian *šêpê* (plural) or *šêpâ* (dual), 'feet'. The *ê* in *šêpu* would naturally indicate a medial guttural in a West Semitic equivalent; cf. with medial ע, *bêlu* = בַּעַל 'lord', *ṭêmu* = טַעַם 'taste, behaviour, &c.'; with medial ח, *rêmu* = רַחַם 'compassion', *ṭênu* = טָחַן 'to grind', *rêḳu* = רָחַק 'to be distant'. Bab. *š* = Heb. ס is seen in *šammu* = (סַם), plur. סַמִּים, *šipru* = סֵפֶר, *šênu* = סָאוֹן, *šaknu* = סָגָן, *šigaru* = סוּגַר—all or most of which terms in Hebrew are probably loan-words from Babylonian. The sense 'Why limp ye upon both feet?' seems to be exactly what we require. If סְעִפִּים = *šêpâ*, it is probable that the vocalization is incorrect; and the form may originally have been סַעֲפַיִם. It may perhaps be objected to this suggestion that we do not usually find synonyms employed to denote parts of the body; but at any rate we have מָתְנַיִם and חֲלָצַיִם, both 'loins', while יָדַיִם and כַּפַּיִם as in usage practical synonyms.

Psalm xxxii 9.

אַל־תִּהְיוּ כְּסוּס כְּפֶרֶד אֵין הָבִין
בְּמֶתֶג וָרֶסֶן עֶדְיוֹ לִבְלוֹם
בַּל קְרֹב אֵלֶיךָ

The difficulty of this passage is well known. I have no fresh suggestion to make as to the meaning of עֶדְיוֹ, which I must assume (in default of a better explanation) to mean 'youthful age' (cf. Ps. ciii 5, עֲדִיֵּךְ || נְעוּרַיְכִי). I now wish to point out that the clauses are certainly wrongly divided. The Psalm as a whole is not particularly well preserved, but we can have no difficulty in detecting that its original rhythm is that which we usually associate with the *ḳînā* (though it is by no means confined to dirges), viz. a scheme of 3 + 2 rhythmical beats. Reading בְּרֶסֶן for וָרֶסֶן, and יִקְרַב for קְרֹב, we may divide the verse as follows:—

אַל־תִּהְיוּ כְּסוּס כְּפֶרֶד
אֵין הָבִין בְּמֶתֶג
בְּרֶסֶן עֶדְיוֹ לִבְלוֹם
בַּל יִקְרַב אֵלֶיךָ

'Be not like to horse or mule
which understands not bridle:
With halter must his youth be curbed;
he will not come nigh thee.'

Digitized by Google

Thus we see that the reference is not to horses and mules as a whole, but to *unbroken* horses and mules. Those who have had any experience of bridling young half-broken horses, or of attempting to mount them when bridled, will recognize the justice of the statement 'he will not come nigh thee'.

Though I hit upon this division of the verse independently, I cannot claim priority in it. It goes back to Schnurrer (*Dissert. philol. crit.* 1790, p. 139), and is quoted from him by Rosenmüller.

Psalm xlv 7 *a*.

כִּסְאֲךָ אֱלֹהִים עוֹלָם וָעֶד

I see no reason why כסאך אלהים should not mean 'Thy throne is God', this standing for 'Thy throne is God's (throne)'. We have an exact parallel for such a construction in the Babylonian Creation-Epic iv 4, 6, where the gods, in praise of Marduk as their champion against Tiâmat, exclaim,

šimatka la šanan seḳarka (*ilu*) *Anu*

'Thy destiny is unequalled, thy command is Anu'.

Here 'thy command is Anu' clearly means 'thy command is Anu's (command)'.

Psalm lviii 9 *a*.

כְּמוֹ שַׁבְלוּל תָּמֶס יֵהָלֵךְ

It is needless to enlarge upon the difficulties of this passage—the ἅπ. λεγ. שבלול, supposed to mean 'snail' (borrowed in this sense in N. Heb., and in Jewish Aram. תִּבְלָלָא, but otherwise unsubstantiated), the curious תָּמֶס (from מסס?), and the forced sense demanded, 'goes into melting' or 'goes as a melting thing', i. e. 'melts as it goes'.

A trifling alteration of the consonants gives the reading כְּמוֹ שְׁבִלֶת מָסַס וְהָלַךְ 'Like a stream which trickles away and disappears'. This I take to be a marginal gloss upon *v.* 8 מֶאָסוּ כְּמוֹ־מַיִם יִתְהַלְּכוּ לָמוֹ Let them melt away like water that runneth apace'.

Job xxxviii 14.

תִּתְהַפֵּךְ כְּחֹמֶר חוֹתָם

וְיִתְיַצְּבוּ כְּמוֹ לְבוּשׁ

This passage occurs in a description of the phenomena produced on the earth by the sunrise. Its meaning has been well summarized by Dr Driver: 'As the clay takes shape under the seal, so the earth, formless in the darkness, receives shape and form in the light; and the

Digitized by Google

things upon it stand out each in its proper colour and relief, like a garment in folds'. It is hardly possible, however, to accept וַיִּתְיַצְּבוּ, R.V. 'And *all things* stand forth' being forced and cumbrous. We may emend וְתִתְיַצֵּב, which seems to be the reading presupposed by Vulg. 'et stabit'. The sense then is

'It is changed like day under the seal,
And stands forth like a garment'.

The purpose of this note is not merely to advocate this trifling emendation, but to call attention to an analogy which may well have been in the writer's mind. In the Babylonian Creation-Epic (iv 19 ff) the gods set a test of power to Marduk, the god of light and creator, by placing a garment before him :—

'"Speak with thy mouth; let the garment perish;
Once more command it, and let the garment be whole".
Then he spake with his mouth; the garment perished:
Once more he commanded, and the garment was created'.

If we are right in tracing a connexion between this passage and the simile employed in Job, the Biblical passage throws light upon the inner meaning of the Babylonian. It would seem to be a figure of the alternate obscuring and revealing of earth's surface at sunset and sunrise, produced by the movements of the god of light. That the author of Job was acquainted with the Creation-Epic (i 113 ff) is not obscurely hinted by his allusion to 'the helpers of Rahab' in ch. ix 13, i. e. the monstrous brood of Tiâmat which she produced to aid her in her conflict with the gods.

Ecclesiasticus iv 26 *b*.

Hebrew	וְאַל תַּעֲמוֹד לִפְנֵי שִׁבְלֶת
Greek	*καὶ μὴ βιάζου ῥοῦν ποταμοῦ*

What is the meaning of the obscure precept 'Stand not against a stream' in the midst of a context (*vv.* 20–28) which inculcates the right moral and mental attitude of the 'wise', especially in regard to speech? Since the temptation in human intercourse is to 'go with the stream', advice not to stand against it is surely peculiarly misplaced. The solution of the difficulty is so obvious that it may already have been made, though I find no allusion to it in Dr Oesterley's commentary (*Camb. Bib.*). The Syriac reads ܠܐ ܬܩܘܡ ܒܡܚܩܠ ܕܫܒܠܐ, which suggests that in place of שִׁבְלֶת we should read שִׁכְלוּת. Thus the sense intended is 'Stand not in the presence of folly', i. e. 'do not acquiesce in foolish talk and action' (for 'stand' in this sense cf. Ps. i 1). This suits the connexion with *v.* 27, אַל תַּצַּע לְנֶבֶל נַפְשֶׁךָ, *καὶ μὴ ὑποστρώσῃς σεαυτὸν ἀνθρώπῳ μωρῷ*. (סִכְלוּת) שִׁכְלוּת is a favourite word in Ecclesiastes.

Digitized by Google

Ecclesiasticus v 10.

הֱיֵה סָמוּךְ עַל דַּעְתֶּךָ

וְאֶחָד יְהִי דְבָרֶךָ

Here the Greek and Syriac offer a text identical with the Hebrew. 'Let thy speech be one' can only be explained as meaning 'Be consistent in speech'. The connexion with *vv.* 11–13 suggests, however, that the thought of the writer is that, while mental apprehension should be swift and sure, speech should be *considered and deliberate.* The simple correction of אַחַר for אֶחָד makes the couplet run—

'Be steadfast (i. e. well-assured) in thy understanding,
And afterward let thy speech be'.

The meaning is—'Do not speak till you are well-assured of what you have to say'.

C. F. BURNEY.

PSALM LXXXV 9.

THE recent discussion in this JOURNAL of the Hebrew text of the passage above referred to has reminded me that about half a century ago I sent to the late Professor Weir, of Glasgow, a conjectural emendation of the last clause of the verse, and that in some extracts from that scholar's note-books, published in the *Expositor* a few years back, I had the surprise of finding my conjecture recorded, with my name and address appended.

My proposal was to read וְאַל יְשָׁרֵי לֵב סֶלָה instead of וְאַל־יָשׁוּבוּ לְכִסְלָה. This was of course suggested by the rendering of the LXX, *καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐπιστρέφοντας πρὸς αὐτὸν καρδίαν.* It is evident that the Greek translator read לב; and if this reading be correct the acceptance of 'Selah' seems inevitable, in spite of the absence of *διάψαλμα* in the Greek; the LXX and the Masoretic text do not always agree with regard to the insertion of this word. It appears to me that one strong argument in favour of the originality of the reading לב is that in the older Hebrew alphabet there is very little resemblance between the letters ב and כ, which in the later square character are almost indistinguishable. As the MS which the Greek translator had before him was presumably written in the

Digitized by Google

ancient script, it is not likely that he can have misread a כ as a ב, while the converse misreading on the part of a later scribe would be quite natural.

On the other hand, the Greek translator appears to have read ישובו as the received Hebrew text does; and as it did not occur to him to suppose that ואל had here a vocalization different from that which it has in the two preceding clauses, he had to extract the most plausible sense he could out of an ungrammatical passage. I am bound to confess that the palaeographical consideration which I have adduced in support of the reading לב is a somewhat serious difficulty in the way of my proposal to correct ישובו into ישרי; for although the ב and the ר are sufficiently similar in the ancient Hebrew character, the י and the ו are about as unlike as any two letters could be.

Whether my suggestion has any value I must leave it to the judgement of better Hebraists than myself to determine. I am quite aware that it is not free from difficulty. I have already referred to the palaeographical objection; and it may perhaps be doubted whether so common an expression as ישרי לב would be likely to be corrupted at all, even in copying from a badly written MS. Then I have felt from the first that the verse, as I proposed to read it, seems to conclude rather feebly and unrhythmically; but I doubt whether any other conjecture that has been offered is in this respect much better. The traditional text (in which many eminent scholars have found no stumbling-block) gives excellent sense and rhythm; but the sentence comes in rather abruptly, and I find it difficult to persuade myself that ואל has not the same pronunciation and meaning in the three successive clauses. The case for לב סלה, too, appears to me to be strong. While I do not feel great confidence in the correctness of my own conjecture, I cannot help thinking that the received text requires emendation of some kind.

HENRY BRADLEY.

Digitized by Google

'HIMSELF HE CANNOT SAVE.'

(Ps. xxii 29 and Mark xv 31.)

THE last clause in Ps. xxii 29 (וְנַפְשׁוֹ לֹא חִיָּה 'Even he that cannot keep his soul alive', R.V.) presents not a few difficulties as regards text, and context, and exegesis. I shall endeavour to bring forward new evidence that the clause is a gloss, to elucidate its context, to explain its meaning and *raison d'être*, and finally to shew the use which has been made of it in an important passage in the Gospels.

Most commentators, modern and other, retain the clause in the text and attach it to the preceding line as in the M.T., R.V., A.V., &c. Briggs, e.g. in the *International Critical Commentary* renders 'Then shall bow down all about to descend to the dust *and he who doth not keep himself alive*', and comments 'The versions and interpreters have many suggestions here, but none are so simple as the Hebrew which gives an explanatory complement to the previous clause'.

What seems to have escaped notice hitherto is the fact that what immediately precedes the clause as we have it now is a tretrameter quadruplet, each line of which ends with such markedly similar formation as to exclude the possibility of these further words having ever been part of the original stanza.

The stanza is in *vv.* 28–30 which in Kittel's edition is set forth as follows:—

28 יזכרו וישבו אל־יהוה כל־אפסי ארץ
וישתחוו לפניך כל־משפחות גוים
29 כי ליהוה המלוכה ומשל בגוים
30 אכלי וישתחוו כל־דשני־ארץ לפניו יכרעו כל־יורדי עפר ונפשו לא חיה:

The key to the stanza lies in the four endings:—

כל אפסי ארץ
כל משפחות גוים
כל דשני ארץ
כל יורדי עפר

By the excision from the beginning of *v.* 28 of יזכרו which is actually marked off in the M.T. in a way which not infrequently indicates an addition to the original text; by the omission of *v.* 29, a tetrameter line

Digitized by Google

which has no mate; and by some slight minor alterations as suggested by Kittel, &c., the original stanza may readily be restored thus:—

ישבו אל־יהוה כל־אפסי ארץ
ישתחוו לפניו כל־משפחות גוים
אך לו ישתחוו כל־דשני ארץ
לפניו יכרעו כל־יורדי עפר

Let there return unto Jahveh all the ends of the earth
Let there worship before Him all the kindreds of the nations
Even Him let there worship all the fat ones of the earth
Before Him let there bow all those who go down to the dust.

When the stanza is thus set out it is obvious that the clause ונפשו לא חיה can have had no place in it originally, and that it certainly did not constitute the closing words of the last line.

It is more difficult to rule out definitely the suggestion made by certain commentators (e.g. Cheyne and Kirkpatrick) that the clause under discussion should be attached as part of the text to what follows. Cheyne's rendering is 'And as for him that kept not his soul alive His seed shall be reckoned unto Jehovah'. Kirkpatrick's is very similar 'And as for him that kept not his soul alive His seed shall serve him'. All one can say is (1) that the Hebrew is extraordinarily awkward (if this is really the meaning it was originally intended to convey), and (2) that in these and similar renderings and arrangements any regular metrical form suggested for *vv.* 31 and 32 breaks down if this clause is inserted at the beginning as part of the text.

It may not be out of place here to venture to add yet one other to the many attempts at restoring these two verses to their original form. There are so many conjectures possible that one can only claim probability for this new one and point out that at least it has the merit of a consistent metre and parallelism. The M. T. runs as follows:—

31 זֶרַע יַעַבְדֶנּוּ יְסֻפַּר לַאדֹנָי לַדּוֹר׃
32 יבאו וְיַגִּידוּ צִדְקָתוֹ לְעַם נוֹלָד כִּי עָשָׂה׃

The only major emendations required are the substitution of יַעֲקֹב for יַעַבְדֶנּוּ, and the addition of יהוה at the end, in agreement with the LXX. Minor alterations are in the main also supported by the LXX.

The passage now resolves itself into a tetrameter triplet as follows:—

זֶרַע יַעֲקֹב יְסַפֵּר לַאדֹנָי
דּוֹר יָבֹא וְיַגִּיד צִדְקָתוֹ
עַם נוֹלָד כִּי עָשָׂה יהוה׃

Let the seed of Jacob tell of the Lord
Let (this) generation come and declare his righteousness
(Let) a people yet unborn (declare) that Jahveh hath taken action.

Digitized by Google

Again it is obvious that there is no place for ונפשו לא חיה at the commencement of this stanza, either as a first line or as part of the first line of the triplet.

The preceding quadruplet and this triplet, though they are probably not directly connected with one another, would both seem to be ascriptions of praise to Jahveh called forth by the thought expressed in *v.* 25—'For he hath not despised, he hath not scorned the affliction of the afflicted one, Nor hath he hid his face from him, But when he cried unto him he heard.' And this verse would seem to be the source or subject of almost all the sections which go to make up the second part (viz. *vv.* 23–32) of the Psalm.

The foregoing conclusions exclude the clause under discussion from a place in the original text. The question then arises as to its significance and *raison d'être* as a gloss. Such critics as do regard it as a gloss (e.g. Wellhausen and C. F. Kent), though without recognizing the reasons just set forth, take it to be a gloss on the preceding words. Wellhausen renders it 'and he who hath not preserved his life'; Kent somewhat similarly 'even he who doth not keep his soul alive'. But ונפשו לא חיה is not the natural way of saying either of these things. It is only the supposed necessity for making their sense fit the preceding context—a necessity which holds good only if the words are retained in the text—which compels the translator to give them some such meaning.

Apart from this necessity, apart that is from the immediate context, a perfectly simple and literal translation of the clause is this 'And (*or* but) himself he did not save'. It is not necessary to point out that נפש frequently, and in later Hebrew normally, means 'self'. It is placed first in the clause for the sake of emphasis or contrast. חיה in the Pi'el means 'save alive' or more simply 'save'. It is rendered as σώζειν by the LXX, e.g. Ps. xxix 4 (M. T. xxx 4).

I would suggest then that the clause is a misplaced gloss, referring primarily not to its context, but in general to the original Psalm (*vv.* 1–21), to which all the rest is a later, though most valuable, addition.

It is in fact a comment on the fate of the Sufferer as there depicted, which becomes deeply interesting and significant, if one is right in conjecturing that it was made in the light of Isaiah liii, or at any rate that it arose out of the same circle of ideas.

The implication of the comment seems to have been as follows. In one sense it was true that Jahveh had triumphantly vindicated (צדקתו in *v.* 32 may possibly be a reference to this vindication) His suffering servant, as suggested implicitly and explicitly in *vv.* 23–32. The suffering of that servant might indeed, in some mysterious way, be

Digitized by Google

for the redemption of his fellows as suggested in Isaiah liii and even of the world (*vv.* 28–30). The sufferer, in his suffering, might have been God's instrument for the saving of others, *but* it was at the price of his own martyrdom, *himself he did not save.*

One is tempted to conjecture that the form of the Gloss originally ran thus אֲחֵרִים חִיָּה וְנַפְשׁוֹ לֹא חִיָּה but that only the second half became incorporated in the text.

However that may be, it seems clear that it was at least the words נפשו לא חיה (Himself he did not save) which the writer of the Crucifixion narrative (Mark xv 31 and Matt. xxvii 42) was echoing when he summed up the mocking comments of the chief priests in the words 'Others he saved, *himself he cannot save*' (ἄλλους ἔσωσεν, ἑαυτὸν οὐ δύναται σῶσαι).

There can be no question but that that most sacred story of the Crucifixion was told in language closely reminiscent of Ps. xxii, the narrator directly borrowing or slightly adapting such clauses and sentences in the Psalm as were appropriate. We may now claim that this is another phrase which must be added to the list of those thus honoured.

It is to be noticed that the quotation is not from the LXX, which reads ἡ ψυχή μου αὐτῷ ζῇ (נַפְשִׁי לוֹ חָיָה), but directly from the Hebrew (or from some version which almost literally followed the Hebrew which, however, no extant version does).

Perhaps it may be of interest to close the discussion of this phrase by quoting part of Kimchi's comment on it, or rather on the Christian usage of it, which shews clearly that the Christian commentators, whose work he knew, applied it to Christ in much the same way as was done by the Gospel writer, though it is not apparent that they equated the N. T. and O. T. phrases. Kimchi himself, curiously enough, on the other hand, unconsciously echoes the sentiments of the chief priests in the gospel narrative. His comment runs thus: 'And the Uncircumcised interpret this Psalm of Jesus. They say that he is a god "before whom bow down all who go down to the dust", though it was not his good pleasure to save himself (לחיות נפשו). But that specifically for this he came down to take flesh, that they might slay the flesh and that thereby "all who go down" to Gehenna might be saved. Wherefore it was not his good pleasure to save himself (לחיות את נפשו) but he delivered himself into the hand of his slayers . . . . . They say that it was not his good pleasure to save himself (לחיות את נפשו) nor to rescue himself from the hand of his slayers. If so, why then did he cry אלי אלי למה עזבתני וג׳, although it was not his good pleasure to be saved?'

ROBERT A. AYTOUN.

Digitized by Google

MATERIAL FOR THE INTERPRETATION OF THE *ASCENSIO ISAIAE.*

i. It is natural to credit the deeds of the *dramatis personae* of this writing with the singular significance that if they had not been written there would have been no apocryphon. But the names of those who act have a more singular significance, for without them there would have been no dramatic idea. This also might seem to be an expected feature in a work with any dramatic quality; and especially so if it should be dealing with historic folk. Their names are their dramas in miniature. And they act them anew whenever they rise in the memory. The names in the *Ascensio* are of this sort. They are big names in the History of Religions. And herein they surpass the names which evoke the usual historic drama—they contain drama within drama, and can act their origins and developement and the hour in which they are embodied in literary form; whilst the other names set up their stage as if history began and ended with their play. The discovery of these things is asked for by the whole book.

A. Balkira, v 3:

Et Balkira [et] Mekêmbêkûs steterunt ante Isaiam [ridentes] subridentes. (Dillmann.[1])

And Balchîrâ, with the aid of Mechêmbêchûs, stood up before Isaiah, [laughing] deriding. (Charles.[2])

Et Balkirâ dans Mekêmbêkous se tenait devant Isaïe en riant [souriant]. (Tisserant.[3])

Thus the three chief translations render an important passage. Other mention of Balkira is in i 8, ii 5, 12, 16 (?), iii 1, 3, 6, 12, v 2, 3, 5, 8, 12, 15. The name has not been kept in one spelling. The three versions of the book would account for the differences. The variants are these: (1) in the Greek version, Βελιχειάρ, Βελχειρά, Βεχειρά, Βεχειράς (iii 10 so-called *Gk. Legend*), Μελχειρά; (2) in the Latin version, Bechira; (3) in the Ethiopic version, Abkîrâ, Balkîrâ, Belakîrâ, Belkîrâ, Ibkîrâ, Malkîrâ, Melkîrâ, Milkîrâs. Canon Charles[4] has made these many forms into three; since the Ethiopic Ab-, Ib-, and M- forms are variants of the Βελχειρά and Βεχειρά Greek forms, and the Malkîrâ of i 8 is to be retained as a surname of Sammaël. Professor François

[1] *Ascensio Isaiae*, 1877, 21.
[2] *The Ascension of Isaiah*, 1900, 40.
[3] *Ascension d'Isaïe*, 1909, 129.
[4] Charles, 13 and 6.

Digitized by Google

Martin[1] has made these three forms into two by shewing that Malkîrâ is not a surname of Sammaël but is a separate name, and that it is only another M- variant for Balkîrâ. There is then agreement upon certain primary forms of this name: Βελχειρά, Βεχειρά; Bechira; Belkîrâ.

One meaning of the name has been suggested. Gesenius[2] explained it by turning it into Hebrew, and said that Balkira is equivalent to בַּלְקִרְיָה, that is 'lord of the world'. 'Elle est très improbable', remarks Tisserant. Canon Charles quotes it, and Dillmann queries it.[3] These two ancient forms of the name and this explanation make up a first problem in the *Ascensio*.

It is said by all excellent commentators that a literary influence in the writing of the Isaian apocryphon is to be found in the Greek Books of the Kings. The context to the appearance of the name Balkira in ii 12 is a very clear instance. There Balkira is said to be of the family of a certain Zedekiah,[4] the son of Chenaan, who, in the days of Ahab, was the chief of the prophets of Baal; and it goes on to state how Ahaziah was prophesied against by Elijah. It is not to be questioned that this context is from 1 Kings xxii and 2 Kings i. It is equally sure that the motive for using these chapters is in their Baal lore. Many of the actors in the *Ascensio* either come from or are related with his worship ritual. The first part of Balkira's name, Βε- or Βελ-, Bal- or Bel-, is the god's name. Is not the second part also his name? The tradition of this second part seems steady in the three versions of the book: -χειαρ, -χειρα; -chira; -kira. They have revoiced a very little an ancient plural form of κέρας, *a horn*, whose nominative plural was κέραα or κέρα.[5] Thus the whole name would mean *Baal of* or *with the horns*. What evidence can the Greek Kings lend in support of this view?

The concern of 1 Kings xxii, and its double 2 Chronicles xviii, is with the war between Israel and Syria. Another war is also being waged, and its protagonists are Micaiah and Zedekiah. The first would have the king trust in the spiritual might of his God; but the second made the substantial insignia of his God (καὶ ἐποίησεν ἑαυτῷ Σεδεκίας υἱὸς Χαανὰ κέρατα σιδηρᾶ), and said, 'with these shalt thou push the Syrians, until they be consumed'.[6] Biblical exegetes have failed to see the meaning of these 'horns of iron'. The most recent commentary on the Chronicles[7] illustrates this point. Its authors interpret them as being (1) an emblem

[1] Martin *Orient. Literatur-Zeitung*, 1908, 220 ff; also Tisserant, 89.
[2] Gesenius *Studien und Kritiken*, 1830, 244 ff.
[3] Tisserant, 97; Charles, 14; Dillmann, 66.
[4] Charles, *ad loc.*
[5] Cf. e. g. *Iliad* iv 109, *Od.* xix 211.
[6] 1 Kings xxii 11 and 2 Chron. xviii 10.
[7] Curtis and Madson *Commentary on the Books of the Chronicles*, 1910, 397.

Digitized by Google

of offensive power, citing Deut. xxxiii 17, Am. vi 13, Jer. xlviii 25, Dan. viii 3 ff; or (2) a symbol of captivity, citing Jer. xxvii 2, xxviii 10 ff. Not one of these instances is a parallel to the deed of the prophet of Baal. Each is from the familiar vocabulary of Hebrew poetry. But when the wearer of the 'horns of iron' came into the battle, *Baal of the horns* had come upon the field; and the Syrians would be overcome. Then these horns put the wearer into theophoric condition. He became the god with the horns. Two values have arisen for the name Balkira besides its meaning. It is a divine name and a theophoric name and state; other evidence must now be brought forward to confirm these two values. (1) *As a divine name* it is found with the god who displaced Baal. Zeus came into Baal's estate, or as Olympiodorus says, Βῆλον, Δία.[1] When a Sidonian woman set up an altar to Zeus in Rome she inscribed on it Διὶ κεραννίῳ.[2] Many generations before Pindar worshipped his god with the title κεραΐος.[3] When this Baal-Zeus went into Egypt he bore the other name of κεραιοῖο or of κεραοῦ[4] or of *Cornigeri*.[5] This evidence can be given at greater length; but all that is necessary here is in the above examples. (2) *As a theophoric name or condition* it is found with men who assumed the god's insignia. For instance, on the gold staters and silver tetradrachms of the founder of the Seleucid kingdom, Seleucus is represented without helmet and with the bull's horn from the side of his head. On other coins he is helmeted, and his helmet has the horn and ear of the bull.[6] Moreover, Seleucus bore the name κεραῦχος.[7] The coins of Demetrius Poliorcetes, who overcame Ptolemy at Salamis, shew him with the bull's horn from his forehead.[8] Lysimachus of Thrace is horned; and on Macedonian coins so also is Alexander the Great.[9] The divine and theophoric values of the name are sufficiently shewn. Is Balkira used in the *Ascensio* in these two ways?

There is evidence for the double use of the name in the apocryphon. 1. *As a divine name*: v 3 'Et Balkîrâ *dans* Mekêmbêkous', to quote a representative translation again. The second name, for it will be shewn to be such, is that of a human agent who is being moved, by a spiritual power within him named Balkira, to act against Isaiah. This explains the use of the name Balkira in v 2, 5, 8, 12, 15—that is to say, the divine inspirer is mentioned as the chief actor in them, and in v 3 is said through whom he acts. i 8 'Et Balkîrâ servira Sammaël dans Manassé', as Professor Martin rightly renders the sentence, is in line with the use

[1] Olympiodorus Alex. *Frag. in Ieremiae Epistolam* 40 (*P. G.* xciii 777 A).
[2] Gauckler *Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comm. di Roma*, 1907, 71.
[3] Pausanias ix 16. 1.
[4] Kaibel *Epigr. Gr.* 833 and 835.
[5] *C. I. L.* viii 9018.
[6] Hill *Historical Greek Coins*, 1906, 118–119.
[7] *Anth. Pal.* vi 10. 3; see also Cook *Zeus*, 1914, i 511. 1.
[8] Hill, 120.
[9] Hill, 121 and 188.

Digitized by Google

of the name in chapter five. Further, ii 5, after that the passage has been emended later in this study, will be seen to be another illustration of this use. 2. *As a theophoric name*: the third chapter offers a simple contrast between Balkîrâ, a priestly servant, and Beliar, a divine lord. iii 1. Βεχειρά, Bechira; 3. οὗτος, Bechira; 6. Μελχειρά, Bechira; 11. Βελίαρ, Beliar; 12. Βελχειρά, Bechira; 13. Βελίαρ, Beliar. ii 12 'There was in Samaria, a man of the name of Balkira', &c.—so the Ethiopic can be translated, but the Greek has a laeuna: καὶ . . . ἐν Σαμαρίᾳ ᾧ ⟨ὄ⟩νομα ἦν Βελιχειὰρ κτλ. The filling of that gap will not be found to deny that here the name has theophoric value. These matters will harmonize with others which have been discovered, and their full help will be seen for the understanding of the *Ascensio*.

B. Matanbukus, ii 4:

Et convertit cor suum Manasse, ut serviret Beriali, nam angelus (princeps) iniquitatis dominatus huius mundi est Berial, cuius nomen Matanbukus. (Dillmann, 6-7.)

And Manasseh turned aside his heart to serve Beliar; for the angel of lawlessness, who is the ruler of this world, is Beliar, whose name is Matanbûchûs. (Charles, 10-11.)

Et Manassé tourna son cœur vers le service de Beliar, — car l'ange d'iniquité, qui est la puissance de ce monde, est Beliar — dont le nom est Matanboukous.

The other explicit mention of this name is in v 3, with the form there of Mekembekous. A notable variant in spelling is Matanbakas, ii 4 (B). There is as yet neither Greek nor Latin for this name. Previous attempts on this name by Lücke and Beer, who have Hebraized it, מַתָּן בּוּקָא—that is 'useless gift' or 'gift of nothingness' in their renderings—have been surpassed by the fresh suggestions of Professor Burkitt. This scholar has conjectured that in the two forms of this name there are Ethiopic equivalents for διὰ μετεμψυχώσεως in *ba-mekembekus* and for μετέμψυχος in Matanbukus.[1] But are not these two forms one name? The form Mekembêkûs is due to the Ethiopic scribe who wrote a *kaf* for a *ṭait* as it is in Matanbûkûs; or who, in other words, wrote a character like an inverted upsilon instead of one like an inverted omega, one arching stroke of the pen instead of two. And is not the name a priestly name? For its first part Matan- there is the Hebrew analogue in מַתָּן, the name of a priest of Baal in 2 Kings xviii 2, 2 Chron. xxiii 17, Jer. xxxviii 1. Better still, since it is fuller and nearer, is the Phoenician priestly name מתנבעל.[2] The first part of the name is Phoenician; and so is its second part -bakas,

[1] Burkitt *Jewish and Christian Apocalypses*, 1913, 74; cf. James *The Camb. Rev.*, 1918, 438.

[2] Davis *Phoenician Inscriptions in the British Museum*, 1863, e. g. No. 56 (Pl. xix), No. 63 (Pl. xxii).

Digitized by Google

which is the form preserved by B. This confidence is possible through the lexicographer Hesychius, who has an entry that reads *βάκχον· κλανθμόν. φοίνικες.* An eminent archaeologist doubts the meaning given by Hesychius, and considers it to be not more than an etymological guess. He goes on to equate it with the Egyptian word *baḳa*, 'a bull'.[1] Hesychius, however, contributes a definite sanction to the present discussion that the second part of the name Matanbakas or Matanbakûs is Phoenician, whether it means 'lamentation' or 'bull'; and that if the union of Phoenician and Egyptian equivalents is correct, then the meaning 'bull' would be a natural component in a priest's name whose god was 'Baal of the horns', since those horns were from the bull. The discovery of a Phoenician element in the apocryphon is also of moment for its interpretation.

This conclusion on the name throws light on two passages. The lacuna in the Greek of ii 12 has been referred to. It can now be filled in, *καὶ . . . ἐν Σαμαρίᾳ ᾧ ⟨ὄ⟩νομα ἦν Βελιχειὰρ κτλ.*, with the Greek transliteration of the Phoenician name. Thus there would be in ii 12 the nominal indices of the psychical conditions of v 3. The priest's names are from and by the god who works in and through him.

The second passage is ii 4, which was the starting-point of this examination of the priest's name. Now, if this be the priest's name, then the name cannot belong to Beliar as the Ethiopic appears to make out. There has been dropped a tiny phrase which was either '*by that one*' or '*by him*'. ii 4 should then read, 'And Manasseh turned his heart to serve Beliar,—for the prince of iniquity, who is the ruler of this world, is Beliar—⟨by him or by that one⟩ whose name is Matanbakûs, and he joyed in Jerusalem because of Manasseh, and strengthened him in the apostatizing and in the iniquity which were disseminated in Jerusalem'. Again, it is to be noticed that this is exactly how the name of the priest stands to the Balkira hypostasis of the god Baal. It will be seen later how Beliar stands in the scheme of the *Ascensio*.

C. Sadôk (*Σαδώκ*), Sadôkias (*Σεδεκίας*), ii 12:

(the passage continues after the quotation made from it above) e cognatis Saduciae, filii Chanaan, pseudoprophetae, cuius domicilium in Bethlehem erat. Et Ezechias filius Chanani, qui frater patris eius (erat), diebus Ahabi, regis Israelis, magister erat quadringentorum prophetarum Baalis, isque in maxillam percussit et obiurgavit Michiam filium Amidae prophetam. 13 Et is obiurgatus est ab Ahabo, et in carcerem coniectus est Michias cum Sadocia propheta erant cum Ochozia filius Almêrêm Balaâv. (Dillmann, 9.)

Charles (13–14) has, ii 12: Zedekiah; Chenaan; †Hezekiah†; 13: Zedekiah; Ahaziah the son of Ahab, king in Samaria.

Tisserant (98–99) ii 12: Sedecias; 13: Sedecias

[1] Cook, i 438; cf. Budge *The Gods of the Egyptians*, 1904, ii 352.

Digitized by Google

The Baal priest with the theophoric name, Balkira, is said to be of the family of him who made the 'horns of iron'. The writer of the *Ascensio* is at this place under some influence from 1 Kings xxii and 2 Kings i. Attention to this fact has been drawn already. For reasons which will be shewn in their place, but which here may be summarized by the fact that the name Sadôk (Σαδώκ) occurs elsewhere in the book, it is worthy of remark that the Ethiopic manuscripts preserve the name in ii 13 as Sadôkias. Then the problem presented in this part of the text is not so much how the writer used the Kings source, but why it was used. Before entering upon that question some other textual difficulties must be faced. The Ethiopic version apparently puts the prophet of God, Micaiah, to jail with the prophet of Baal, Sadôkias, and at the bidding of Sadôkias himself through Ahab. That this could not have been the original text is outside argument. The Greek version, as edited by Grenfell and Hunt, reads: ii 13 *καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ ὑβρ(ίσ)θῃ ὑπὸ Ἀχαὰβ καὶ ἐβλήθη Μιχαίας εἰς φυλακήν. ⌜καὶ ἦν⌝ μ(ε)τὰ Σεδεκίου τοῦ ψευδοπροφήτο(υ) ὄντος· ἦσαν μετὰ Ὀχοζείου υἱοῦ Ἀλλὰ(μ) ἐν Σεμωμα . . .* That the full stop should come after the phrase *εἰς φυλακήν* is certain. But what of the sentence that follows? It has been rendered '(And he was) with Zedekiah the prophet: they were with Ahaziah the son of Ahab, king of Samaria'.[1] (Charles, 15). That is to say, this rendering follows the punctuation of the Greek version, and translates according to the Ethiopic version except in the case of the phrase ⌜*καὶ ἦν*⌝. Moreover, it seems to place two orthodox prophets in the company of Ahaziah, whose unorthodoxy is the subject of 2 Kings i. The Greek evidently makes the religious distinction, though the phrase *τοῦ ψευδοπροφήτο(υ) ὄντος·* does not make the meaning clear. The three men in the Greek do not make congenial company. But the Greek manuscript has this reading *ψευδοπροφητο οντες*. Did not then the original have a sentence here with the plural participle, 'false prophesying', as its determining verb? And its sense would have run, 'And with Sadôkias false prophesying were Ochozias son of Alam and Balkira'. The Greek of ii 13 does not serve for this last restitution. Both the Greek and the Ethiopic of ii 16, where is Βεχειρά or Abkîrâ or Ibkîrâ, do serve that end. And it is Balkira which might replace Iyâllerîâs in ii 15[2]; since it is some relative of Sadôkias who is demanded in the

[1] For Charles's suggested resolution of this name, p. 87. 1; Tisserant renders ii 13: 'avec le prophète Sédécias; ils furent avec Ochozias, fils d'Alamêrêm Balalâaw'. . . . Cf. Greek ii 15 Αλάμ and Latin ii 15 Achab.

[2] The conjecture has been made that this name is a corruption of Ἐλιέζερ, and because of the entries in the *Paschal Chronicle*: *ἦσαν ψ.υδοπροφῆται Ἐζεκίας καὶ Ἐλιέζερ καὶ ἄλλοι υ'*, and *ψευδοπροφῆται Σεδεκίας, Ἐλιέζερ καὶ ἄλλοι τετρα·ύσιοι* (*P. G.* xcii 264 D, 268 B). This is due to Dr Beer.

Digitized by Google

text from ii 12 onwards, and by the immediate context of ii 15–16,[1] as well as by the opening and progress of chapter iii. Another reason for this restitution perhaps comes from the Latin version: ii 15 'cum Ochodiam filium Ahab, qui fuerat doctor eorum Gamarias de monte Efrem'. Gamarias[2] is as far from Iyâlleriâs as is Balkira, that is if it is taken as a personal name. But let it be thought to be a geographical name brought into proper conjunction with mount Efrem by the Latin scribe, then there is some reason for its appearance in his text. Has he not a correct sense of *Samarian* geography? And that is the country of Balkira. Gamarias, from the palaeographical point of view, is an easy corruption of Samaria.

The reason why the writer of the *Ascensio* uses at this place the narrative of 1 Kings xxii involves the discussion of the shorter form of the name of Sadôkias, namely Sadôk (Σαδώκ). On this matter a piece from the Greek version is most instructive. It is ii 5 ἐν χερσὶ Μανασσῆ καὶ ἐν χερσὶν τοῦ Τουβὶ τοῦ Χανανίτου ταὶ ἐν χερσὶν Ἰωνὰν τοῦ Ναθὼθ καὶ ἐν χερσὶν Σαδὼκ τοῦ ἐπὶ τῶν πραγματειῶν. This seeming string of names is baffling. The French scholar's comment is more than just when he says, 'mais aucun d'eux ne peut être identifié avec celui de l'*Ascension*. Sadôk est également inconnu à l'histoire biblique de Manassé'.[3] As he appears, Sadôk 'has some rough-cast about him, to signify wall'. The others, with the exception of Manasseh, have been treated in the same manner. The Phoenician element in the *Ascensio*, towards which attention has been drawn above, can strip the names of scribal artifices. For the sake of ease in exposition, let the Greek passage be emended as if already the presence of that element was recognized. It might read tentatively after this fashion: ἐν χερσὶ Μανασσῆ [καὶ ἐν χερσὶν] τοῦτ' (ἔστι?) τοῦ Βιλχειρά,[a] καὶ τοῦ Χανανί[b][του], καὶ [ἐν χερσὶν Ἰωνὰν] τοῦ [Να]θώθ,[c] καὶ [ἐν χερσὶν] Σαδὼκ[d] τοῦ ἐπὶ τῶν πραγματειῶν (?)[e]. The short sentence, perhaps, should be lightened of the phrase that is repeated four times within its length. The suggested alterations have these foundations:

(*a*) The Ethiopic text preserves the name Balkira. The forms Milkiras and Ibkira are analogues to the faulty Greek form Βιλχειρά.

(*b*) Χανανί (ii 12); compare 1 Kings xxii 11, 2 Chron. xviii 10 Χαανά, Χανανά. Eupolemus[4] yields the foundation of the Phoenician element in the apocryphon, where he says that the Baal who was

[1] Βεχειρά, Abkîrâ, Ibkirâ (ii 16) is usually treated as an 'intrusion' here that is to be extruded. It could have dropped in transcription but one line down.

[2] Tisserant, 100, notes that there is a name Gamariah in Jer. xxix 3, xxxvi 12, and he remarks: 'aucun ne peut être mis en relation avec Ochozias'.

[3] Tisserant, 93.

[4] Eusebius *Praep. Evang.* ix 17 (*P. G.* xxi 709 A).

Digitized by Google

Kronos was the first of the gods, and proceeds: ἐκ τούτου δὲ γενέσθαι Βῆλον, καὶ Χαναὰν τοῦτον δὲ τὸν Χαναὰν γεννῆσαι τὸν πατέρα τῶν Φοινίκων. Further, this statement shews reason why a Baal name and Chanaan should come together, in that they are two divine brothers. It also explains that the Sadôkias mentioned in the Kings passages, and who appears in the text of the *Ascensio*, not only made the theophoric 'horns of iron' but that his right to do so was in the fact of his being directly descended from or having been incorporated into the primal Phoenician god. He bore the name and the powers of his god. These facts merge into the next set of new considerations.

(*c*) τοῦ Ναθώθ or τοῦ Θώθ. The extant Greek Ἰωνὰν τοῦ Ναθώθ has become possessed of a John through a dittographic syllable, -νου. Delete the τοῦ, which is artificial, and the result is ἀναθωθ, which is at least something of a divine name. The prefixed Ἰω- may be treated like the τοῦ as being artificial. Now Ἀναθωθ represents a later Syrian goddess's name, which when she went into Egypt became *Anthat* or *Annuthat*.[1] But her name is only a natural extension of an earlier divine name. That name will bring into view again the ancient Phoenician name. Sanchoniatho[2] has left it on record that from Misor descended the divine being ὃν Αἰγύπτιοι μὲν Θωώθ, Ἀλεξανδρεῖς δὲ Θωύθ, Ἕλληνες δὲ Ἑρμῆν ἐκάλεσαν. Thus it is suggested that in the original text of the *Ascensio*, and at this place, there was read τοῦ Θωώθ or Θωύθ. What Misor does here will be seen when the name Sadôk is examined. Two reasons for the intrusive syllable may be suggested: either the scribe thought it to be more biblical, for in Neh. iii 27 (A), 1 Chron. vi 66 (A) it is a family name, and a place name in Jos. xxi 18; or the Syrian goddess's name may have come quite early into the text through the use of the apocryphon in Syria.

(*d*) Σαδώκ: the citation just made from Sanchoniatho can now be completed. He continues[3] ἐκ δὲ τοῦ Συδύκ, Διόσκουροι ἢ Κάβειροι ἢ Κορύβαντες ἢ Σαμοθρᾷκες; or in another place[4] οἱ ἑπτὰ Συδὲκ παῖδες Κάβηροι. The name occurs again as Συδύκῳ.[5] Damascius, however, preserves the form Σάδυκος.[6] Thus the name is in exact line with *Ascensio* and Greek Old Testament forms—for the former, compare the Papyri Σαδδούκ; and for the latter, compare the Lucianic readings in the Kings, or the Old Latin *Saddoc* (Vind.), *Sadduc* (Lucca) in 2 Kings

[1] Budge, ii 277.
[2] Eusebius *P. E.* i 9 (*P. G.* xxi 72 D), i 10 (xxi 80 B).
[3] Eusebius *P. E.* i 10 (*P. G.* xxi 80 B).
[4] Eusebius *P. E.* i 10 (*P. G.* xxi 84 D).
[5] Eusebius *P. E.* i 10 (*P. G.* xxi 81 C).
[6] *Ap. Photium*, ed. Bekker, 352 (Gesenius *Scripturae Linguaque Phoeniciae*, 1837, 413).

Digitized by Google

xv 33.[1] Misor and Sadôk are twins in Phoenician religion. The posterity of the first has made the foregoing emendation, the posterity of the second will make that to follow.

(*e*) τοῦ ἐπὶ τῶν πραγματειῶν is a designation lacking the power to designate. The Ethiopic translation is as nerveless. Let Sadôk be a divine being, and the meaningless quality of the phrase is in sharper relief. Of what, or of whom, was Sadôk the chief? The ancient Phoenician tradition which has been drawn upon can answer this question. From the quotations in the previous section it can be seen that he is the ancestor of the Κάβειροι or Κορύβαντες. In the document whence this information comes is the further item καὶ Καβήροις Ἀγρόταις[2]; that is they are husbandmen. Just a little before this Sanchoniatho tells how a god held in the highest veneration is Ἀγρότης, from whom the ἀγρόται are derived.[3] Then this two-sided evidence concerns the religious and social origins of the Phoenicians. From the two sides a simple and distinctive emendation is pressed upon the text of the *Ascensio*—that *it should read, instead of* πραγματειῶν, *the genitive plural of* Ἀγρόταις *or* ἀγρόται. Theodoret knew something of the religious equation, made a few lines above, when he says concerning the prophets of whom Sadôkias son of Chanaan was leader: οἱ ψευδοπροφῆται ὑπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ πνεύματος ἐνεργούμενοι τοῖς Κορυβαντιῶσιν ἐοίκασι.[4] And Augustine was in a position to have learnt much on the primitive social equation, as this statement shews: 'Unde interrogati rustici nostri quid sint, Punice respondentes Chanani, corrupta scilicet, sicut in talibus solet, una littera, quid aliud respondent quam Chananaei?'[5] The point, however, is that Sadôk is the chief of the Kabeiroi, and that their peculiar function offers the suitable designation to follow his name. The emendation causes little difficulty, even on the side of Palaeography. Furthermore, it is hoped to demonstrate that this Kabeiric strain is necessary to the *Ascensio*, and especially for the solution of a cardinal exegetical problem which will be dealt with later in this study.

D. Sammaël, Σαμμαήλ, Samael i 8:

Et Balkîrâ servira Sammaël dans Manassé. (Translation of Professor Martin, cf. *supra* A.)

This differentiation is recognized in iii 12–13 theophorically, and in v 15 divinely. It is no part of the present purpose to examine the occurrences of this name in the light of the partition theories concerning

[1] Cf. Burkitt, 72, on biblical forms of the name.
[2] Eusebius *P. E.* i 10 (*P. G.* xxi 84 B).
[3] Eusebius *P. E.* i 10 (*P. G.* xxi 80 A).
[4] Theodoret *Quaest. in Reg. c. xviii, interr. xlvi* (*P. G.* lxxx 570 B).
[5] Augustine *Ep. ad Rom. Expositio inchoata* 13 (ed. 1689, iii 932 F–G).

Digitized by Google

the text of the *Ascensio*.[1] The need is to understand the name. Hitherto commentators have explained him from the Talmud or post-Talmudic literature. That he exhibits any of the traits of Hebrew angelology is difficult to trace in the apocryphon. Yet, conceptually or textually, he is given some touches of later Satanic representations—compare vii 9, xi 41. It is to be expected in a work of the first century that its sense of origins would have become dim. Still that sense cannot have been too dim in the mind of the writer, for he places Sammaël in a senior relation, it would seem, to Balkira. The first suggestion to be made on this name is that it is composed of two names—the dual name represents either two denominatives or one attributive and one denominative; thus it is suggested to read it as Σαμα-ηλ. Sanchoniatho says: Κρόνος τοίνυν ὃν οἱ Φοίνικες Ἰλ.[2] And Photius records: ὅτι Φοίνικες καὶ Σύροι τὸν Κρόνον Ἥλ καὶ Βῆλ καὶ Βωλαθὴν ἐπονομάζουσιν.[3] The El or Il portion of the name is accounted for in Phoenician religion. It passed into Syrian Ophitism under the guise of Αἰλωαιέ,[4] and appears in other ritual as Ἐλωΐ.[5] The ancient authority further says: ὁ Οὐρανὸς ποιεῖται ἐξ αὐτῆς (Γῆ) παῖδας δ' Ἶλον τὸν καὶ Κρόνον κτλ[6]; or in another place: ὁ Ἶλος τοῦτ' ἐστὶν ὁ Κρόνος Οὐρανὸς τὸν πατέρα κτλ.[7] This Οὐρανός, the father of a Baal and a Kronos as can be seen in section *Ca*, calls up a Hebrew parallel, שמה, *sky*. The Phoenician form will not be very different. Then the whole name means שמא (Οὐρανός)-Ἥλ or El-Sama, a Heaven-Baal or Kronos; a true name for the primal Baal of whom Eupolemus said: Βῆλον ὃν εἶναι Κρόνον. There is in this explanation the best of reasons why Balkira should serve Sammaël in Manasseh, and why in chapter v, for instance, the final record of overthrow should be made against Sammaël. Again, has not the *Ascensio* preserved an approximate Phoenician form for Βεελσαμήν, 'which', as Eusebius says, 'in the Phoenician meant κύριος οὐρανοῦ'.[8] For its parallel is in the name Baal-ḥammon, which in Phoenician is El-ḥammon.[9] In the name Sammaël the *Ascensio* has kept the Greek order of the letters and not the Phoenician.

E. Nero iv 2:

Et postquam consummatum est, descendet Berial angelus magnus rex huius mundi cui dominatur ex quo exstat, et descendet a firma-

[1] e. g. Charles, 140.
[2] Eusebius *P. E.* i 10, iv 17.
[3] Photius *Bibliotheca* (ed. Bekker, 1825) ii 343.
[4] Origen *Contra Celsum* vi 31 (*P. G.* xi 1345 A).
[5] Pradel *Griechische und süditalienische Gebete, Beschwörungen &c.*, 1907, 9, 20, and 27.
[6] Eusebius *P. E.* ix 17 (*P. G.* xxi 709 A).
[7] Eusebius *P. E.* i 10 (*P. G.* xxi 81 D).
[8] Eusebius *P. E.* i 10 (*P. G.* xxi 77 A).
[9] Cheyne *E. B.* i 402. 3.

Digitized by Google

mento suo in specie hominis, regis iniquitatis, matricidae, hic est rex huius mundi. (Dillmann, 17.)

After it is consummated, Beliar the great ruler, the king of this world, will descend, who hath ruled it since it came into being; yea, he will descend from his firmament in the likeness of a man, a lawless king, the slayer of his mother. (Charles, 24–25.)

Et après qu'il sera consommé descendra Béliar, le grand prince, le roi de ce monde, qui l'a dominé dès qu'il a existé; et il descendra de son firmament sous la forme d'un homme, roi d'iniquité, meurtrier de sa mère, qui lui-même est roi de ce monde. (Tisserant, 116.)

It is not now suggested that the name of Nero has been placed in the text of the *Ascensio* by any scholar who has worked upon the book. His presence is said to be in the quoted portion of the text. This is a venerable tradition in interpretation. It also has considerable influence over other meanings in the book. Is it a valid interpretation? Three features, at least, in the text might be said to favour Nero: 'a man, king of iniquity, murderer of his mother.' But is the reference here after all to Nero? The Greek version of the *Ascensio* has not kept the larger part of iv 2; but what has been preserved is of high value. That part reads: τος αὐτοῦ ἐ(ν εἴδει) ἀνθρώπου βασιλέως ἀνόμου μητρολῴου ὅστις αὐτὸς ὁ βασιλεὺς οὗτος.

The uncommon word μητρολῴου invites examination. Has it ever had any relations with Nero and his doings? Its special character should surely make it a decisive factor in the interpretation of iv 2. Twice in the *Sibylline Oracles* is Nero referred to as the killer of his mother, in v 363, where the word is μητροκτόνος, and viii 71, where it is μητραλῴας. Now the date of the lines in which the first word appears is not earlier than A. D. 140, and the date for viii 71 is variously given as after A. D. 140 (Alexandre) or A. D. 211 (Ewald). The first is not early enough to be a contemporary synonym, and the second is late enough to have quoted the *Ascensio* allusively, or, what is more likely, to have drawn upon the Greek New Testament; for the true parallel to *Asc.* iv 2 is 1 Tim. i 9 πατρολῴαις καὶ μητρολῴαις. The phrase occurs in a passage which some describe as an early interpolation in the Letter. Whether it belongs to the original or is an interpolation does not invalidate it as a witness to the effects of cult worship in Macedonia, and among which a principal place is given to ἀνόμοις. Firmicus Maternus is an enlightening commentator on the Timothy passage; since he records the connotations of the phrase πατρολῴαις καὶ μητρολῴαις. He writes: 'hunc eundem Macedonum colit stulta persuasio: hic est *Cabirus*, cui Thessalonicenses quondam cruento ore, cruentis manibus supplicabant; considerandum itaque est, quale sit numen quod

Digitized by Google

parricidalis amentia, ut parricidium celaret, invenit.'[1] It will be noticed that this 'mother-killing' in Macedonia is done in the worship of *Cabirus*. The several Kabeiroi have become one. By the time of the first century that was so. Thessalonican coins witness to that accomplishment. The single Kabeiros is to be found on a coin dated 'after 88 B. C.',[2] and on later coins during the reigns of Julia Domna, Caracalla, Geta, Elagabalus, Julia Mamaea, Maximinus, Maximus, Gordian III, Philippus Senior. This form of worship was over the Near Eastern world. A single or pair of horns is the distinctive symbol on their coins—that is the storied Baal insignia; also the Kabeiros is in the form of a man who wears a crown.

It is worthy of attention that, in chapter v of the *Ascensio*, Beliar and Balkira are sometimes made to be the same being. Ambrose[3] identified the two. That is exactly the relation, which should be expected in the mind of the writer of this apocryphon, when the controlling place of Phoenician religion in him and it is realized. Then it is suggested that Beliar represents originally a Baal, or the Baal, hypostasis. Will not this bring out the veritable quality of Beliar's recognition as the Antichrist? The portentous doings of the *βασιλέως ἀνόμου* in chapter iv are to be ascribed more truly to the results of the worship of Baal in the person of Kabeiros than to the myth-making influences of a Nero. Was there a version of the *Ascensio* in Spain which long ago pointed out these things? For Potamius of Lisbon writes in the short piece entitled *de Martyrio Isaiae proph.*[4]: 'Belias, filius Ezechiae, vir cruentus et prodigus genealogiae mathematicus catabolicorum, fatidicorum, et pythonicorum antistes.' His *Belias* is a composite figure. The name is most like Beliar; his family mark blends Balkira with Beliar in him (cf. *Asc.* ii 12), and his catalogue of qualities enfolds with these the figure of him whose relations with Baal have been traced in this section. That alone is the problem of this section. There are others contingent upon it which will be exposed in due course and with fresh findings.[5]

ii. It has been said that the *Ascensio Isaiae* is a 'single and simple writing', and that its literary unity is due to the use by its writer of the primitive Christological document known as the *Testimonia adversus*

[1] Firmicus Maternus *de Errore Profanarum Religionum* 11 (ed. Halm).

[2] Macdonald *Catalogue of Greek Coins in the Hunterian Collection*, 1899, i 368 (Pl. xxv 5); from Julia to Julia, 372–373; from Maximinus to Gordian III, 374–375; Philippus, 375.

[3] Charles, 40, among others, points this out.

[4] *P. L.* viii 1416 B.

[5] In this Study, as in others on the *Ascensio*, the writer has only the intention of presenting some of the lines of his new findings which make the need for the edition of the apocryphon he hopes to produce.

Digitized by Google

Iudaeos.[1] In the second part of this Study it is proposed to shew the influence of that document upon one or two outstanding literary features of the apocryphon.

A. Isaiah is sawn asunder by means of *a wooden saw*. How came it that so ordinary a tool should have been made of so extraordinary a substance? The compiler of the so-called *Greek Legend* iii 14 ff realized the difficulty and solved it in his own way. He tells how Manasseh ordered Isaiah to be sawed with a saw of iron. This they attempted for ὥρας ἱκανάς, but in vain. Then Isaiah assures them that any other than a wooden saw is powerless to do the work. Manasseh ordered them to saw him with a wooden saw. A false prophet named Μελχίας[2] takes the place of Belkira and a thinly dramatic denunciation of him by Isaiah, until the latter's death, takes the place of the significant matter of the original book. The tale is an interpretative effort; but it does not explain the difficulty. Its value lies in its recognition of the problem of the wooden nature of the saw. Modern scholars have looked to oriental legends concerning Isaiah to explain the problem. They have shewn rather that there were legends in Near Eastern languages which may suggest how an impulse was lent to the writer of the *Ascensio*, but the contents of which cannot explain the writer's version of Isaiah's death. These legends will be examined after the problem has found a solution.

The case for the literary unity of the *Ascensio* was found to be seconded by a religious unity, because the literary document from which the writer drew his inspiration was first a Christological document. In a word, the sawing asunder of Isaiah was thought therein to be a prefiguration of the Crucifixion. The wood from which the saw was made came from the Cross.

Since the time of Laurence it has been known that Ambrose quoted the *Ascensio* (v 4 and 8) in his book *In Ps. cxviii Expositio* iii 44[3]; but it has not yet been noticed that with the quotation was joined Isa. i 10 'Audite . . . principes Sodomorum'. The union could be a fortuitous one; it might also be one which was made because he had knowledge of ancient things. Or was it only an added evidence of his knowledge of the *Ascensio*—an ingathering here of an earlier portion of the writing (iii 10–11) which says: 'And Jerusalem also he hath called Sodom, and the princes of Judah and Jerusalem he hath declared to be the people of Gomorrah.', &c. If this were the reason, it must be granted to Ambrose that he had given attention to the *Ascensio* and to its sources. Or was there another reason why he should make this

[1] Burch *J. T. S.* Oct. 1918, 17 ff.

[2] Charles, 14, points out that this name is the same as Milchirâs (v 5) and Melâchirâ (v 12).

[3] *P. L.* xv 1239 A.

Digitized by Google

literary union? Tertullian, for instance, knew the *Ascensio*; or he knew the mode of Isaiah's death. He also knew the ancient *Testimonia*, and has kept an important version of it. Now in his *Liber adversus Iudaeos* v and ix[1] he makes use of Isa. i 10 f, in the first place against carnal sacrifices; and in the second place as being the source of the names for those who were the typical sacrificers and idolaters of the old order, and who were arrayed against Jesus Christ. Concerning this latter subject Tertullian remarks: 'Nec hoc enim novum Scripturis divinis, figurate uti translatione nominum ex comparatione criminum, nam et *archontas Sodomorum* appellat archontas vestros, et populum vestrum *populum Gomorrhae*.' The writer of the *Ascensio* and Tertullian are using what may be called the technical descriptives of ancient *Anti-Judaica*. It looks as if Ambrose knew them to be such; for his quotation of the apocryphon includes v 8, in the passage in which iii 10 is resumed. The excerpt from Isaiah i 10 f has its assured place in *Testimonia*, and chiefly as declaring how the New Sacrifice has made null the Old and Judaic Sacrifice. These things can be shewn by: *Dialogue of Timothy and Aquila* fol. 128[2]; Barnabas *Ep.* ii 5–6; Justin *Trypho* 52. 4; Eusebius *Eclg. Proph.* iv 1; Isidore Hispalensis *de Fide Catholica contra Iudaeos* ii 11. 2, ii 17. 1; Bar Ṣalibi *Treatise against the Jews* iv 7. Up to this point it is said that the source has been declared of certain technical descriptives as well as of the reason why they appear in the *Ascensio*—these two features make the religious and literary reasons for some of the matter in chapters iii and v of that book. This result was to be expected if Isaiah's death is in the *Testimonia*. So then his death, and the New Sacrifice set over against the Old Sacrifice, are each in that primitive Christological source. What relation have these with the saw of wood?

From among the primary evidence which was used to shew that the sawing asunder of Isaiah was related to the sufferings of Jesus Christ in the ancient *Anti-Judaica*, two illustrations thence may be enlarged a little so as to point how very close the old thought brought the figure and the figured: Justin *Trypho* 120[3] ὡς καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν θάνατον Ἡσαΐου, ὃν πρίονι ξυλίνῳ ἐπρίσατε. μυστήριον καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ τέμνειν ὑμῶν τὸ γένος διχῇ μέλλοντος. Or Cyril of Jerusalem *Catech.* xiii 6[4] who quotes John xii 33, and goes on βλέπεις πῶς δόξαν οἰκείων οἵδε τὸν σταυρόν; εἶτα Ἡσαΐας μὲν πρισθεὶς οὐκ αἰσχύνεται κτλ. Now this reference to the death of Isaiah issues from a set of *testimonies* which prove how Jesus was to die at the hands of the Jews on the 'wood' or the 'tree', and so on the Cross. As far back as ch. lxxii Justin[5] has

[1] *P. L.* ii 608 B and 620 A.
[2] Conybeare *Anecd. Oxon.* i, viii, 1898.
[3] *P. G.* vi 756 A.
[4] *P. G.* xxxiii 780 B.
[5] *P. G.* vi 645 A sq.

Digitized by Google

begun to build up this argument and from that *Testimony* material. There the Lord reigns ἀπὸ τοῦ ξύλου, and his big *testimony* is Jer. xi 19. Cyril of Jerusalem[1] xiii 19 is saying the same (ξύλον) and from the same excerpt. There is wide support in *Testimonia* texts for this 'wood' theme. Cyprian,[2] under the heading *Quod Cruci illum fixuri essent Iudaei*, preserves the following series of passages: Isa. lxv 2, Jer. xi 19, Deut. xxviii 66, Ps. xxi 17 ff, Ps. cxviii 120, Ps. cxl 2, Zeph. i 7, Zech. ii 10, Ps. lxxxvii 10, Num. xxiii 19. The true and short summary of the use of these passages in *Testimony* authorities is in a sentence from Lactantius *Div. Inst.* iv 18,[3] where Jer. xi 19 is interpreted thus: 'Lignum autem crucem significat'. To this end the undermentioned authorities with wealthy statement use the *testimonies* assembled in the Cyprianic text: Barnabas[4] *Ep.* xii (Isa. lxv 2); *Dial. Ath. and Zacc.* 36–38 (Isa. lxv 2, Deut. xxviii 66); *Dial. Tim. and Aquila* fol. 98 (Isa. lxv 2)[5]; Tertullian[6] *Liber adv. Iudaeos* x (Jer. xi 19), xi (Isa. lxv 2); Irenaeus[7] *Apostolic Preaching* 79 (Isa. lxv 2, Deut. xxviii 66, Ps. xxi 17 ff); Athanasius[8] *de Inc.* 35 (Jer. xi 19, Deut. xxviii 66, Ps. xxi 17 ff); Gregentius *Disputatio cum Herbano* (*P. G.* lxxxvi Pt. i) 632 C (Deut. xxviii 66), 640 B (Jer. xi 19), 660 D (Jer. xi 19); Anastasius Sin. *Disputatio adv. Iudaeos* (*P. G.* lxxxix) 1244 D (Deut. xxviii 66); Isidore Hisp.[9] *de Fide Catholica contra Iudaeos* i 35. 1–2 (Jer. xi 19); Pseudo-Augustine[10] *de Altercatione Ecclesiae et Synagogae* 22 D (Jer. xi 19, Deut. xxviii 66); Evagrius[11] *Altercatio* vi 22 (whole series); Leontius Neapolitani *Sermo contra Iudaeos* (*P. G.* xciii) 1597 C sq., 1605 B, 1608 B–C is interesting because the ancient arguments for the 'wood' are being turned to the anti-Judaic defence of the 'crucifix'. These *Testimony* authorities shew the reason why the saw with which Isaiah was killed must have been made from wood, since its material must have come from the Cross. The saw of wood is a Christian and a *Testimonia* note in the text of the *Ascensio*; thus it is as well an anti-Judaic note.

If these things stand, then the oriental traditions concerning the death of Isaiah can be sorted out that it may be known how they may have formed an impulse or factor in the making of the *Ascensio*. Certain scholars[12] are agreed that the tradition which has passed into Talmudic literature is to be dated before the Christian era. That tradition tells how the prophet hid in a cedar tree from Manasseh, but being betrayed by the end of his cloak, the king ordered the tree to be

[1] *P. G.* xxxiii 796 A–B.
[2] *Test.* ii. 20.
[3] *P. L.* vi 508 A–B.
[4] *P. G.* iv 761 A.
[5] Conybeare *op. cit.*
[6] *P. L.* ii 625 B, 635 A.
[7] Ed. Ter- Mekerttschian *Texte und Unters.* xxxi 1.
[8] *P. G.* xxv 156 B.
[9] *P. L.* lxxxiii 484 A–B.
[10] Aug. *Op.*, ed. 1698, viii App.
[11] Ed. Harnack *Texte und Unters.* i.
[12] e.g. Charles, xlvi; Tisserant, 61 f.

Digitized by Google

sawn through. It would appear to be a natural base for a Christian writer to work on whose mind was at home in *Testimonia* thought and exegesis. That writer turned even the tradition against the Jews. It seems a fair conclusion that this literary filiation adds point to Tisserant's criticism[1] of late Avestan traditions concerning the sawing asunder of Yima when he says: 'On notera toutefois que l'*Ascension d'Isaïe* est de tous les récits du martyre celui qui se rapproche le moins des légendes iraniennes'. Does not Berossus yield the reason and root why a sawing asunder should appear in the text of the apocryphon? Lines of a Phoenician element in the text have been traced already, and they go back to Baal. Was it from Baal also that his death was imitated? For Berossus[2] records: Βῆλον σχίσαι τὴν γυναῖκα μέσην, καὶ τὸ μὲν ἥμισυ αὐτῆς ποιῆσαι γῆν, τὸ δὲ ἄλλο ἥμισυ οὐρανόν.

B. v 13:

> And to the prophets who were with him he said before he had been sawn in sunder: 'Go ye to the region of Tyre and Sidon; for for me only hath God mingled the cup.' (Charles, 42.)

The important phrase in Isaiah's adjuration is 'God hath mingled the cup'. Charles annotates it with 'On the meaning of the phrase cf. Matt. xx 22'; Tisserant with 'selon l'usage qui est fait de ce mot Matth. xx 22; Marc x 38; Luc xxii 42'. In a vague and allusive way these passages can be made to have relations with the words of Isaiah. They do not explain his phrase. The ancient *Testimonia* can, however, explain it. The point at which to start for this solution is in Origen *Expositio in Proverbia*[3] ix 2, where the noted scholar writes: θύματα ἐνταῦθά φησι τοὺς ὅσοι προφῆται τῇ παραινέσει Χριστοῦ σφραγισθέντες καὶ σφαγιαζόμενοι, διὰ τὸ κιρνᾶν αὐτοὺς τῷ τῆς γνώσεως κρατῆρι τὴν ὡς οἶνον ἡδὺν ἐπίγνωσιν αὐτοῦ τοῖς ἐχέφροσι, for the perfume of this cup is in the saying of Jesus which warned them not to fear any who could kill only the body. As that citation stands it may be replied that it represents an analogous thought to that in the *Ascensio*; and that it in no way defends the intrusion of a verse from Proverbs. But let other commentators on that Wisdom book be heard. This time Hippolytus, *Frag. in Proverbia*,[4] and on the same verse: καὶ ἐκέρασεν εἰς κρατῆρα τὸν ἑαυτῆς οἶνον εἰς τὴν παρθένον. τὴν ἑαυτοῦ θεότητα ἑνώσας τῇ σαρκὶ ὡς οἶνον ἄκρατον, ὁ Σωτὴρ ἐγεννήθη ἐξ αὐτῆς ἀσυγχύτως θεὸς καὶ ἄνθρωπος. Again, Firmicus Maternus in his *de Errore Profanarum Religionum*[5] 18. 3 'Christi panem, Christi poculum quaere, ut terrena fragilitate contempta substantia hominis immortali pabulo saginetur. Quis est autem hic panis uel quod poculum in libris Salomonis sapientia magna voce pro-

[1] Tisserant, 76.
[2] Eusebius *Chron.* i 2, 5 (*P. G.* xix 111 B).
[3] *P. G.* xvii 185 B.
[4] *P. G.* x 628 A.
[5] Ed. Halm, 103.

Digitized by Google

clamat? ait enim "uenite, manducate de meis panibus et bibite uinum quod miscui"'. The two last of these commentators have retained, within the limits of their short comments, the figure of the One who was God and Christ and Sophia, who also mingled the cup, and called to others to partake in the words of Prov. ix 1 ff. Origen knew Christ as the Sophia, for in commenting on Prov. ix 3[1] he says: 'if Paul the apostle is a slave of Christ, and Christ is the Sophia, then Paul the apostle is a slave of the Sophia.' Hippolytus[2] names Christ ἡ Σοφία in his exposition of the Proverbs passage. The Cyprianic *Testimonia* affirm that Figure and His deeds. The heading to ii 2 is *Quod sapientia Dei Christus, et de Sacramento Incarnationis eius et Passionis et Calicis et Altaris et Apostolorum, qui missi praedicaverunt*,[3] and the only testimonium under it is Prov. ix 1 sq. The succeeding chapters in the Cyprianic writing exhibit Him as *Deus*. This is He who in primitive Christology cried 'uenite, edite de meis panibus et bibite uinum quod miscui uobis' (ii 2). The Spanish scholar, Isidore,[4] knows of course this testimonium; but he completes the turning of the early Christological references into later ecclesiastical values when he writes: 'Dei ergo sapientia Christus construit sibi domum sacrosanctam ecclesiam, in qua mactavit sui corporis hostias, in qua miscuit vinum sui sanguinis in calice sacramenti divini' &c. Thus *As. Is.* v 13 is another witness to the integral place of the *Testimonia* in its own literary and religious composition.

VACHER BURCH.

PSALM LXXIII 10.

THE Massoretic text of this verse runs as follows:—

לָכֵן יָשִׁיב (Qri. יָשׁוּב) עַמּוֹ הֲלֹם
וּמֵי מָלֵא יִמָּצוּ לָמוֹ׃

'Therefore will he cause his people to return (Qri. 'his people will return') hither,
And water of a full one shall be drained for them.'

This is intolerable as regards both sense and metre. Commentators are agreed that the verse is corrupt. The context demands here some

[1] *P. G.* xvii 185 C. [2] *P. G.* x 628 B.

[3] This heading originally can only have been composed of the opening words: 'Quod Sapientia Dei Christus', and perhaps a reference to His *Concarnationis*. This second feature appears to be wanted by the earliest exegesis of Prov. ix.

[4] *P. L.* lxxxiii 536 A-B.

Digitized by Google

reference to the satisfaction of the appetite of the wicked mentioned in the preceding verse. This is in part provided by the emendation of the first half of verse 10, approved by Houbigant Lagarde and Wellhausen (see *Oxf. Heb. Lex.* p. 240), לֶחֶם יַשְׂבִּיעֵמוֹ לְבֵן. If their suggestion be correct, it would seem to follow as a matter of course that the second half of verse 10 was originally וּמַיִם לֹא־יִמְעֲטוּ לָמוֹ. Sense and metre are then restored, and the whole verse might be translated—

'So he gives them bread in abundance
And water is never scarce for them.'

The corruption in 10 *b* would appear to have arisen thus. First the ע and ט of ימעטו were transposed and the word read ימטעו; next, by haplography, the ט following the very similar letter מ was omitted; then, by a common scribal error, ע was changed into צ.

At this stage the meaning of the line would be the exact opposite of that required by the context, and the final corruption which turned וּמַיִם לֹא into וּמֵי מָלֵא would appear to be a clumsy attempt to get rid of the negative.

F. S. MARSH.

MACARIUS OF EGYPT.

MR G. L. MARRIOTT has deserved so well of those who care for the devotional literature of the early church that it is with some hesitation that I write to point out a mistake in his communication to *J.T.S.* of January last with regard to Macarius of Egypt. He says on p. 178 that the two British MSS containing his Homilies 'before the fiftieth Homily . . . read' words which describe it as ἐπιστολὴ πρώτη. I surmise that Mr Marriott writes from notes which he made when the MSS were before him, and has misread a '1' (one) as an 'l' (fifty). There is no such note as he describes in either MS before Homily L, though, as Mr Marriott says, that Homily at its close describes either itself or the collection in which it stands as being a letter. The note of which Mr Marriott speaks is prefixed not to Homily L, but to Homily I, at least in the Holkham MS. In the Bodleian MS the words are hard to make out. Mr Marriott had stated the case more accurately in his Harvard Press edition of the *Seven Later Homilies* p. 13.

The point is that the MS evidence, such as it is, instead of connecting Homily LI with Homily L alone, as Mr Marriott now says, connects Homily LI with the whole set of Homilies I–L, as Mr Marriott, rightly following Thomas Haywood, said before.

A. J. MASON.

Digitized by Google

REVIEWS

The Idea of Atonement in Christian Theology: being the Bampton Lectures for 1915, by HASTINGS RASHDALL, D.Litt., &c. (Macmillan & Co., London, 1919.)

THIS book is not, as its title might suggest, a mere departmental study in the History of Dogma. Nearly half of it is devoted to the New Testament; and many will esteem that part both the more interesting and the more valuable. Nor is this the only element which goes beyond the ordinary idea of the history of doctrine. The work is pervaded throughout by the conviction, not only that a study of the history is a necessary preliminary for any serious reconstruction, but that, to a large extent, it will supersede the need for any such task. Where some earlier stage of the doctrine does not itself suffice, a continuance, Dr Rashdall thinks, in some line of developement to which the Church is already more or less committed may be all that is required. To that work of selection and developement he devotes himself. Nor does he find it excessively difficult, seeing he believes that all that is obnoxious to him was maintained only by a few dominating but deluded individuals, beginning with St Paul and culminating in Luther.

The whole work is as readable as it is learned. Even the many notes and long appendices, though packed with references, quotations, abstracts and criticisms, are as readable as the text. The most hasty reader will dip into them extensively, and to the serious student they are invaluable, both for the information they contain and as a guide to the author's method of studying his documents. For the extracts alone he should be grateful. There is no better selection except perhaps in Loofs's *Leitfaden*, and they are much easier to deal with than in that extremely able and learned, but difficult, work. Even when Dr Rashdall translates, his gift of conversational, perspicuous, accurate expression does not forsake him. In short, this book proves him a supreme lecturer; and, though it has now to conceive him in the character of a dignitary, the reading public will probably more than ever continue to think of him rather as Dr Rashdall the teacher of Oxford than as the Dean of Carlisle.

With all that is most valuable in the literature of the subject, in Greek, Latin, French, and English, he is familiar. With so much learning continually on tap, so to speak, it seems a little ungrateful to desire more. Yet the fact remains that the Germans have done more in this field than all the rest of us put together. What is in English Dr Rashdall

Digitized by Google

knows, and some not in English, but he gives the impression of not using this material as easily as the rest. There are no references to such vital works on the New Testament theology as Holtzmann's *Neutestamentliche Theologie* or Titius's *Seligkeitslehre*, or, on the History of Dogma, as Ritschl's *Altkatholische Kirche* or Kattenbusch's *Anatolische Kirche* and *Das Apostolicum*. Even Loofs's *Leitfaden*, a work not second to Harnack, seems only to have been dipped into; while it is difficult to believe that any one who read Luther's German treatises with ease would be satisfied with the picture here given of his theology. Nor is it the mere absence of quotation. There is also an absence of understanding of what the Germans mean by concerning themselves so much with reconciliation. One who had read the books above mentioned could hardly have regarded it as nothing more than reading history with the spectacles of Luther.

But Dr Rashdall may rightly say he has done enough in other directions to make unreasonable the demand for more. And, even if we should go on to say that a large part of the book has the effect of negative criticism, he rightly replies that nothing is more important for a right faith than escape from a wrong one. The wrong one, in this case, is taken to be every form of vicarious, substitutionary, or representative theory of atonement. For so calm and tolerant a mind, there is an almost passionate sense that the theory is both immoral and irreligious, at once denying the foundations of morality and misrepresenting the essential character of God as Father. In criticism of it his acute logical faculty and incisive historical presentation are seen at their highest.

In so far as the theory is found in Scripture at all, it is, he maintains, only in certain argumentative sections of the Pauline Epistles; and even there it is out of harmony with the Apostle's own inward religion. In the rest of the New Testament, he thinks, we find merely a general connexion between the death of Christ and the pardon of sin, which was accepted without theory from what was believed to be the teaching of the Old Testament. In so far as it was clothed in sacrificial language, such language was mostly figurative and altogether undogmatic. Forensic language he confines to Paul in his polemical moods, and thinks that the Early Church never took it seriously. The idea of the post-Apostolic Church was the Gospel as a new law and the Logos as a new power. Afterwards the idea of a ransom did exist, but, as it was thought of as paid to the devil, while it was very crude, it did not encroach on the character of God. Only in the West, and more particularly under the influence of Tertullian and Augustine, what in Paul was, at most, part of a greater whole and often mere figure, was exaggerated, isolated, and turned into literal dogma. Hard, rhetorical,

Digitized by Google

legal minds, working with a conception of the Fall as universal concupiscence, which degraded human life, and an appalling eschatology, which was the more hard and cruel that it was glossed over by such devices as the nothingness of evil, set forth a penal substitutionary doctrine, which misrepresented every view either of God or man Jesus ever stood for.

Anselm brought to an end the idea that God could owe a debt to the devil, but only at the cost of owing it to Himself. The consequence was to set a God, whose care was for His own honour, more than ever at variance with a Son who gave Himself to pay the debt. Yet it had the merit of calling forth, by way of contrast, the moral influence theory of Abelard, which is in essence the theory of the author.

After some illuminating, if not wholly convincing, discussion of the Schoolmen, in which he shews the influence of their realism and nominalism on the problem, Dr Rashdall ends his history with Luther. Luther's best religious spirit he admires, and the work of the Reformation he thinks was a necessary and fruitful emancipation, but Luther's theology he abhors. Its faith is mere intellectual consent, its object exclusively the Death of Christ, its effect an immoral depreciation of good works.

The drift of this whole history is to shew that all vicarious conceptions of atonement, anything indeed but the inspiration of Christ's teaching and the moral influence of His life, and of His death as part of His life, were at all times absent from the Church's general creed, and were mostly elaborated by a few speculatively minded persons, usually on the basis of a literal and not very intelligent interpretation of Scripture.

Throughout the whole exposition there runs criticism of this theory; and the last lecture is devoted to the task of recapitulating, summarizing, and enforcing it, and of establishing what remains. The essential points in this criticism are that the theory of vicarious punishment is based on a doctrine of the Fall no longer tenable historically or scientifically; on a theory of punishment which is a mere survival of primitive jurisprudence; on a theory of representation which is a misuse of the Platonic doctrine of universals along with a misapplication of the idea of moral unity. Finally, it is held to be untrue to the facts of life and inconsistent with the teaching of the Founder of Christianity.

To some of this criticism there may be an answer. Though Dr Rashdall sees little difference between 'punishment' and 'satisfaction', there is a fairly clear distinction; and, since Anselm, most theologians have, often unconsciously, wrought with the idea of 'satisfaction'. The 'honour' of God, which is to be satisfied, is no mere personal sense of dignity, but respect for the rule of righteousness,

Digitized by Google

which, as Moral Governor, he must maintain. Wherefore it has seemed possible to believe that, to the end, as it were, of maintaining the moral heavens 'fresh and strong', He might at once require and provide satisfaction for His broken law. But, though Dr Rashdall fails to do justice to his own conspicuous powers as a controversialist by assailing something less than a sympathetic presentation of the views of his opponents, no presentation can really evade his criticisms. Philosophically, even this representative view is based on an obsolete realism; morally, its substitutionary element belongs to a primitive state of society of a tribal character, where the individual is responsible for the group and the group for the individual, and it is a mere confusion of issues when applied to a sense of guilt which arises with the developement of the individual conscience and personal responsibility. Its political conception cannot be made consistent with our Lord's teaching about the Father, nor its idea of justification as state condonation with His view of pardon. Finally, it seeks to set right the moral issue by a legal device, whereas, whatever be the interpretation of two or three phrases from Paul, his fundamental idea is that it can be set right only when it ceases to be legal. In face of these plain facts, therefore, neither the honest blundering of Dr Dale, nor the passionate scholarship of Dr Denney, nor the super-subtlety of Dr Forsyth, nor the refined elusiveness of Dr Moberly, can any more put reality into the theory.

Nevertheless, one has a feeling that all these writers are reaching out after some spiritual need with which Dr Rashdall is untroubled, not because he has solved the problem, but because he has ignored it. So far as he goes he is wholly right, and, until his criticism is accepted, a sound theology, convincing by its own moral veracity, is impossible. But when one compares him with St Paul, or even with Luther, one realizes how little he cares to live in the half lights, and how all the really creative souls have had to live there all their time. His quite astonishing lucidity is sometimes at least due to his natural aversion from the dim vistas of man's spiritual horizon.

His theory is simplicity itself, and perfectly rounded and complete. The presence of God, which the Early Church called the Logos, and which is the source of all good in all men, was in Jesus supremely and perfectly. Its manifestation is in His teaching, about which Dr Rashdall says some fine and true things. But while without His teaching we could not understand His life, without His life we could not value aright His teaching. His death was the result of fulfilling all righteousness. It came to Him simply in the work of His vocation, being not separable from His life, but the completion of it. The whole effect is a revelation of the love of God, and faith in it works by love, interpreted as an emotion which is kindled by the contagion of example; and

Digitized by Google

it justifies us precisely in so far as it works upon us by its moral influence to make us just. 'His death has been more to Christendom than other martyr-deaths, just because He was so much more than other martyrs, because His life was more than other lives; because His Messianic calling was a unique calling; because, in fact, of all that has led Christendom to see in that life the fullest revelation or incarnation of God. There is nothing in the fact that the necessity for the death did not arise from any objective demand for expiation which can diminish the gratitude and the love which such a death, taken in connexion with such a life, was calculated to awaken towards the Sufferer. And if the character which is revealed by the Sufferer be the character of God Himself, then the love that is awakened towards Christ will also be love of the Father whom in a supreme and unique way Christ reveals, and that love will express itself in repentance and regeneration.'

There are, however, in addition, hints of a grace which is somehow added. How it is added we are not told. Is it related to anything done by Christ, or is it simply there after His influence in a mechanical external way? If so, is not Dr Rashdall making room for the very sacramental and priestly ideas which he repudiates? Is not the very essence of the work of Christ the establishing of a relation with God which shall not be the mere moulding of power, but the personal and truly ethical influence of a Father? With that we know Dr Rashdall would agree, and even regard it as the essence of his contention; but has he provided for such a relation an adequate foundation in his view of Jesus as Himself the vehicle of this mystic force, and, under its power, manifesting an adequate humanity to be the supreme persuasive influence in a Kingdom of God which is the slow progressive moralization of the race, and to which we belong according to the measure in which we are righteous?

Quite rightly he maintains that no theory can be called Christian which is in conflict with the teaching of the Founder of Christianity. But is that His teaching? What about the reception of the prodigal? Well, what about it? our author would say. He repents and goes home and is forgiven. But how is he forgiven? Because he is now a worthy person who has given pledges of better behaviour? But no questions are asked, no pledges taken. He merely returns and. is overwhelmed with demonstrations of affection, and, in so far as there is any hope of the future, it is the outcome of this forgiveness and not the cause of it. How was the elder brother wrong on Dr Rashdall's principles? And how about the younger brother? Would he have said he was justified according to the measure in which he had been made just? True forgiveness is a restoration of friendship in spite of the wrongdoing, and

Digitized by Google

not because it has been done away; and it is effected by him who has suffered wrong, not by him who has committed it.

Then there is the question of the Kingdom of God. Is it the progressive moralization of the race? Dr Rashdall dismisses the Apocalyptic Problem as irrelevant to his subject. But is it? Can the question of atonement be separated from the kind of rule which our Lord believed God is seeking to establish in the world? Its temporal form we may regard as irrelevant. But a kingdom, which is a crisis, into which the publicans and harlots go before the respectable religious people, does set something above moral progress, some change of relation to God while we are yet sinners, of a transforming kind. Is there not a sense in which all Christianity is apocalyptic, and more particularly its morality? It proclaims itself the true way of possessing this world, but is it not by a purpose which makes this world only the servant of a better? For Jesus there is only one condition of forgiveness—the God to whom we return. But is His Father Dr Rashdall's kind of moral governor who justifies us as we are just?

When we pass to Paul the same doubts beset us. Much of the discussion of Paul's doctrine is in every way admirable. It is clear, learned, judicious, balanced. That Paul as a theologian often came short of Paul as a religious man is very probable, especially when his theology was polemic. Most theologians are in like case, possibly even Dr Rashdall. But when we find the most amazingly emancipated mind in relation to the old covenant taking over beliefs purely on scripture authority; and the man whose whole experience was determined by deliverance from the idea of law—ritual and moral alike, resting in a merely legal interpretation; and the man who said we should be judged by the deeds done in the body, resting our hope on a faith which is mere intellectual belief; and, especially, when we find no trace of these peculiar views in any Christian writer for centuries, though all were assiduous readers of the Pauline literature, we cannot feel confident that the explanations are adequate. The vital element for Paul at all times is that Christ had enabled him to escape from a legal relation to God, and, in his struggle with evil and his endeavour after the perfect man in Christ Jesus, to live with peace and joy in a filial relation with the God and Father of His Lord. When that is borne in mind, his sacrificial and legal language has a different meaning, and speaks not of a hard forensic dogmatism, but of emancipation from it. When it is maintained that Paul the theologian held this legal theory of reconciliation and Paul the Christian the idea that we are justified in proportion as we are made just, neither representation is convincing.

Vital as details are, they cannot here be discussed. One point must content us. Reconciliation is only mentioned in the exposition of

Digitized by Google

Paul in an Additional Note. And, what is surely unusual in a treatise on atonement, it is not again mentioned in the book. Nor has what it stands for a place under any other name. Yet the original meaning of atonement was reconciliation; and surely the characteristic element of Christianity is redemption from the world, not by asceticism, nor by legal righteousness, but by reconciliation. Justification may be a theological term; and, indeed, Paul seldom uses it except when arguing with people who talked in that kind of language. Possibly the exigencies of controversy may have led him to use it in ways which rather served to convince his opponents than to express in purity his own deepest experience. But, essentially, he means by it the same as reconciliation, the winning of a right relation to God while we are yet sinners. He does not mean by it acquittal from all our shortcoming, nor does he use it as a synonym for salvation. The consequences of our sins we may still have to live down, our salvation we still have to work out; but to Paul, at all events, it made the vastest difference whether men faced these tasks with the peace of God's children or as shivering slaves of retribution and outwardly imposed law. That change is what he understood by reconciliation; and it was, for him, the essence of the good news of Jesus Christ. Dr Rashdall says Paul uses the word 'reconciliation' only ten times, and seems astonished that so much has been said about it. But Paul uses the verb at least as often as the substantive; and, if he declares emphatically that it is the essence of his gospel, he could not have made it more important by repeating the word on every page. For example, in 2 Cor. v 20, where Dr Rashdall says that, as he is exhorting readers who are already Christian to be reconciled to God, he must mean, 'Be sure you are reconciled to God sufficiently to lead to ultimate salvation', he is really saying, 'You know quite well what has always been my fundamental and essential message'. Nor, at any time, is it possible to understand him in that progressive sense, or with any other meaning than, 'Have Christ's relation to the Father and everything will work out right: have a merely legal relation and your highest efforts will be sorrow and failure'. The faith by which it is won works by love. But it is love as God's rule which makes all things work together for good, and which knows us though we only imperfectly know it, and not love as our own personal emotion. In one sense it is intellectual trust, because it is confidence in an objective reality which Paul also says we know and even see; but it is not intellectual in Dr Rashdall's sense, because its essence is to transform life, and the Cross means this for it at least, that nothing life can bring need be excluded from the love it trusts.

While 'justification' and 'reconciliation' are practically synonyms, neither of them is ever identified with 'salvation'. If Paul says, 'We

Digitized by Google

were saved by hope', he means in anticipation, though not in possession. We are saved, as Dr Rashdall rightly contends, according to what we are; and we are only perfectly saved as we become the perfect man in Christ Jesus. The difference concerns the method of being saved, and Paul's contention at least is that it is effectively done, not by waiting to be justified till we are just, but by being reconciled to God while we are yet sinners. Thereby we live under a new law, which is no more a law but a life, a spirit made alive in Christ Jesus. How Paul put these things together may admit of discussion, but at least the result was a gospel for sinners, whereas Dr Rashdall does not get very far beyond a morality which is still entangled with the old Pharisaic demand for an equivalence of merit and reward, which any doctrine of atonement that means anything must deny to be the final method of God's rule.

If that be true, perhaps Ritschl and some of the profoundest students of the subject, who have echoed him, were not so far wrong when they found that even the Apostolic Fathers missed something of Paul's emancipated spirit by turning the Gospel into a new law; that the Greek theologians had not preserved, as Paul had, Christ's revelation of the Father in their doctrine of the Logos; and that the chief error of the Latins was in using legally ideas which were meant to deliver from legalism. Finally—though this is more contentious—may they not have some measure of truth on their side when they maintain that Luther did recover, as no one before him, something of Paul's freedom and sonship in Christ Jesus, and something of his possession of all things, secular and sacred, through Christ crucified? Are they not at least more nearly right in dismissing most of his extreme sayings about Christ's death as merely a picturesque way of saying that law as a terror is dead and buried, than in raking up phrases from an early treatise on Romans he never published, without any general presentation of his views in such simple religious works as, let us say, *The Liberty of the Christian Man*? There his positive contention is plainly stated, and no one can misunderstand his view that good works are not really good when done from ulterior religious motives, or the real spring of his desire to ascribe all things to God. Denifle no doubt has picked some holes in Luther's coat, Luther not being the careful balanced person who left no opening for a subtle and rather unscrupulous enemy. Yet Luther will continue to speak for himself after Denifle has fallen silent.

For these reasons—or perhaps they are all reducible to one—this book probably does not yet say the last word on this great question. But that ought not to diminish our gratitude for the large measure of its achievement. Lest criticism be mistaken for lack of appreciation, let it be said again that this is a work no student of the subject can

Digitized by Google

afford to neglect. It shews a mind which combines adequate scholarship with systematic and philosophic training, united in a way rare, if not unique, with suavity and soundness of judgement and ease and lucidity of presentation.

A Short History of the Doctrine of the Atonement. By L. W. GRENSTED, M.A. (Manchester University Press, 1920.)

MR GRENSTED'S *Short History* is an admirable counterpart and complement to Dr Rashdall's volume. Partly it covers different ground. While almost half of Dr Rashdall's work is on the New Testament doctrine and the whole ends with Luther, Mr Grensted disposes of the New Testament in one short chapter and devotes nearly half his book to Reformation and post-Reformation views. But the still more important difference is the emphasis on the element which Dr Rashdall passes over so lightly. From the nature of the work as a student's text-book it is not as pleasant reading, but it is also written with admirable lucidity. Mr Grensted very modestly acknowledges his debt to former workers in the field, and probably, without Ritschl's pioneer work, he could not have overtaken so much, or at least done it so adequately. But he also is a first-hand student of the subject who has made an accurate study of his documents, and his references and extracts equip the student for testing his results even more adequately than Dr Rashdall's. Where the original is in Greek or Latin the translation is given in the text and the original in the foot-notes, and the selection is done with discrimination. The theories are clearly and succinctly expounded; and while there is no lack of criticism, it does not interfere with fair and even sympathetic presentation. Nor is he without his own theory, though it is kept in much greater subjection to the task of writing history than Dr Rashdall's purpose requires him to do.

The least adequate chapter is the exposition of the New Testament doctrine. It merely summarizes the ideas upon which the later theories wrought. Had it been made clear that that depended, not on what the New Testament writers meant, but on what they were understood to mean, this might have been sufficient. But as it is, we are left with the impression of dogmatism on points of a highly controversial nature. One grave omission is the teaching of our Lord Himself. This omission is felt throughout the whole book, because the question is scarcely ever asked which Dr Rashdall asks so persistently, Is this consistent with the teaching of the Founder of Christianity? The test which he does use is, Is this a truly religious and moral theory? and that ought to be the same. Nevertheless, without the constant application of the former test, it is too apt to end in moral abstractions and to miss the finer and deeper religious issues. If we were to sum up in one sentence

Digitized by Google

a criticism which affects the whole book, it is that Christ throughout is too much for Mr Grensted, as He is for the theologians he discusses, the mere embodiment of the Divine, and too little Jesus of Nazareth. Dr Rashdall overlooks many things, but he never forgets to ask concerning a theory whether it is in accord with the character of the God and Father of Jesus Christ. Also Mr Grensted occasionally fails to see the value of theories as marking new elements in the problem. For example, he seems to think the Reformers fell below Anselm, but he forgets that the Reformers were faced by the problem of the individual responsible for his faith and his practice, while Anselm had the easier situation of a state of things wherein a relative could pay blood-money.

Finally, we have the question of how the writer's own view meets the problem. One who has criticized so many cannot quite escape being criticized. He considers the question to be essentially personal. Of that one cannot think of the gospels and have doubt. Personal he then argues is mystical. But mystical in the usual sense is the opposite of personal. True we have some Hegelian talk of the penetrable nature of personality. But the proper use of that kind of argument is to prove that personality is a superficial and possibly a fleeting distinction, which Mr Grensted is far from meaning. Moreover, when we do go to the Gospels, we find a reconciliation to God by understanding His meaning and accepting His purpose, so as to be at one with Him in thought and action, which is a way truly personal. But we do not read of mystical permeation or anything which depends on mere unity of nature. Besides that is individual, but not personal. If the other theories are legal this is mechanical. The claim for it of immediate efficacy may be true. Unfortunately the relations men grasp easily are just the legal and the mechanical. Hence all this elaboration concerning our reconciliation to God, which Jesus made so simple. Moreover it leads to a wrong division between subjective and objective. The thing we know to exist works upon us by itself. The legal theory was right in thinking we must have an objective reality and not merely a subjective influence. Its real mistake was in putting the rule of a Potentate in place of the wise love of a Father as the final reality.

Yet, when all this has been said, it does not seriously detract from the value of a work eminently learned and fair and religious.

Digitized by Google

The Ministry of Reconciliation. By J. R. GILLIES, D.D. (A. & C. Black, London.)

THESE lectures were first prepared as a course on what is usually called Pastoral Theology for Divinity students. They have the slightly rhetorical form, the personal note, the wide scholarly interest, the lucidity and genial warmth of insistency which must have made them admirable for that particular purpose. But few can be so far advanced in the ministry as to be beyond learning from them in their present form. Their great merit is that, without a shadow of egotism, they display a ripe, chastened, charitable mind, interested in men and in books, which will be inspiration as well as counsel for those who follow the same calling. Nor is the work altogether outside the layman's province, if he is interested in seeing how large an experience may go to the preaching of an essentially simple gospel. The ministry of the future may have other problems for which it may require other answers and other methods, but those who have innovated most usefully have always learned from the past most largely. Nor can there ever be a ministry which would not miss much if it lacked Dr Gillies's sincere and devout and quiet spirit; nor can it ever present any gospel successfully except in the same humble confidence in its message and not in itself.

JOHN OMAN.

Der Sohn Gottes: eine Untersuchung über den Charakter und die Tendenz des Johannes-Evangeliums; zugleich ein Beitrag zur Kenntnis der Heilandsgestalten der Antike. Von GILLIS P:SON WETTER. (Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, Göttingen, 1916.)

READERS of this JOURNAL have already been introduced to the Stockholm Professor of the History of Religions by Dr Bethune-Baker, and it is a safe assumption that a welcome will be accorded by them to his latest incursion into the field of Fourth Gospel research. I say advisedly 'his latest incursion'; its two predecessors (*Ich bin das Licht der Welt* and *Ich bin es*) are referred to by Dr Wetter in a foot-note, but these, to my regret, I have not seen, and although the work which lies before me—it is included in the series *Forschungen zur Religion des Alten und Neuen Testaments*—reached me shortly after publication, I was at the time unable to do more than dip into its pages.

As we are told in a brief Preface, the task which Dr Wetter sets himself is 'einen Beitrag dazu zu liefern, das geschichtliche Milieu des Joh.-Evglms. möglichst konkret darzustellen'; not until such a task is

Digitized by Google

adequately performed, he urges, 'ist ein Verständnis des Evglms. überhaupt möglich', and to this, I fancy, many will assent. The lines on which he proposes to strike out being specifically his own, there is small fear, he remarks, of coming into collision with other scholars.

I pass to his Introduction. With a rapid glance at the diversity of view illustrated by modern Fourth Gospel criticism—'it is scarcely possible to speak of any one standpoint'—he turns away from conceptions of the Gospel as 'a great allegory' and fastens on what is deemed by him a radical defect of the several partition-theories which persist. He lays it down that whatever 'Unordnung' there appears to be, and more particularly in the Discourse-sections, is not really such; once modern standards are discarded it is patent that behind a superficial lack of sequence and conception there lies not seldom a unity of thought: the fact, we are told, is 'dass wir es mit formelhaftem Gut zu tun haben, das nicht vom Verfasser geprägt, sondern einfach von ihm übernommen worden ist'. Thus are we brought face to face with the hypothesis which Dr Wetter is strenuous to uphold; with a rigorous scrutiny of details, he says, conjecture becomes certainty that the Gospel 'voll ist von Formeln und heiligen Worten, aber auch von Gedanken und Vorstellungen, die es nicht als erstes geprägt hat', but which had long been current coin in the piety of Hellenistic circles. Not that the Gospel is rendered fully intelligible from this point of view alone—criticism has to reckon with more possibilities than are generally allowed—: it nevertheless holds good, not for side issues only, but for that which is central in the Gospel, the contention (positively in order to compel belief and negatively as a polemic against rival claimants) that Jesus is Son of God. Deep significance, it is pleaded, attaches to the circumstance that, to all appearance, He was by no means the first to give Himself out as such or to have it predicated of Him; the question, in short, is of 'ein Begriff' 'der schon vor dem 4. Evglm. festgeprägt und also schon ein technischer Terminus war, als er hier auf Jesus übertragen wurde'. Dr Wetter adds with assurance: 'Dadurch gewinnen wir nicht nur einen Einblick in die Bedeutung einer der wichstigsten Vorstellungen des Joh.-Evglms., sondern auch "der Charakter und die Tendenz" der Schrift erhalten dadurch eine neue, kräftige Beleuchtung'.

His main thesis thus set forth, he proceeds to marshal a formidable array of evidences which, in his opinion, amount to conclusive proof; and when I say that, with abundance of citation and allusion and a starting-point found in the remarks of Celsus (Orig. *c. Cels.* vii) on self-styled prophets met with by him in Syria and Palestine, Dr Wetter treats exhaustively of titles and designations which, claimed by or for these and the like personages, attached themselves in particular to one

Digitized by Google

'Gestalt' pre-eminently conspicuous in the Hellenistic piety of the age, there is, I take it, little need for me to say more of the many pages in which he essays to shew how features presented by the 'Gottessöhne' of antiquity are discoverable in the Jesus Son of God who looms large in the Fourth Gospel. I pass on without delay to his closing chapter; and it is to find him saying that his case is proved to conclusiveness inasmuch as wellnigh every lineament characteristic of the 'Gestalt' of Hellenistic piety is discoverable in the portrait of the Johannine Christ. Herein, we are told, lies the explanation of the contrast, not indeed to be exaggerated but none the less obvious, between the Johannine and the Synoptic representation: Christianity had made its way from Palestine into another world, and for those who moved in Johannine circles a Messiah would have been unintelligible; there was accordingly a need so to transfigure Jesus that, room made for historical reminiscences, He should respond to yearnings after One who, by his coming down to earth had brought salvation, for a Saviour who, since none but God could give of the divine to man, was really God Himself. Unquestionably, it is said, there are marked differences between the Johannine Christ-portrait and those of Hellenistic 'Heilande'; it remains true that, in all externals, the former is that of 'ein echt antiker "Sohn Gottes"'; as such he is held by the believer; it might indeed be asserted that the Gospel was written for the express purpose of awakening such a conviction. Outward resemblances notwithstanding, the contrast is sharp: Jesus transcends all other claimants to 'Gottessohnschaft' in the ancient world: 'Es ist nicht nur ein hellenistischer Gottessohn, der uns in dieser Schrift entgegentritt. Mehrere Momente haben wir zwar jedes für sich in der antiken Welt wiedergefunden. In ihrer Gesammtwirkung aber stellen sie uns ein einzigartiges Bild vor Augen, das Jesusbild, das bald das das Christentum beherrschende geworden ist, weil es am besten der Frömmigkeit dieser Menschen genügen konnte'. There is an Appendix: 'Zur Frage der Herkunft des Titels "Gottessohn" im Hellenismus'.

Of such sort is the gist of Dr Wetter's book. Were space available I should gladly enlarge on passages which I have certainly found interesting, ingenious, and suggestive; let me instance those which treat of the significance of the Johannine 'signs' (p. 69), of Johannine Christians met by objections easy to rebut had there been any knowledge of stories of the 'Virgin-birth' (p. 97), of πίστις and γνῶσις (pp. 131 ff), of difficulty arising from the charge of blasphemy at once eliminated with the recognition that a feature prominent in later controversies has been read back into the reports of the Trial—'all becomes plain if the υἱὸς θεοῦ, an anachronism where it stands, be taken in its Hellenistic significance'. But it must suffice to give some impressions of the work as a whole.

Digitized by Google

Illustrating a mass of learning on the part of its author, and at the least amply fulfilling the promise of its subsidiary title, it is, so it seems to me, a contribution to the subject by no means to be ignored; where some might use the word plausible of it, I prefer to say that it is not invariably persuasive; while I freely allow Dr Wetter's claims to scholarship I am not so sure on the score of unerring judgement. Read with discrimination the book well repays perusal; and in any case it shews how many stages have been traversed since the day when, in his *Geschichte des Lebens Jesu* (1842), Ammon threw out hints of such a transference to Ephesian soil of the Jesus who taught at Capernaum as should win for Him acceptance from minds cast in Hellenistic moulds.

H. LATIMER JACKSON.

Legends of Babylon and Egypt in relation to Hebrew Tradition, by L. W. KING ('Schweich Lectures' for 1916). (Published for the British Academy by the Oxford University Press, London, 1918.)

THE late Dr Leonard King has given us in his 'Legends of Babylon' by far the best book that has been written on Noah's Flood since the first discovery of cuneiform writing and literature. For a long time Babylonian and Assyriological study was but ill co-ordinated with scientific Biblical research. It is not yet fifty years ago since George Smith announced his discovery of the 'Chaldean Account of the Deluge' (Dec. 3, 1872). There were many at first who were only too eager to use the new lore as a counterblast to geological science and Biblical criticism. At last the Stones were crying out, and it was understood that they were crying out against the critics. Owing to this, and also to the unfamiliarity of the syllabic and ideographic script, and to the absence of sound grammatical tradition for the languages themselves, the older scholarship fought rather shy of Assyriology and left it too much to the adventurous, the enthusiastics, and the amateurs, and (worst of all) to those who had had less than full training in other branches of Semitic research.

The last thirty years have seen great changes in this as in all other departments of human activity. The older learning has become accustomed to 'Assyriology'. It has learnt to be reconciled to the legitimacy of a Semitic language which had actually lost almost all its characteristic gutturals long before the days of Moses. The students of the cuneiform documents on their part have gradually raised their study to the rank of a science. A few bilingual tablets in Greek and Babylonian have been discovered, small indeed and broken, but enough to shew that the principles of cuneiform writing had been correctly divined.

Digitized by Google

Meanwhile vast masses of the tablets in the British Museum and elsewhere have been transcribed and published, by Dr King himself and others, and they are now within the reach of those who will learn the cumbrous script.

But even more striking is the change in the attitude of the general public since 1872. The old controversies are dead. The geologists are still in conflict over the age of Man, but the question is whether he chipped flints 70,000 or only 30,000 years ago. The Mosaic cosmogony has dropped out of that race. We have learned to see that the true merit of the early chapters of the Bible is not that they give us veracious chronicles of the beginnings of the human race, but that they provide us with a marvellous moralization of ancient folk-tales. The figure of Genesis professes to belong to the life of primitive Man, and its hairy hands look something like unsophisticated folk-lore, but the voice is Jacob's and unmistakeably civilized. As literature and as a contribution to religious thought the Bible accounts of the Flood are no doubt superior to the Babylonian accounts, but that is because the Bible accounts are not more primitive, but less primitive.

To come now back to Dr King, one great merit of his book is that it sticks so closely to Babylonia. This is not from oversight. The reader will find on pp. 44 ff Dr King's reasons expressed at length for not deriving any part of our Bible story of the Flood from Egyptian sources. 'In a land such as Egypt, where there is little rain and the sky is always clear, the sun in its splendour tended from the earliest period to dominate the national consciousness' (p. 46); in the nearest Egyptian parallel to the Deluge story 'water has no part in man's destruction, and the essential element of a Deluge story is thus absent' (p. 48, and note). 'The Egyptians themselves possessed no tradition of a Deluge. Indeed the annual inundation of the Nile is not such as would give rise to a legend of world-destruction' (p. 47). 'In the matter of floods the Tigris and Euphrates present a striking contrast to the Nile. It is true that the life-blood of each country is its river-water, but the conditions of its use are very different, and in Mesopotamia it becomes a curse when out of control. . . . Egypt receives a full and regular supply of water, and there is no difficulty in disposing of any surplus. The growth in such a country of a legend of world-wide destruction by flood is inconceivable. In Mesopotamia, on the other hand, the floods, which come too late for the winter crops, are followed by the rainless summer months; and not only must the flood-water be controlled, but some portion of it must be detained artificially, if it is to be of use during the burning months of July, August, and September, when the rivers are at their lowest. . . . Here there is first too much water and then too little' (pp. 95, 96). '. . . While the Babylonians

Digitized by Google

succeeded in controlling the Euphrates, the Tigris was never really tamed, and whenever it burst its right bank the southern plains were devastated' (p. 96); and Dr King adds: 'We could not have more suitable soil for the growth of a Deluge story.'

Dr King's plea that the Biblical Flood is a far-away reminiscence of some great inundation, which overwhelmed the plain of Southern Babylonia, should be read in full. 'It is only in hilly countries such as Palestine, where for the greater part of the year water is scarce and precious, that we are forced to deduce borrowing' (p. 100).

Attention should be given to Dr King's account of the various Sumerian myths of Creation (pp. 124–129). Especially interesting is the interpretation of these myths from the local conditions. 'The Sumerian Creator is pictured as forming dry land from the primaeval water in much the same way as the early cultivator in the Euphrates Valley procured the rich fields for his crops. . . . All the world was sea until the god created land out of the waters by the only practical method that was possible in Mesopotamia' (p. 125). The method seems to have been that of catching the sediment brought down by the flooded waters in reed-baskets that retained the sediment and let the water flow away.

Most useful are the two Appendixes, the first containing a well-arranged Comparative Table of the Sumerian, Semitic-Babylonian, Hellenistic, and Hebrew versions of Creation, Antediluvian History, and the Deluge; and the second giving the Antediluvian Kings of Berossus and the Sumerian Dynastic List. This List, one of the most valuable of the discoveries at Nippur,[1] gives a list of kings of the earliest ruling cities of Old Babylonia, which are said to be Kish, Erech, Ur, and Awan.

Elsewhere in this number of the JOURNAL I have attempted to shew the bearing of the List, or rather of the historical tradition now represented to us by the List, upon the geographical and ethnographical lore of the Israelites in pre-Exilic times. It only remains here to express the regret which must be felt by all those interested in the sound study of the Old Testament that Dr King should have died so soon after the publication of the book which is the subject of this review. He had a first-hand knowledge of Babylonian literature second to none, and in these Schweich Lectures he has shewed a power of applying it both with sanity and imagination to the early chapters of Genesis, those stories so familiar to our ears and so strange and foreign to our modern Western thought.

F. C. BURKITT.

[1] A. Poebel *Historical Texts* (Univ. of Pennsylvania Museum Publ., Babylonian Section, vol. iv, no. 1, 1914).

Digitized by Google

The Samaritans: their testimony to the Religion of Israel. By Rev. J. E. H. THOMSON, D.D. (Oliver and Boyd, Edinburgh, 1919.)

THIS is a volume of more than 400 pages containing chapters on the Samaritan territory, Samaritan history, Samaritan theology, language, and literature, and on the Samaritan Pentateuch in relation to the Masoretic text and to the Septuagint. Dr Thomson has resided in Palestine and paid 'repeated visits' to Nablus, the present seat of the people about whom he writes, but it cannot be said that his book adds much to our knowledge of things Samaritan. His Hebrew leaves much to be desired, and his knowledge of Samaritan seems to be very slight. He gives a faulty paradigm of the verb on pp. 270–271, and his pages are disfigured with many misprints in Hebrew. On p. 336 he tells us that 'Gesenius would render *kabhôd*, "liver"' in Ps. xvi 9, *al.*; but this is not at all what Gesenius himself writes in the *Thesaurus* s. v. It must be confessed in brief that Dr Thomson challenges a comparison with Prof. Montgomery, the author of *The Samaritans: their history, theology, and literature*, Philadelphia, 1907; and the only possible judgement to give on Dr Thomson is *Impar congressus Achilli*. His challenge to Pentateuchal criticism in the last chapter is better passed over. The summary of his argument given on pages 384–386 reveals sufficiently the weakness of it. The priests sent by the king of Assyria (2 Kings xvii 27) must, it seems, have been supplied with a collection of ritual directions such as are found in the Pentateuch. On the other hand, the suspicions of the Ninevite government would not have allowed a copy of Joshua—a prophetic work—to be brought with the Torah. So Dr Thomson would have us believe that the 'Samaritan Pentateuch' was used in North Israel in Assyrian times, and that its witness is quite independent of that of the Jewish Pentateuch. It may be so, but the proof is still far to seek.

The Sayings of the Jewish Fathers (Pirke Aboth), translated from the Hebrew by W. O. E. OESTERLEY, D.D. (S.P.C.K., London, 1919.)

THIS work is uniform with the edition of the tractate *Sanhedrin* which was noticed in the *J. T. S.* for October 1919, pp. 80, 81. *Pirke Aboth*, like *Sanhedrin*, contains matter which is important for the student of the New Testament: *Aboth*, in fact, represents the best ethical teaching of Judaism which was to be found in the first century

Digitized by Google

of our era. Great names appear as the authors of the Sayings—Hillel, Shammai (Shemaiah), and Gamliel (Gamaliel). Dr Oesterley has done his editing well. He has prefixed an introduction giving some biographical notices of the chief doctors mentioned; he has added apposite notes to his English translation; and (not least in usefulness) he supplies us with two indices, one of Subject Matter, the other of passages of the Old and New Testaments. Dr Oesterley naturally makes due acknowledgement to the excellent edition of Dr Charles Taylor.

W. EMERY BARNES.

Les Acta Salvatoris, un Évangile de la Passion etc. et une mission apostolique en Aquitaine, suivis d'une traduction de la version anglo-saxonne; and *Les Actes du Sauveur*, la Lettre de Pilate, les Missions de Volusien, de Nathan, la Vindicte: leurs origines et leurs transformations. By DOM ÉTIENNE DARLEY, O.S.B. (Picard, Paris, 1913 and 1919.)

THE preface to the first of these tracts refers back to two studies by the author on the origins of the Church in Aquitaine and to the mission of St Veronica in the first century. These I have not seen, but the tenor of what lies before me makes it obvious that the author regards the mission of St Veronica to Aquitaine as a historical fact. Those who do not part company with him at that point may be willing to follow him in his present speculations upon the *Acta Pilati*. But I do not think anything would be gained by my summarizing them for the readers of this JOURNAL. An extract will serve to shew where we are:

'La mission de Nathan appartient au temps de Claude et est contemporaine de celle de Volusien.

'Cette mission a une étroite relation avec l'histoire religieuse de l'Aquitaine et de Bordeaux. Saint Martial, venu d'Orient à Rome au temps de Claude, puis à Limoges en Aquitaine, vient ensuite à Bordeaux, guérit et baptise le gouverneur de cette ville. La mission de Nathan est ainsi un épisode de la mission de Saint Martial, et toutes deux sont historiques' (*Les Actes* p. 20).

I do not know whether Dom Darley accepts the mission of Lazarus, Mary Magdalene, and Martha to Marseilles, or that of Zacchaeus *alias* Amator to Rocamadour, or acknowledges the epistles of St Martial to the churches of Bordeaux and Toulouse, and the whole corpus of stories about the apostolicity of the French churches. If so, he must be aware that he belongs to a rather small band of stalwarts; and he

Digitized by Google

ought to be aware that his beliefs need a good deal more than mere assertion to make them acceptable.

I do not wish to speak unkindly of the tracts, but really the only point of interest I can find in them is a text of the *Vindicta Salvatoris* printed from a Paris MS (lat. 3338), and even this does not seem very early.

Finally, I cannot understand how any one can read and re-read the *Acta Pilati*, the *Vindicta*, and the rest, and still hold to it that they are really ancient documents.

M. R. JAMES.

A Grammar of New Testament Greek, by JAMES HOPE MOULTON, M.A. (Cantab), D.Litt. (London), D.D. (Edinburgh), D.Theol. (Berlin and Groningen). Vol. ii. Accidence and word-formation. Part I. General Introduction, Sounds and Writing. Edited by WILBERT FRANCIS HOWARD, M.A. (Manchester), B.D. (London). (T. & T. Clark, 1919.)

OF all the innocent victims of the great war the one whom we mourn most is perhaps the great scholar, who had such intimate connexion with the scholars and the scholarship of our enemies, and whose end brought about by a German submarine was a veritable tragedy. When the news of his death in 1917 came to us, the first thought was that his great undertaking would never be completed, but that we should have to be satisfied with his brilliant *Prolegomena*. Now the welcome arrival of the first part of a second volume gives us more or less what he would have published himself had he been spared. The Syntax volume has not been written, but we are promised shortly, in addition to 'Sounds and writing', 'Accidence', and 'Word-formation', with a special appendix by a Semitic scholar. Into the mass of detail on pronunciation and orthography we cannot now follow our author, but must confine our remarks to the General Introduction.

Dr Moulton devoted much thought to the supposed Semitic colouring of New Testament language since the first edition of his *Prolegomena*, and most of his introduction deals with this question. He rightly calls attention to the prevalence of a knowledge of Greek in Galilee at the time of our Lord (though he does not doubt that the bulk of His teaching was in Aramaic), and holds that 'Mark's indifferent Greek may be credited to his Jerusalem upbringing'. Luke, he holds, knew no Aramaic: here we are not convinced that he is right. To Paul he cannot deny some Semitisms, but points out that they are in some cases good vernacular

Digitized by Google

Greek. The Semitisms of the author of the Hebrews (we are sorry that Dr Moulton should even allow the possibility of the Priscilla conjecture) are simply borrowed from the LXX, and the same is the case with 1 Peter and James. 'Real Aramaism may be allowed ungrudgingly in those parts of the New Testament which are virtually translated from Aramaic oral or written sources', i. e. Mark and Q. The style of the Johannine writings is not Semitic. The Apocalypse however 'abounds in translation-Greek and bears constantly the imprint of the author's Semitic mind'; but Dr Moulton quotes with approval the Dean of Wells' remark that its Greek is more like the Greek of the Egyptian papyri and of various Greco-Roman inscriptions. This short summary shews that there is now little room for disagreement among scholars on this once burning question.

We may be very grateful to Mr Howard for the 'pietas' with which he has done all that was possible towards the completion of a great work, which will always be a landmark in Biblical studies.

G. C. RICHARDS.

Digitized by Google

RECENT PERIODICALS RELATING TO THEOLOGICAL STUDIES

(1) ENGLISH.

The Church Quarterly Review, January 1920 (Vol. lxxxix, No. 178: Spottiswoode & Co.). BISHOP OF MORAY The Ministry of Women—A. E. BAKER The Supernatural, the Incarnation, and the Eucharist—W. J. FERRAR Egyptian Monasticism—G. HARFORD Croce's philosophical system—L. PULLAN Serbian Church architecture—W. A. WIGRAM Turkey in dissolution—Some factors in the political situation in India—The economic situation—Short notices.

The Hibbert Journal, January 1920 (Vol. xviii, No. 2: Williams & Norgate). E. TROUBETZKOY The Bolshevist Utopia and the religious movement in Russia—E. BOUTROUX The value of moral ideals—W. A. CURTIS Reunion in the Scottish Church and the proposed articles—O. LODGE The attitude of the Church to the phenomena known as spiritualistic—T. W. ROLLESTON Life and Death: considerations on a poem of Thomas Hardy—J. R. MOZLEY The eternal life of love—F. YOUNGHUSBAND World-love—E. MARTIN Stars and flowers—G. W. WADE Does historical criticism imperil the substance of Christian faith?—T. R. STEBBING Thaumaturgy in the Bible—C. MAYNARD Is Christ alive to-day?—A. M. HOCART What is primitive?—Discussions, Survey, and Signed Reviews.

The Expositor, January 1920 (Eighth Series, No. 109: Hodder & Stoughton). H. WATT Church History: its scope and methods—V. BURCH Reasons why Nero should not be found in Rev. xiii—A. T. ROBERTSON Philemon and Onesimus: master and slave—J. H. MICHAEL The Philippian interpolation: where does it end?—D. M. BAILLIE What is the 'theology of experience'?—A. T. SCHOFIELD The Lucan narrative of the Nativity.

February 1920 (Eighth Series, No. 110). J. G. JAMES Mental and moral sanity—C. J. CADOUX The place of Jesus' ethical teaching in modern life—R. MACKINTOSH Formative conceptions of atonement in Western Catholicism—A. C. PURDY The purpose of the Epistle to the Hebrews—N. J. D. WHITE The missionary spirit of the Old

Digitized by Google

Testament—A. MINGANA New documents on Philoxenus of Hierapolis and on the Philoxenian version of the Bible.

March 1920 (Eighth Series, No. 111). E. W. WINSTANLEY The outlook of early Christian Apocalypses—R. MACKINTOSH Anselm on satisfaction to the Divine Honour—B. W. BACON Editorial arrangement in Matt. viii–ix—W. MEIKLE The vocabulary of patience in the Old Testament—W. W. CANNON Passover and Priests' Code—C. J. BALL Daniel and Babylon.

(2) AMERICAN.

The American Journal of Theology, January 1920 (Vol. xxiv, No. 1: University of Chicago Press). W. WALKER Recent tendencies in the Congregational Churches—J. W. BUCKHAM The New England theologians—H. L. STEWART Anatole France and modernist Catholicism—D. MCFAYDEN The occasion of the Domitianic persecution—J. W. THOMPSON The Cistercian Order and colonization in mediaeval Germany—A. T. OLMSTEAD Wearing the hat—C. R. BOWEN Are Paul's prison letters from Ephesus?

The Princeton Theological Review, January 1920 (Vol. xviii, No. 1: Princeton University Press). G. Vos Eschatology of the Psalter—B. B. WARFIELD Albrecht Ritschl and his doctrine of Christian perfection: Article II—R. D. WILSON Use of the words for God in the apocryphal and pseudepigraphical literature of the Jews—D. S. GAGE Problems of peace—Reviews of recent literature—Survey of periodical literature.

Digitized by Google

The Journal of Theological Studies

JULY, 1920

NOTES AND STUDIES

LA TRADITION MANUSCRITE DE LA CORRESPONDANCE DE SAINT BASILE (*Suite: Chapitre* II)

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

[To our regret it has been found impossible to print as they stood the Tables which M. Bessières had with elaborate care drawn up to illustrate the extent of agreement and disagreement, in order and contents, between the different families and again between the different MSS of the same family. For the saving of expense, a great deal of simplification has perforce been introduced: but no trouble has been spared to effect this without sacrificing any of the material, and it is even hoped that the results may be more clearly and easily grasped from the simpler Tables that now follow. Besides the re-arrangement of the Tables, a system of notation by capital letters has been employed for the more important MSS (pp. 294, 300, 301), so as to avoid repeating descriptions like 'Baroccianus 121' 'Marcianus 61' time after time. And in the first Table—which is also the most important, because it sets out the evidence of the leading family of MSS—the numerous variations and omissions of the one very late member of the group, Parisinus supplément grec 334, saec. xvi, have been designedly put aside as only tending to confuse the issue: M. Bessières had himself noted (see p. 29 *supra*) that this MS, so far as it belongs to the Aa family, 'semble dépendre du Marcianus 61': and it seems enough to refer to the list of its contents on p. 29 and to catalogue its idiosyncrasies in a note (see p. 294 n. 1). Finally the attempt has been made to obviate the dangers of alternative systems of numerations of the letters (according, that is, to different editions or different MSS) by distinguishing the standard numbering, that of the Benedictine edition followed by Migne, with heavy type.]

C. H. TURNER.

Digitized by Google

CHAPITRE II—L'EMBRANCHEMENT A.

§ I. Principe du Classement.

Explication des signes adoptés.

Les manuscrits étudiés dans le présent travail se laissent classer dans l'une des sept familles que voici :

Embranchement A { Aa, Ab, Ac

Embranchement B { Bo, Bu, Bx, Bz

Dans chaque embranchement les lettres minuscules désignent la famille. Pour la clarté des appellations nous avons jugé à propos de ne jamais nommer une famille sans la situer en même temps dans son embranchement, d'où l'emploi continu de la majuscule à côté de la lettre désignant la famille. Notre classification repose, ainsi que nous l'avons annoncé dans notre introduction, sur l'ordre de succession des lettres dans chaque manuscrit. Deux ou plusieurs manuscrits donnant les lettres dans un même ordre appartiennent à une même famille. Tel est le principe dont nous faisons une application trop étendue pour que nous ne cherchions en quelques mots à le légitimer.

Le corpus des lettres basiliennes comprend, dans Migne, 366 pièces. Aucun manuscrit ne le donne au complet. Leur contenu varie entre 200 et 300 pièces, à prendre les choses en gros. Or ces lettres ne se suivent pas dans le même ordre dans tous les manuscrits. Nous avons donc plusieurs ordres différents et, à première vue, irréductibles. Pourtant il n'y a pas autant d'ordres distincts que de manuscrits. On en distingue sept en tout qui correspondent à nos sept familles. A l'intérieur de chaque groupe les manuscrits reproduisent les lettres dans la même succession, avec quelques légères variantes d'ordre ou quelques omissions sans grande importance mais qui ne sont pas toujours aisément explicables dans le détail. Parfois on a affaire à des insertions aisées à reconnaître, à des mutilations qui ont souvent donné lieu à des restaurations inexactes. Souvent aussi les copistes ont, par mégarde, passé une lettre qu'ils ont ensuite quelquefois reproduite à une autre place. Quelquefois, ayant à la fin quelques folios de reste,

Digitized by Google

ils les ont remplis avec des emprunts à d'autres recueils. Inversement, faute de place, ils ont éliminé certaines pièces de l'exemplaire qu'ils copiaient, autant que possible celles qui n'étaient pas de S. Basile. Par exemple, le *Coislin* 237 ne reproduit pas à la fin les trois lettres de Libanios 1226, 1227, 1228, ni la lettre 136 de Grégoire de Nazianze ni la lettre 115 de S. Basile souvent attribuée à Grégoire de Nazianze, ni la lettre 2 de S. Grégoire de Nysse, autant de pièces qui figurent dans le manuscrit de *l'Arsenal* nº 234 identique pour le reste au Coislin 237, du moins dans son état primitif. Malgré de telles divergences l'identité fondamentale subsiste comme base de notre raisonnement. Quand plusieurs manuscrits s'accordent à disposer deux ou trois cents lettres dans un même ordre, une telle concordance ne saurait l'expliquer par des rencontres de hazard. Il faut de toute nécessité que ces manuscrits dérivent d'un même ancêtre. Ils sont donc les témoins d'une même tradition. Nos tableaux par familles sont l'application et l'illustration de ce principe.

Mais dans la diversité que présentent les ordres, il y a des degrés. Les différences peuvent l'emporter sur les ressemblances ou inversement. Nous mesurons la parenté mutuelle des familles aux analogies que présentent leurs ordres. Ici encore nous recourons à des tableaux comparatifs pour mettre ces analogies en évidence et nous atteignons alors un principe d'unité supérieure qui est l'embranchement.

Ici les difficultés sont parfois considérables. Les familles dérivées se reconnaissent à ce signe que les copistes se sont efforcés d'introduire un peu de logique dans l'ordre qu'ils adoptent. On ne saisit pas toujours très bien à quelles préoccupations ils obéissent en bouleversant ainsi un ordre donné. Souvent elles se croisent et se contrarient. Au premier degré ils semblent guidés par le désir de réunir ensemble toutes les lettres adressées aux mêmes correspondants, mais certaines lettres à des correspondants divers ont un objet commun, roulent sur des matières identiques ou analogues, en conséquence de quoi ils les ont rapprochés au risque d'être infidèles au principe du groupement par correspondants. Souvent ils classent les correspondants par dignité, mais ici encore ils sont rarement logiques jusqu'au bout. D'autres considérations entrent en ligne et se mettent en travers. Comment reconnaître dans un manuscrit ou dans une famille de manuscrits l'ordre fondamental dont elle procède?

Cependant, malgré ces difficultés on y parvient la plupart du temps. En comparant les listes on découvre de petits groupes de lettres qui se suivent dans un ordre identique ou très voisin. Mais ici encore il faut que de telles rencontres ne soient pas isolées, et en outre que l'on puisse seulement les expliquer par la filiation. En d'autres termes il faut que les séries concordantes ne soient pas dues à des rencontres de hazard,

Digitized by Google

mais à ce fait que la famille supposée dérivée les ait prises telles quelles dans la famille dont elle est issue. Ce cas se présente surtout lorsque les séries sont formées de lettres à des correspondants divers, sans aucun lien naturel entre elles. Lorsqu'on rencontre de telles séries concordantes, on peut conclure à la filiation des ordres, surtout lorsqu'elles sont nombreuses et étendues. Alors on peut admettre avec certitude que la famille dérivée est celle dont l'ordre est le plus conséquent, le plus logique. En général quand on compare deux ordres, on remarque que les concordances vont se multipliant à mesure qu'on avance vers la fin. Ceci tient à ce fait que presque toutes les familles rejettent vers la fin les lettres de moindre importance, adressées à des correspondants moins en vue, qui n'ont été souvent que des correspondants de hazard, par suite de quoi l'ordre de succession de ces lettres a été considéré comme plus indifférent et s'est trouvé par là moins exposé aux bouleversements.

Outre ces concordances de détail, il existe souvent entre familles rapprochées une concordance plus générale, telle celle que l'on constate entre Aa et Ac. L'auteur de l'ordre Ac suit pas à pas l'ordre Aa, mais à mesure qu'il rencontre un nom nouveau, il recherche toutes les lettres qui le portent en suscription, après quoi il passe au correspondant suivant dans Aa. Nos tableaux comparatifs entre plusieurs familles ne peuvent mettre cette concordance générale en relief, mais elle nous a néanmoins guidée dans nos rapprochements et nos conclusions.

Mais les copistes n'étaient pas seulement préoccupés d'ordonner les lettres suivant un plan nouveau, ils cherchaient aussi à compléter leur collection de lettres. Aussi arrive-t-il qu'une famille supposée dérivée donne plus de lettres que celle dont on présume qu'elle est issue. Nouvelle source de difficultés, car on ne parvient pas toujours à découvrir l'origine des lettres que la famille dérivée donne en suppléments. Ce cas se présente notamment dans notre chapitre quatrième, où nous comparons le plus ancien ordre de l'embranchement B, à savoir l'ordre Bz[1] avec le plus ancien ordre de l'embranchement A, qui est l'ordre Aa. La comparaison nous amène à cette conclusion que Bz modifie l'ordre Aa, que l'ordre Aa est donc le plus ancien, et celui dont tous les ordres sont issus. Mais Bz est beaucoup plus complet que Aa. On ne peut donc admettre que Bz ait pris dans Aa la totalité de son contenu. On est alors en présence de deux hypothèses. Ou bien Bz a complété Aa par un emprunt à une autre source, ou bien il dérive d'un exemplaire de Aa plus complet que ceux que nous possédons. Comme la correspondance de S. Grégoire de Nazianze était à l'origine inséparable de

[1] [As I tried to shew in *J.T.S.* Oct. 1919, pp. 4–7, the textual indications given by M. Bessières himself seem to disprove the conclusion reached as to the antiquity of Bz compared with other branches of the B family.—C. H. Turner.]

Digitized by Google

celle de S. Basile, les lettres que Bz donne en supplément à Aa auraient-elles figuré dans les recueils Aa parmi celles de S. Grégoire de Nazianze, et l'originalité de Bz consisterait-elle à les avoir restituées à S. Basile? Cette hypothèse n'est pas dérivée de vraisemblance, mais il faut attendre pour la juger que la tradition des lettres de S. Grégoire de Nazianze ait été approfondie. Toujours est-il que l'ordre Bz semble dérivé de l'ordre Aa ou d'un ordre fort voisin de Aa pour la partie de la correspondance commune aux deux familles. En conséquence l'ordre Aa est bien le plus ancien que nous puissions attendre, s'il n'est l'ordre absolument original et primitif.

Notre classification des manuscrits et notre étude sur les filiations des familles étant donc basée sur la comparaison des ordres de succession dans les manuscrits et des ordres des différentes familles, nous avons recouru à des tableaux comparatifs pour mettre les concordances en relief et les rendre, pour ainsi dire, sensible à l'œil.[1]

L'Explication des Signes adoptés dans ces Tableaux.

om. = lacune.
mut. = mutilation.
tr. = place différente de la lettre dans tel manuscrit donné.

§ II. Tableau I. Tableau synoptique des manuscrits de la famille Aa.

A la base de ce tableau nous plaçons le Patmius 57. Seules les pièces qui figurent dans ce ms portent un numéro d'ordre dans notre tableau, à droite des numéros de l'édition Bénédictine (= Migne), désignant les lettres telles qu'elles se présentent dans le Patmius 57.

[1] Le principe de classement qui joue un si grand rôle dans ce travail n'est pas nouveau en philologie. Cf. *Philologische Untersuchungen*, 18. Heft, Berlin, 1906, et l'application faite par M. U. v. Wilamowitz aux mss de Théocrite. — Pour Plutarque cf. Konrad Ziegler *Die Ueberlieferungsgeschichte der vergleichenden Lebensbeschreibungen Plutarchs.* Leipzig, 1907.

Digitized by Google

Ed. Bénéd. (et Migne)	Patm. 57 (P)	Barocc. 121 (O) Marcianus 61 (V) Vatic. 434 Patm. 326 Medic. lvii 7 (L)
1	1[1]	
4	2	
2	3	
9	4	
140	5	
173	6	
34	7	
27	8	
30	9	
138	10	
268	11	
182	12	
31	13	
146	14	
168	15	
157	16	
158	17	
282	18	
334	19	
5	20	
6	21	
335	22	*mut.* O[2]
336	23	*mut.* O
337	24	*mut.* O
338	25	*mut.* O
339	26	*mut.* O
340	27	*mut.* O
341	28	*mut.* O
342	29	*mut.* O
343	30	*mut.* O
112	31	*mut.* O
61	32	*mut.* O
66	33	*mut.* O
80	34	
197	35	
279	36	
280	37	
111	38	
90	39	
214	40	
64	41	
38	42	
236	43	
28	44	
207	45	
210	46	
293	47	
150	48	
299	49	
313	50	
56	51	
323	52	
147	53	
304	54	
33	55	*om.* V L
223	56	
257	57	
57	58	
259	59	
192	60	
219	61	
261	62	
277	63	
26	64	
32	65	
272	66	
229	67	
230	68	
247	69	
246	70	
29	71	
97	72	
154	73	
164	74	

[1] [The divergences of Paris. suppl. 334 are catalogued here, for completeness' sake, from the data given by M. Bessières: but they are probably arbitrary, and certainly not important enough to dislocate the Table as constructed above in the text, so that they have been removed from it. The numbers cited are those of the family Aa (or rather of its oldest MS, Patmos 57), *not* the numbers of Migne and the Benedictines. Omit Epp. 1–5: between 6 and 7 insert 182 of the Benedictine order: 12 is repeated: omit 17, 19, 22, 24–36: transpose 37 to nearly the end: omit 39: transpose 41: omit 44–47, but insert 64: omit 55 (with V), 56, 58, 60, 62, 63, 65: 70–72: 75, 76: 81, 82: 88: 99: 102: 105–107: 111: 114: 119, 120: 124: 128: 133 with L: 136: 139, 140, and 142, 143: 154–156: 162 and 165 and 168: 174–179: 183–185: 188: 192: 213–223: 226 (with V), 227: 232: 237, 238, 240: 243 (with V): insert 22 between 246 and 247: omit 257, 258, 265–267: omit 273, but insert with V 40, 41, and three other tractates, see pp. 26, 29 *supra*.]

[2] [Barocc. 121 has lost several leaves after fol. 16: for the letters jump from κβ′ (22) to λδ′ (34), epp. 23–33 having wholly disappeared, see p. 28 *supra*.]

Digitized by Google

TABLEAU I (*suite*)

Ed. Bénéd. (et Migne)	P	O V L Vatic. 434 Patm. 326
58	75	
60	76	
55	77	
65	78	
245	79	
244	80	
		epp. 356, 343 O de seconde main
51	81	*mut.* O
203	82	*mut.* O
291	83	*mut.* O
54	84	*mut.* O
301	85	*mut.* O
121	86	*mut.* O
254	87	*mut.* O
195	88	
122	89	
255	90	
184	91	
185	92	
132	93	
181	94	
253	95	
		epp. 330 [265], 7 [153], 19 [154], 47 [155]. Patm. 326
256	96	
208	97	
196	98	
178	99	
84	100	
76	101	
96	102	
180	103	
177	104	
344	105	
345	106	
346	107	
		epp. 188, 141 [196], 198 [197], 237 [198], 222 [269], 221 [270], 220 [271], 130 [210], 205 [249], 264 [267], 267 [268], 1226 Libanios, 1227 Libanios, 129 [178], 199, 217, 326 Patm. 326
239	108	*om.* Patm. 326
127	109	
		tr. 48, 127 Patm. 326
48	110	

Ed. Bénéd. (et Migne)	P	O V L Vatic. 434 Patm. 326
271	111	
269	112	
134	113	
135	114	
156	115	
123	116	
262	117	
276	118	
92	119	
243	120	
300	121	
228	122	
52	123	
67	124	
105	125	
252	126	
145	127	
100	128	
174	129	
186	130	
187	131	
328	132	
329	133	*om.* L
194	134	
193	135	
212	136	
63	137	
		< ep. 329 [133] L
94	138	
20	139	*mut.* L
151	140	*mut.* L
160	141	*mut.* L
139	142	*mut.* L
82	143	*mut.* P : *mut.* L
102	144	*mut.* P : *mut.* L
152	145	*mut.* P : *mut.* L
136	146	*mut.* L
162	147	*mut.* L
98	148	*mut.* L
241	149	*mut.* L
227	150	*mut.* L
260	151	*mut.* P (presque en entier)
321	152	*mut.* P
324	153	
7	154	*bis* Patm. 326
19	155	*bis* Patm. 326
47	156	*bis* Patm. 326, ep. 99 Patm. 326
148	157	
149	158	
163	159	
74	160	
75	161	
179	162	

Digitized by Google

TABLEAU I (*suite*)

Ed. Bénéd. (et Migne)	P	O V L Vatic. 434 Patm. 326
119	163	
162	164	*mut.* O
251	165	*mut.* O
118	166	*mut.* O
81	167	*mut.* O
3	168	*mut.* O
21	169	*mut.* O
325	170	*mut.* O
110	171	*mut.* O
281	172	*mut.* O
104	173	*mut.* O
68	174	*mut.* O
120	175	*mut.* O
250	176	*mut.* O
226	177	
59	178	
129	179	*mut.* Vat. 434
265	180	*mut.* Vat. 434
224	181	*mut.* Vat. 434
131	182	*mut.* Vat. 434
211	183	*mut.* Vat. 434
12	184	*mut.* Vat. 434
13	185	
23	186	
302	187	
116	188	
17	189	
46	190	à partir d'ici le Patm. 326 se sépare de la famille Aa
99	191	
69	192	
133	193	
266	194	
216	195	*om.* V? *om.* L?[1]
95	196	
141	197	
198	198	
237	199	
128	200	
161	201	*mut.* L
176	202	*mut.* L
231	203	*mut.* L
202	204	*mut.* L
200	205	*mut.* L
115	206	*mut.* L
101	207	*mut.* L
206	208	*mut.* L
10	209	*mut.* L
307	210	*mut.* L
130	211	*mut.* L
191	212	*mut.* L
189	213	*mut.* L
349	214	
350	215	
351	216	
352	217	
353	218	
354	219	
355	220	
		ep. 356 Vat. 434
347	221	
348	222	
22	223	
85	224	
284	225	
71	226	*om.* V : *om.* L
125	227	
86	228	
87	229	
183	230	
137	231	
24	232	
126	233	
165	234	
72	235	
225	236	
263	237	*mut.* O
204	238	*mut.* O (remplacées par l'homélie περὶ τοῦ σώματος τοῦ κυρίου O *secunda manu*)
242	239	
25	240	
18	241	
294	242	
14	243	*om.* V : *om.* L
233	244	
234	245	
235	246	
113	247	
114	248	
205	249	
292	250	
159	251	
172	252	
79	253	
295	254	
238	255	
73	256	
53	257	
16	258	
290	259	

[1] [I think there is some mistake here: the list of L on p. 24 *supra* includes 216, and the list of V on p. 25 gives 206, probably by a slip for 216.]

Digitized by Google

TABLEAU I (*suite*)

Ed. Bénéd. (et Migne)	P	O V L Vatic. 434 Patm. 326	Ed. Bénéd. (et Migne)	P	O V L Vatic. 434 Patm. 326
91	260				*πρὸς τοὺς μὴ δεχομένους τὸ ὁμοούσιον* [σλθ'] et Libanios ep. 1226 [σν'])
240	261				
45	262				
103	263				
258	264				
330	265		**222**	269	
332	266		**221**	270	*mut.* P
264	267		**220**	271	*mut.* P
267	268	*mut.* O (remplacée par l'homélie	**89**	272	
			124	273	

Ici se termine la collection de la famille Aa proprement dite: le Patmius 57 ajoute d'une main récente ep. **366**; le Baroccianus 121 les trois lettres canoniques **188, 199, 217**, également d'une main récente; le Marcianus 61 (et le Paris. 334 S) les cinq pièces qui suivent, c'est-à-dire, **40, 41,** Πρὸς *ἀσθενοῦντα παραμυθητική*, inc. *ὁ βίος τῶν ἀνθρώπων βραχὺς* . . . [le Paris. 334 S insère aussi **366**], Εἰς *τὸ ἅγιον πάσχα*, inc. *οὐ ξένην ἑορτὴν* . . .; Εἰς *τὴν ἁγίαν* Τριάδα, inc. *ἐπίγνωσις* Πατρὸς . . .

§ III. Remarques complémentaires sur le Tableau I et sur la famille Aa.

Deux mss de la famille Aa, le Vaticanus 434 et le Parisinus 334 S, contiennent, outre les lettres qui figurent au tableau I, tout un supplément qui leur est commun avec certains mss des autres familles et qui sera étudié à part (tableau XIII).

La famille Aa est assez homogène. Nous n'avons pas à insister sur ce que les manuscrits qui la composent ont de commun entre eux. S'ils dérivent d'un même archétype leurs analogies, une fois mises en évidence, s'expliquent assez d'elles-mêmes. Leurs divergences sont bien plus embarrassantes. Un grand nombre sont accidentelles et imputables à des mutilations, à des insertions de seconde main, à des omissions involontaires, réparées parfois par les premiers copistes qui ont été ainsi amenés à introduire certaines variantes d'ordre, d'ailleurs insignifiantes. Si notre tableau est suffisamment clair nous pouvons nous dispenser de revenir sur ces menues divergences.

Un seul ms, le Patmius 326, en présente de plus compliquées. Entre les numéros 95 et 96 de l'ordre combiné nous rencontrons une première enclave de 4 lettres, savoir **330, 7, 19, 47**, ces trois dernières étant copiées en double dans ce ms. (= 153, 154, 155 ordre combiné). Nous croyons que cette enclave a été extraite de la collection des lettres de S. Grégoire de Nazianze et insérée ici. En effet **330** est tout à fait dans le style de S. Grégoire. 153, 154, 155 sont adressées par Basile à Grégoire. Or nous avons signalé, dans les descriptions des mss, des

Digitized by Google

lettres de S. Grégoire à S. Basile figurant dans les recueils de lettres de S. Basile et vice versa. (Cf. description du Medic. IV 14 p. 42 et du Vat. 713 p. 41.) Cette explication est d'autant plus plausible que la correspondance des deux écrivains se trouvait souvent à l'origine et aussi dans plusieurs de nos mss, notamment dans le Patmius 326, réunie en un même tome.

Nous rencontrons une deuxième enclave entre les nos 107 et 108 de l'ordre combiné, formée des lettres **188, 141, 198, 237, 222, 221, 220, 130, 205, 264, 267.** Libanios 1226, 1227, Bas. **129, 199, 217, 326.** Dans ce groupe les lettres **188, 199, 217, 326,** sont étrangères aux autres mss Aa. Les trois premières sont les trois lettres canoniques. On comprend que les mss Aa les aient négligées parce qu'elles figuraient dans d'innombrables recueils canoniques. 326 est une *ἀνεπίγραφος*. Nous savons que les anciens représentants de Aa ne donnent pas les *ἀνεπίγραφοι*.

Les autres lettres de l'enclave sont réparties ailleurs dans Aa parfois par petits groupes (se reporter au tableau), parfois isolément. Les deux lettres de Libanios données ici font partie de la tradition basilienne (cf. Paris. Arsenal 234, Marc. 61, Paris. 331 S, Vat. 2209). L'enclave dans son ensemble ne décèle point son origine. Elle ne paraît pas extraite de la tradition Bz (Vat. 435) comme la dernière partie du ms, car la plupart de ces lettres manquent justement dans Vat. 435.

En outre, comme il a été dit page 27, le Patmius 326 contenait encore 125 lettres aujourd'hui perdues. Pour toute cette section finale il dépendait de la même tradition que le Vaticanus 435, comme le montrera le tableau qui suit.

Patmius 326. Ed. Bénéd. et Migne.		Vat. 435. Famille Bz.
176	=	123
191	=	124
161	=	122
171	=	316
170	=	315
45	=	301
53	=	166
115	=	176
189	=	196
16	=	16
3 lettres sans numéro d'ordre dans le ms et impossibles à identifier		
9 lettres de la correspondance entre Bas. et Libanios qu'on ne peut identifier de façon certaine		

Patmius 326. Ed. Bénéd. et Migne.		Vat. 435. Famille Bz.
22	=	*om.*
40	=	11
41	=	12
125	=	*om.*
124	=	*om.*
ἀνεπίγραφος		?
284	=	*om.*
περὶ τοῦ σώματος τοῦ κυ		
6 lettres à Amphiloque	=	?
4 lettres à adresse illisible		
1 lettre à Libanios	=	?
128	=	145
101	=	148
114	=	151
205 ou 206	=	152 ou 153
159	=	156
238	=	163
73	=	164

Digitized by Google

Patmius 326. Vat. 435.		
Ed. Bénéd. et Migne.		Famille Bz.
91	=	183
240	=	184
86	=	206
183	=	207
3 adresses illisibles dont probablement les lettres 119 et 72	=	208 et 209
225	=	210
263	=	211
25	=	212
283	=	214
296	=	213
242	=	215
333	=	216
365	=	217
215	=	218
Ἀσχολίῳ	=	?
126	=	219
24	=	220
15	=	221
274	=	222
49	=	223
153	=	224
50	=	225

Patmius 326. Vat. 435.		
Ed. Bénéd. et Migne.		Famille Bz.
286	=	226
142	=	227
143	=	228
144	=	229
299	=	61
201	=	232
107	=	233
109	=	234
un numéro illisible		
108	=	235
303	=	236
312	=	237
18	=	238
306	=	239
278	=	240
297	=	241
83	=	242
106	=	243
175	=	244
218	=	245
232	=	246
248	=	247
190	=	248

En outre le Patmius 326 donne 43 *ἀνεπίγραφοι* qui vont du n° *τκα'* bis jusqu'à *τξγ'*. Le Vat. 435 n'en donne que 40 du n° *σξ'* inclus au n° *σϛθ'* inclus, ce qui fait une différence de 3 lettres en plus dans le Patmius 326. Pour cette série on ne saurait supposer que le Patmius ait innové.

Dans le tableau ci-dessus on constate que les lettres **125** et **124** données par le Patmius manquent dans le Vaticanus 326. Mais on les trouve dans les représentants de Aa (**125** = 227 et **124** = 273 de notre ordre combiné tableau I).

Le Patmius représente donc une tradition composite, la tradition Aa pour la première partie de son contenu qui est la plus importante et la tradition Bz pour la dernière en majeure part perdue. En outre Aa y est émendé à l'aide de Bz.

Le Patmius 326 ne peut être envisagé en conséquence comme un témoin d'un état ancien et intermédiaire qu'aurait traversé la famille Aa. Pour cette famille on a l'impression qu'elle nous transmet la Correspondance de S. Basile dans sa disposition la plus archaïque sans traces sensibles de remaniements. En effet, si l'ordre Aa résultait de retouches faites à un ordre plus ancien, on pourrait sans doute découvrir quelle méthode, quels principes, auraient suivis les réviseurs. Il saute aux yeux qu'on n'aurait eu l'idée de remanier un ordre ancien que pour classer les lettres et les disposer suivant un principe logique. Or la logique est justement ce qui apparaît le moins dans l'ordre Aa. Les

Digitized by Google

lettres n'y sont classées ni par correspondants, ni par régions, ni selon leur importance historique ou littéraire, ni selon la chronologie. Sans doute on trouve dans les mss Aa, groupés ensemble, des lettres adressées à un même correspondant, par exemple les lettres **34, 27, 30, 138, 268** à Eusèbe de Samosate, suivies de **182, 31, 146, 168, 157, 158** à diverses personnes de l'entourage d'Eusèbe. Mais on trouve rarement réunies en une série continue les lettres adressées à un même personnage. Les mêmes mss donnent encore, mais dispersées, les lettres **48, 95, 98, 100, 127, 128, 136, 141, 145, 162, 198, 237, 239, 241** à Eusèbe de Samosate. De même les lettres à Grégoire de Nazianze ne sont pas groupées en une série continue. La correspondance avec Libanios forme plusieurs paquets. La classification par correspondants se trouve donc, si l'on veut, amorcée dans Aa, mais sans doute involontairement. Les lettres **34, 27, 30, 138, 268, 182, 31, 146, 168, 157, 158** se suivent dans Aa, parce qu'elles étaient revenues de Samosate en un seul paquet.

Dans les mss Aa, les lettres **121 . . . 195, 122** adressées à différents évêques d'Arménie — ceux de Nicopolis, de Cologne et de Satala — se suivent sans autre enclave que la lettre **254** adressée à Pélagios, évêque de Laodicée de Syrie. Elles voisinent ensemble en vertu du récolement, et non pour avoir été systématiquement groupées suivant leur destination géographique. On peut en dire autant de **185, 132** (à Abramios de *Batnae* en Syrie — qu'il ne faut pas confondre avec Batnae en Mésopotamie), **181, 253, 256**, qui sont adressées à divers personnages résidant en Syrie, et qui se suivent immédiatement dans Aa. Si le premier qui rassembla les lettres de S. Basile dans l'ordre Aa avait voulu les distribuer suivant leur adresse il aurait enflé considérablement le groupe adressé à des Syriens. Car beaucoup d'autres lettres ont la Syrie pour destination qui sont dispersées un peu partout dans les mss de la famille Aa. En réalité la collection Aa s'est formée sans plan préconçu, sans méthode, au petit bonheur, et les manuscrits qui nous l'ont transmise sans changements nous laissent l'impression d'être les plus fidèles à la plus ancienne tradition. Les manuscrits Aa nous permettent d'entrevoir comment s'est formée la collection des lettres de S. Basile.

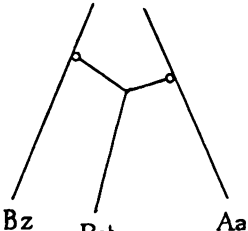


FIG. 1.

Le stemma ci-dessus représentera les rapports du Patmius 326 avec Aa d'une part, avec Bz de l'autre.

§ IV. La Famille Ab.

Dans le tableau suivant nous réunirons dans une même colonne les Parisini 506 et 763 S (N) et le Vindobonensis 142 (W), mss de

Digitized by Google

contenu identique, à part ce détail que les trois lettres canoniques manquent dans le Vindob. Nous les désignerons dans le tableau par les lettres NW. Le Bodleianus Misc. 38 est négligé ici. Il est à rapprocher de l'Estensis 229 (E) et du Marcianus 79.

TABLEAU II. **Tableau synoptique des mss de la Famille Ab.**

Ed. Bénéd.	N W	E Marc. 79
1	1	*om.*
4	2	*om.*
14	3	
2	4	
71	5	
7	6	
19	7	
47	8	
(Grég. 114)	9	
34	10	
27	11	
30	12	
138	13	
268	14	
239	15	
127	16	
48	17	
145	18	
100	19	
136	20	
162	21	
98	22	
241	23	
95	24	
141	25	
198	26	
237	27	
128	28	
182	29	
31	30	
146	31	
168	32	
157	33	
158	34	
271	35	
9	36	
277	37	
38	38	
58	39	
60	40	
59	41	
55	42	
61	43	
66	44	
80	45	
67	46	
82	47	
69	48	
24	49	
25	50	
335	51	
336	52	
337	53	
338	54	
339	55	
340	56	
341	57	
342	58	
343	59	
344	60	
345	61	
346	62	
347	63	
348	64	
349	65	
350	66	
351	67	
352	68	
353	69	
		354
355	70	
		356 E (*tr.* 356, 355, Marc. 79)
197	71	
57	72	
68	73	
120	74	
129	75	
216	76	
89	77	
112	78	
279	79	
280	80	
111	81	
110	82	
281	83	
104	84	
140	85	
90	86	
28	87	
207	88	
210	89	
219	90	
261	91	
229	92	
230	93	
247	94	
246	95	
29	96	
97	97	
92	98	
243	99	

Digitized by Google

TABLEAU II (*suite*)

Ed. Bénéd.	N W	E Marc. 79
228	100	
252	101	
139	102	
102	103	
227	104	
62	105	
251	106	
226	107	
265	108	
183	109	
263	110	
242	111	
204	112	
113	113	
114	114	
295	115	
238	116	
240	117	
53	118	
103	119	
222	120	
221	121	
220	122	
203	123	
54	124	
253	125	
256	126	
52	127	
105	128	
173	129	
257	130	
284	131	
85	132	
125	133	
		I
184	134	
119	135	
79	136	
223	137	
151	138	
189	139	
245	140	
244	141	
250	142	
51	143	
121	144	
185	145	
130	146	
254	147	
195	148	
122	149	
255	150	
132	151	
181	152	
260	153	
118	154	
81	155	
133	156	
266	157	
205	158	
290	159	
91	160	
258	161	
264	162	
267	163	
124	164	
160	165	
135	166	
192	167	
32	168	
272	169	
76	170	
96	171	
180	172	
177	173	
172	174	
282	175	
334	176	
259	177	
154	178	
164	179	
165	180	
291	181	
134	182	
156	183	
123	184	
262	185	
224	186	
5	187	
6	188	
301	189	
269	190	
300	191	
302	192	
101	193	
206	194	
214	195	
99	196	
64	197	
72	198	
293	199	
299	200	*om.* E
313	201	
56	202	
323	203	
147	204	
304	205	*om.* E
33	206	
196	207	
178	208	
75	209	
26	210	
65	211	
126	212	
276	213	
186	214	

Digitized by Google

TABLEAU II (*suite*)

Ed. Bénéd.	N W	E Marc. 79
		187
137	215	
328	216	
329	217	
194	218	
193	219	
212	220	
63	221	
94	222	
20	223	
21	224	
152	225	
324	226	
148	227	
149	228	
163	229	
74	230	
179	231	
3	232	
325	233	
131	234	
		4
211	235	
12	236	
13	237	
23	238	
116	239	
17	240	
225	241	
18	242	

Ed. Bénéd.	N W	E Marc. 79
294	243	
292	244	
159	245	
73	246	
16	247	
45	248	
46	249	
321	250	
174	251	
10	252	
84	253	
86	254	
307	255	
87	256	
330	257	
332	258	
236	259	
150	260	
161	261	
176	262	
231	263	
202	264	
200	265	
191	266	
233	267	*om.* E
234	268	
235	269	
[188] *om.* W E Marc. 79		
[199] *om.* W E Marc. 79		
[217] *om.* W E Marc. 79		

E Marc. 79	E Marc. 79	E Marc. 79	E Marc. 79
201	311	316	331
218	109	70	155 (*mut.* E)
232	303	320	213 (*mut.* E)
248	306	317	88
190	278	322	270
62	208	326	287
106	333	327	288
49	312	77	307 (*mut.* E)
50	83	209	37
175	153 E	36	
22	321 Marc. 79	285	Marc. 79 (*def.* E)
356 (*om.* E)	283	309	289
169	296	314	330
171	297	305	215
170	107	308 (*mut.* E)	166
15	108	117 (*mut.* E)	167
274	93	298 (*mut.* E)	Lib. 1226
286	78	35	Lib. 1227
142	273	310	Lib. 1228
143	275	249	115
144 (*om.* E)	315	11	Gr. Nys. 2

Digitized by Google

La famille Ab procède d'une révision de l'ordre Aa. Elle classe les lettres par correspondants. Les correspondants eux-mêmes sont groupés soit par ordre de dignité, soit selon quelque analogie apparente. Ainsi nous avons toute une grande catégorie de lettres groupées ensemble et qui n'ont de commun que d'être destinées à des collectivités. Parfois c'est la similitude des noms des destinataires qui a opéré l'attraction (ex: **38, 58, 60, 59,55** à divers personnages portant le nom de Grégoire). Pour cette famille on peut presque toujours retrouver le motif de la place qu'occupe une lettre dans une série. Il y a donc systématisation dans la suite qu'elle nous offre. Et pour cette raison nous jugeons Ab postérieur à Aa. Le stemma ci-dessus représente les rapports de Ab avec Aa.

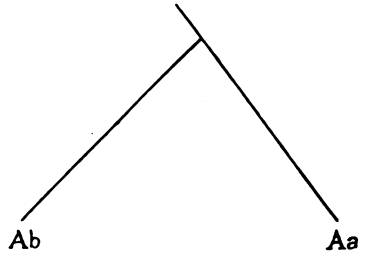


FIG. 2.

§ V. Rapports des deux Familles Aa et Ab.

Naturellement il est malaisé d'instituer de longues listes de concordance entre Aa et Ab, étant donné que Ab procède à une répartition systématique par correspondants des lettres qui se suivent dans Aa au petit bonheur. Néanmoins on peut retrouver Aa dans Ab à l'état de 'disjecta membra'. Nous allons réunir dans le tableau suivant les 'membres épars' de Aa reconnaissables dans Ab.

TABLEAU III. *Liste des concordances entre Aa et Ab.*

Ed. Bénéd. (et Migne)	Aa	Ab	Ed. Bénéd. (et Migne)	Aa	Ab
1	1	1			
4	2	2	5	20	187
[14]		3	6	21	188
2	3	4			
			335	22	51
34	7	10	336	23	52
27	8	11	337	24	53
30	9	12	338	25	54
138	10	13	339	26	55
268	11	14	340	27	56
			341	28	57
182	12	29	342	29	58
31	13	30	343	30	59
146	14	31			
168	15	32	61	32	43
157	16	33	66	33	44
158	17	34	80	34	45
282	18	175	279	36	79
334	19	176	280	37	80

Digitized by Google

TABLEAU III (*suite*)

Ed. Bénéd.	Aa	Ab
111	38	81
214	40	195
[99]		196
64	41	197
28	44	87
207	45	88
210	46	89
299	49	200
313	50	201
56	51	202
147	53	204
304	54	205
33	55	206
229	67	92
230	68	93
247	69	94
246	70	95
29	71	96
97	72	97
154	73	178
164	74	179
58	75	39
60	76	40
[59]		41
55	77	42
245	79	140
244	80	141
[250]		142
51	81	143
203	82	
291	83	
54	84	
301	85	
121	86	144
[185]		145
[130]		146
254	87	147
195	88	148
122	89	149
255	90	150
253	95	125
256	96	126
196	98	207
178	99	208
76	101	170
96	102	171
180	103	172
177	104	173
344	105	60
345	106	61
346	107	62
239	108	15
127	109	16
48	110	17
156	115	183
123	116	184
262	117	185
92	119	98
243	120	99
328	132	216
329	133	217
194	134	218
193	135	219
212	136	220
63	137	221
94	138	222
20	139	223
136	146	20
162	147	21
98	148	22
241	149	23
7	154	6
19	155	7
47	156	8
148	157	227
149	158	228
163	159	229
74	160	230
62	164	105
251	165	106
118	166	154
81	167	155
110	171	82
281	172	83
104	173	84
68	174	73
120	175	74
131	182	234
211	183	235
12	184	236
13	185	237
23	186	238

Digitized by Google

TABLEAU III (*suite*)

Ed. Bénéd.	Aa	Ab	Ed. Bénéd.	Aa	Ab
302	187	*tr.* [192]	263	237	110
116	188	239	204	238	112
17	189	240	242	239	111
133	193	156	18	241	242
266	194	157	294	242	243
95	196	24	233	244	267
141	197	25	234	245	268
198	198	26	235	246	269
237	199	27			
128	200	28	113	247	113
			114	248	114
161	201	261			
176	202	262	292	250	244
231	203	263	159	251	245
202	204	264			
200	205	265	295	254	115
			238	255	116
101	207	193			
206	208	194	73	256	246
			53	257	
349	214	65	16	258	247
350	215	66			
351	216	67	290	259	159
352	217	68	91	260	160
353	218	69			
354	219	[69 *b*]	330	265	257
355	220	71	332	266	258
347	221	63	264	267	162
348	222	64	267	268	163
86	228	254	222	269	120
[307]		255	221	270	121
87	229	256	220	271	122

Nous commenterons seulement quelques exemples de cette liste. Si l'on conçoit à la rigueur des rencontres telles que celles-ci, **34, 27, 30, 138, 268**, ou encore **182, 31, 146, 168, 157, 158**, parce que ces séries qui se suivent dans Aa se trouvent répondre au but qui a été poursuivi dans Ab, on ne s'expliquerait pas les séries concordantes telles que

229, **230**, **247**, **246** à divers Nicopolitains
29 à l'église d'Ancyre
97 au sénat de Tyane

254 à Pélage év. de Laodicée
195 à Euphronios év. de Cologne
122 à Poimenios év. de Satala

255 à Vitus év. de Carrhes
328 à Hyperechios
329 à Phalerios
194 à Zoilos
193 à Mélèce médecin en chef
212 à Hilarios
63 à l'hégémon de Néocésarée
94 à Helios gouverneur de la province
20 au sophiste Leontios

Digitized by Google

Si l'on n'admettait que des deux familles l'une est issue de l'autre, Ab nous présentant les lettres systématiquement classées, tandis que Aa fournit un ordre de hazard, nous admettrons en attendant des raisons plus plausibles que Ab est issu de Aa, comme notre stemma le représente page 304.

§ VI. La Famille Ac: ses rapports avec Aa.

La famille Ac se compose des deux *Parisini* 967 et 1021 S. Voici les menues divergences de ces deux manuscrits en ce qui touche la Correspondance de S. Basile.

Dans 1021 S manquent:

1° Le fragment sur l'Eucharistie Inc. *καθεζομένος ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης.*

2° Ep. Bas. **358, 359.**

3° Ep. Greg. Naz. 46, 80.

4° *πρὸς ἀσκητὰς ἀρχαίους παραίνεσις.*

5° Bas. ep. **42** (ad Chilonem).

6° Chap. i du De Spiritu Sancto.

7° Bas. ep. **333, 365, 215, 15** (lacune).

Ces deux mss procèdent d'une révision de l'ordre Aa complété par les *ἀνεπίγραφοι.* Les différences entre Aa et Ac, abstraction faite du supplément des *ἀνεπίγραφοι,* résultent du fait que Ac groupe ensemble les lettres à un même correspondant qui se trouvent dispersées dans Aa. L'identité fondamentale des deux familles ressortira du rapprochement des numéros dont aucune raison n'a motivé le déplacement dans Ac.

TABLEAU IV. *Liste des concordances entre Aa et Ac.*

Ed. Bénéd. (et Migne)	Aa	Ac	Ed. Bénéd. (et Migne)	Aa	Ac
1	1	1	269	112	147
4	2	2	134	113	148
2	3	*om.*	135	114	149
9	4	3	[160]		150
140	5	4	156	115	151
173	6	*tr.*	123	116	152
34	7	5	262	117	153
27	8	6	276	118	154
30	9	7	92	119	155
138	10	8	243	120	156
268	11	9	300	121	157
			228	122	158
196	98	82	52	123	159
178	99	83	67	124	*tr.*
			105	125	160
76	101	97	252	126	161
96	102	98	145	127	*tr.*
180	103	99	100	128	*tr.*
177	104	100	174	129	162
			186	130	163
271	111	146	[137]		164

Digitized by Google

TABLEAU IV (*suite*)

Ed. Bénéd.	Aa	Ac
187	131	165
328	132	166
329	133	167
194	134	168
193	135	169
212	136	170
63	137	171
94	138	172
20	139	173
[21]		174
151	140	175
160	141	
[189]		176
139	142	177
82	143	*tr.*
102	144	178
[103]		179
152	145	180
136	146	*tr.*
162	147	*tr.*
98	148	*tr.*
241	149	*tr.*
227	150	181
260	151	182
321	152	183
324	153	184
7	154	*tr.*
19	155	*tr.*
47	156	*om.*
148	157	185
149	158	186
163	159	187
74	160	188
75	161	*tr.*
179	162	189
119	163	*tr.*
62	164	190
251	165	191
118	166	192
81	167	193
3	168	194
265	180	197
224	181	198
131	182	199
211	183	200
12	184	201
13	185	202
23	186	203
302	187	204
116	188	205
17	189	206

Ed. Bénéd.	Aa	Ac
46	190	207
99	191	*tr.*
69	192	*tr.*
133	193	208
266	194	209
206	208	211
10	209	212
307	210	213
85	224	214
284	225	*tr.*
[71[1]	226	*om.*]
125	227	215
86	228	216
87	229	217
183	230	218
137	231	*tr.*
24	232	219
225	236	220
25	240	221
18	241	222
294	242	223
[14[2]	243	*om.*]
233	244	*tr.*
234	245	*tr.*
235	246	*tr.*
113	247	224
114	248	225
205	249	226
292	250	227
159	251	228
172	252	*tr.*
79	253	*tr.*
295	254	229
238	255	*tr.*
73	256	230
53	257	231
16	258	232
290	259	*tr.*
91	260	233
258	264	234
330	265	235
332	266	236
264	267	237
267	268	238
222	269	239
221	270	240
220	271	241

[1] [This letter is given by P O of Aa, not by V L: Ac is therefore related to the latter subdivision of Aa.]

[2] [Similarly this letter is given by P O of Aa, not by V L.]

Digitized by Google

Ac ne contient pas les lettres de S. Basile à S. Grégoire de Nazianze.

Ac donne la série des *ἀνεπίγραφοι* qui manque dans les plus anciens manuscrits de Aa (cf. tableau XIII).

Les deux familles Aa, Ac, présentent entre elles une analogie remarquable. C'est qu'elles font suivre un grand nombre d'adresses d'un bref résumé touchant le contenu de la lettre. Exemples :

Ep. **156.** *Εὐαγρίῳ πρεσβυτέρῳ ὥστε τὴν εἰρήνην προσηκόντως γενέσθαι.*

Ep. **135.** *Διοδώρῳ πρεσβυτέρῳ Ἀντιοχείας περὶ τοῦ πῶς χρὴ συντάσσειν τὰς βίβλους.*

Ep. **262.** *Τῷ αὐτῷ (Οὐρβικίῳ) ὅτι οὐκ ἐτράπη εἰς σῶμα ὁ θεῖος λόγος ἀλλ' ἤνωσεν ἑαυτῷ τὸ τοῦ Ἀδὰμ φύραμα.*

Ep. **133.** *Πέτρῳ ἐπισκόπῳ Ἀλεξανδρείας εἰς σύναρσιν τῶν Ἐκκλησιῶν* etc.

Ep. **7.** *Γρηγορίῳ ἑταίρῳ· ὅτι οὐχ ἱκανὸς ὁ λόγος πρὸς παράστασιν τῆς νοουμένης εὐσεβείας καὶ ἵνα συνηγορῇ τῇ ἀληθείᾳ.*

Ep. **19.** *Τῷ αὐτῷ φιλικόν, καὶ ἀπολογία διότι ἐπιστείλαντι οὐκ εὐθὺς ἀντέγραψεν.*

Ep. **48.** *Τῷ αὐτῷ (Εὐσεβίῳ) ἀπολογία διὰ τὸ βαρὺ τοῦ χειμῶνος καὶ περὶ Δημοφίλου ἐπισκόπου μετανοεῖν φημιζομένου.*

Ep. **291.** *Τιμοθέῳ χωρεπισκόπῳ μὴ προσέχειν τοῖς ματαίοις καταφρονοῦντι τῶν ὠφελίμων.*

Ep. **55.** *Γρηγορίῳ πρεσβυτέρῳ χωρισθῆναι τοῦ συνοίκου γυναίου.*

Ep. **65.** *Ἀταρβίῳ κρίναντι μὴ γράφειν διὰ διαβολήν.*

Ep. **54.** *Χωρεπισκόποις ὥστε μὴ γίνεσθαι χωρὶς αὐτοῦ ὑπηρέτας παρὰ τοὺς κανόνας.*

Ep. **230.** *Πολιτευομένοις τῆς αὐτῆς (Νικοπόλεως) διὰ τὸν χειροτονηθέντα αὐτοῖς ἐπίσκοπον.*

Ep. **38.** *Γρηγορίῳ ἀδελφῷ περὶ διαφορᾶς οὐσίας καὶ ὑποστάσεως.*

Ep. **276.** *Ἁρματίῳ τῷ μεγάλῳ διὰ τὸν υἱὸν τὸν κατ' ἀρετὴν μετελθεῖν βουλόμενον βίον.*

Ep. **260.** *Πρὸς Ὄπτιμον ἐπίσκοπον περὶ τοῦ πᾶς ὁ ἀποκτείνας Καὶν ἑπτὰ ἐκδικουμένα παραλύσει καὶ εἰς τὸ οὐδὲ [σοῦ δὲ] αὐτῆς τὴν ψυχὴν διελεύσεται ῥομφαία.*

§ VII. Conclusions relatives aux Familles Aa, Ab, Ac.

Nous aurions souhaité pouvoir compléter ici notre démonstration concernant l'origine commune des trois familles de l'embranchement A, ou plutôt le lien de filiation qui rattache Ab et Ac à la famille Aa. Mais nous sommes obligé de renvoyer à notre quatrième chapitre ce supplément de démonstration qui nous sera fourni par les variantes de la lettre 46. On s'y rendra compte du lien qui unit les trois familles. Toutefois, si l'on se reporte dès maintenant à l'apparat de l'édition mauriste, quelque insuffisant qu'il soit, on pourra sommairement

Digitized by Google

constater l'accord des trois familles représentées, Aa par le *Vaticanus* (434) et par le ms de Notre-Dame (*Parisinus* 334 S), Ab par le *Regius primus* (*Parisinus* 506), Ac par le *Coislinianus secundus* (*Parisinus* 1021 S). Non qu'il n'y ait parfois des divergences. Mais, quand elles se produisent, elles sont sans grande portée, pour autant que l'édition mauriste nous fournit les moyens suffisants d'information.

Nous admettons donc que Ab et Ac représentent des ordres issus de Aa, conformément au stemma suivant.

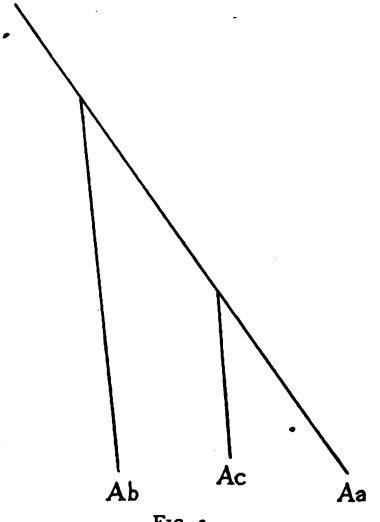


FIG. 3.

THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO THE HEBREWS: SOME NEW MATTER CHIEFLY FROM COPTIC SOURCES.

THE importance of each tiny fragment of a first-century apocryphal Gospel is not to be measured by its length. Thus the little piece from the Hebrews Gospel preserved in the Coptic version of a discourse by Cyril of Jerusalem restores a whole portion of that document, and as well it illumines more than one large literary problem in its own century. This piece is in Cyril's sermon on Mary Theotokos. That it is an authentic sermon by the Jerusalem divine there is no reason to question. The editor considers it probable that it is based on the twenty-first of the famous Catechetical Lectures.[1] The suggested literary relation is

[1] Budge *Miscellaneous Coptic Texts*, 1915, lxxvi.

Digitized by Google

not plain. It seems to have its spring from the superscription to the discourse which says: 'The Twentieth Explanation (ⲉⲝⲏⲅⲏⲥⲓⲥ) which the Holy Patriarch Apa Cyril, Archbishop of Jerusalem, composed on the life of the Holy Theotokos Mary.' The numerical reference is to a number of sermons on the subject of Mary. Moreover, the particular phase of the subject dealt with in this 'Twentieth Explanation' is a natural offshoot or extension of the Twelfth Catechetical Lecture upon *de Christo Incarnato*. The closing sections of that Lecture, which deal with Mary, begin with the heretics' preoccupation with the theme of the δύναμις and Mary; and Cyril breaks out: *κἂν ἀντιλέγωσιν οἱ αἱρετικοὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀλήθειαν, ἐλέγξαι αὐτοὺς τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον· ἀγανακτήσει ἡ δύναμις τοῦ Ὑψίστου ἡ ἐπισκιάσασα κτλ.*[1] The matter and manner of this ancillary discourse are Cyril's, and a quotation from the *Gospel according to the Hebrews* is in reality the Archbishop's text. He is attacking those heretics more directly on whom he makes general remarks in his better-known Lectures. The protagonist of 'Ebionitic heresy' was a monk from 'the neighbourhood of Maiôma[2] of Gaza'. It is he upon whose lips Cyril places a quotation from the Hebrews Gospel[3]:

> 'It is written in the [Gospel] according to the Hebrews (ⲕⲁⲧⲁϩⲉⲃⲣⲁⲓⲟⲥ) that when Christ wished to come upon the earth to men the Good Father called a mighty power (ⲡⲁⲧⲣⲁⲙⲓⲥ) in the heavens which was called Michael (ⲙⲓⲭⲁⲏⲗ), and committed Christ to the care thereof. And the power came down into the world, and it was called Mary (ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ), and [Christ] was in her womb for seven months.'

The monk holds that there are five Gospels, that is to say, there are the four canonical Gospels and that to the Hebrews. Whereupon the Archbishop retorts: 'Where in the Four Gospels is it said that the Holy Virgin Mary and the Mother of God is a force (ⲇⲩⲛⲁⲙⲓⲥ)?'[4]

First, then, this fragment marks the source of like ideas in the *Gospel according to Peter*, since there is very ancient authority for finding union between these two Gospels. It is commonly known that as far back as Ignatius, *Ep. ad Smyrn.* iii 1 f, this union was recognized, whilst Origen *de Principiis* i praef. 8 and Jerome *de Viris Illustribus* xvi are just as explicit. From the Peter Gospel[5] an incident can be

[1] Cyril of Jerusalem *Catech.* xii 32 (*P. G.* xxxiii 765 B).

[2] 'The seaport of the land of the Gazaeans which they call Maiumas', Marcus Diaconus *Vita Porphyrii* 57.

[3] Budge, Coptic 60, English 637.

[4] This is a pulpit point by Cyril and is not in the Gospel; cf. James *J.T.S.* 1917, 164.

[5] *Evang. Petri* (ed. Klostermann) v 19 *καὶ ὁ κύριος ἀνεβόησε λέγων· ἡ δύναμίς μου, ἡ δύναμίς ⟨μου⟩, κατέλειψάς με.*

Digitized by Google

restored to the closing parts of the Hebrews Gospel, and from the latter an opening part can be restored to the former document.

In the second place, the conjunction of the 'mighty power in the heavens' and 'Michael' is of rare value for bringing at least starlight into what hitherto have been unlit patches of sky. These patches are as wide apart as Irenaeus of Lyons and Ishô'dad of Merv. Thus Irenaeus tells of a star which could 'enter into the house where the child was found in swaddling clothes. The star came and stood over his head to shew the Magians the Son of God, the Christ'.[1] And upon this passage even Professor Tixeront was obliged to comment: 'Saint Irénée paraît suivre ici une tradition particulière sur la manière dont l'étoîle apparut à Bethléem.'[2] Nor is the meaning of Caesarius clearer when he discusses why the Magi rather than followers of other cults should have seen and be led by the star: εἰκότως ἀστέρα τὸν ἄγγελον ὁ θεῖος εὐαγγελιστής φησιν κτλ.[3] An homilist who writes in Old Irish is in the same case, and in spite of his invocation of Augustine, when he states: 'Or else it was an angel of God that appeared in the form of a star, as is the opinion of St Augustine.'[4] The Bishop of Hippo appears to have known all the Irish writer implies. An instance is in *Sermo* ccclxxiv 1[5] 'sed Magi non erant de gente Israel. Colebant Gentium deos, hoc est daemonia; quorum fallaci decipiebantur potentia. Viderunt ergo quamdam stellam inusitatam, mirati sunt: quaesierunt sine dubio cuius esset signum, quod tam novum insolitumque viderunt. Et utique audierunt, profecto ab angelis, ab aliqua admonitione revelationis'. Another example is in the *de Mirabilibus Sacrae Scripturae*[6] ascribed to the great African: 'De ista vero stella, utrum stella simpliciter, an angelus, an Spiritus sanctus accipiatur . . . aut si angelus habítu stellae hoc ministerium fecit, quia repugnat, dum se angeli quando se hominibus ostendunt, in multos transformant habitus?' Another illustration is the late Syrian commentator,[7] who knew much ancient exegetical literature, has not more light than his predecessors, when he interprets Matt. ii 7 f: 'it was not a real star . . . but an Angel

[1] Ἐπίδειξις τοῦ ἀποστολικοῦ κηρύγματος, 58.

[2] Irenaeus *Démonstration de la prédication apostolique* 408 (ed. Barthoulot and Tixeront, 1917).

[3] *Dialogus* ii *interr.* cvii (*P. G.* xxxviii 973).

[4] *Homily on the Epiphany* xxxii 478 (Atkinson *The Passions and Homilies from Leabhar Breac*, 1887).

[5] *P. L.* xxxix 1666.

[6] iii 4 (*P. L.* xxxv 2194). What may be called the values of the Hebrews Gospel appears to lie behind a statement in the Pseudo-Augustine *Liber de Antichristo* (*P. L.* xl 1134): 'sive Dominus Iesus potentia suae visionis illum, sive archangelus Michael per virtutem Domini nostri Iesu Christi occidit, non per virtutem cuiuslibet angeli vel archangeli.'

[7] Ishô'dad of Merv *Commentaries* (ed. Gibson) v 16.

Digitized by Google

who shone like a star from Persia to Bethlehem.' But this fragment from the *Gospel according to the Hebrews* brings order into these widely scattered hints of the star which was an angel by telling their source. And it adds a more distinctive feature to the angel and the star with its name for the two, 'a Power'.

Among the material gathered by the late Mr Forbes Robinson in his *Coptic Apocryphal Gospels* are some pieces which yield that most distinctive name. They are from Papyri sources and can take the apocryphal matter back to the first century, or to a time earlier than Irenaeus. In a Sahidic account of the Magi's visit to Christ, which unfortunately is very broken, occurs the following: 'we first [saw] that star . . . and . . . was first . . . of the power of Christ . . . the star left Bethlehem, [and came] and stood above . . . the power of Christ blinded . . . Herod and his mind, that he might not seek anything.'[1] This account is drawn from the same source as that of Irenaeus; since the phrase 'left Bethlehem' means that the star went from shining over Bethlehem town and entered the house to shine above the Christ, and the lacuna between 'Bethlehem' and 'stood above' can be filled in from the text of the *Demonstration of Apostolical Preaching*. The Angel-Star has now its name, 'a Power'. Further, a phrase or two from another source is significant for this point. This source speaks of the star that it is 'not a star like all the stars', for it is 'a power of the height, which took the likeness of a star'.[2] This most characteristic name of Power can be introduced from Irenaeus to Ishô'dad without the suspicion of interpolation. It comes naturally to its other names. Another Sahidic fragment is more influential than those which have been mentioned. This time not only are the sundered Patristic references organized and given meanings, but also Cyril's citation from the *Gospel according to the Hebrews* is enlarged, and another first-century document loses its difficulties of interpretation. This fragment reads[3]:

'Now it came to pass after six months from *the time that* John was born, the Word of the Good Father also was born from the holy Virgin Mary, in the reign of Augustus the King of the Romans, and when Herod was tetrarch in Judaea, And straightway His star rose in the east, and the shepherds saw it, and wondered at it. For it was not a star like all the stars, but it was a great star in the form of a wheel (ⲧⲣⲟⲭⲟⲥ), its figure (ⲧⲩⲡⲟⲥ) being like a cross, sending forth flashes of light; letters being written on the cross (ⲉⲡⲉⲥⲧⲣⲟⲥ), This is Jesus the Son of God. And wise men when they saw the star and read the letters, hastened and came to Jerusalem unto Herod and the

[1] Robinson *Texts and Studies* iv 2 (1896) 236.

[2] Robinson 237.

[3] Robinson 162–165. It will be noticed that Mary is not here 'a Power'.

Digitized by Google

chief priests, saying, Where is the King of the Jews that is born? for we saw His star in the east, and are come to worship Him.'

The familiar notes of the Hebrews Gospel stand out as clearly as the unfamiliar notes—the wheel and the cruciform message. These represent how and with what Michael, the Star and Power, came down. In times later than the first century these two features became Michael's insignia. Another Coptic sermon shews this to be so. In a *Discourse of Eustathius on St Michael the Archangel*[1] it is said: 'In his left (i.e. hand) a wheel (τροχος) like [that of] a chariot, upon which was a cross.' There is a difficulty in the identification of this Eustathius. He is said to have been 'bishop of Trakê, the island to which the Empress banished St John Chrysostom'. Since it is historic that the eloquent ecclesiastic was banished to Pityrus, Amélineau proposes the translation 'l'île de Turquie'[2] on the strength of the Copt's weak knowledge of geography, and he has suggested that the name Anastasius should be substituted for Eustathius. This latter name, however, appears to have been a persistent one with Church officials in the near neighbourhood of the Caucasus. The evidence of the sermon is without double voice. But can it be made certain that what are static emblems were once dynamic factors in the Star-Angel's mission? This is to be shewn from what has been the most baffling of the *Odes of Solomon*. The Twenty-third Ode sings about the Letter and the Wheel.

'5. And His thought was like a Letter; His will descended from on high, and it was sent like an arrow[3] which is violently shot from the bow: 6. and many hands rushed to the Letter to seize it and to take and read it: 7. and it escaped their fingers and they were affrighted at it and at the seal that was upon it. 8. Because it was not permitted to them to loose its seal: for the Power that was over the seal was greater than they . . . 10. But a Wheel received it and it (i.e. the Letter) was coming upon it: 11. and a sign was with it of Dominion and Government . . . 14. The Head went down to the Feet, because down to the Feet the Wheel ran, and that which was coming upon it. 15. The Letter was one of command, for there was included in it all regions.'

It means surely that the Ode celebrates the Star-Angel's descent to Bethlehem. Where the Hebrews Gospel represents the coming down of Jesus by a Power, the Ode sings of the same coming down with as little as possible Christian resetting of the theme. Its use of the material is so close that it may be concluded that in the apocryphal

[1] Budge *St Michael the Archangel*, 1894, English 103*, Coptic 128.

[2] Budge xxvii 3.

[3] Cf. Ps.-Aug. *de Mirab.* iii. 4 'et si per aera, sagittae more', etc.

Digitized by Google

Gospel the Star, which was a Power, was wheel-like and bore a cruciform message which the Magi read; indeed, the Sahidic fragment leads right to that conclusion. A Syriac tract, *Concerning the Star*,[1] which is said to be by Eusebius, upholds most of the foregoing points: 'There appeared the Star, both transformed in its aspect, and also conspicuous by its rays, and terrible and grand in the glorious extent of its light. And it overpowered by its aspect all the stars that were in the heavens, as it inclined to the depth, to teach that its Lord had come down to the depth, and and ascended again to the height of its nature, to shew that its Lord was God in His nature.'

The two features, which are now related with those that hitherto have raised questions as to their source and significance, have found their way into later literature and with something shorn of their original qualities. The descending Wheel is in a Coptic *Discourse on Michael the Archangel* by Timothy, Archbishop of Alexandria.[2] Its appearance is: 'And there was a wheel, and thousands of thousands and tens of thousands of tens of thousands of fiery lightnings leaped forth, and shot down into the chaos of Tartarus, that burned with fire.' It will be noticed that the Wheel goes 'down to the feet' in the Ode. Concerning this item of spiritual cosmology it should be remembered that the *Acta Pilati* viii (xxiv) records: 'And when he (Hades) had received him (Satan) he sank down with him beneath the feet of the Lord into the depth of the Abyss'—that is, there was a depth in the underworld of the dead down to which the 'Wheel' did not or could not go. As to the Letter, the late Ethiopic *Miracles of the Blessed Virgin*[3] affords an illustration of the usual 'depravation' of an ancient literary original. It occurs in the incident of the Virgin and the Khalîfa of Athribis. The shrines of the Virgin were in danger, and a 'letter of command' (the description is repeated several times) was dispatched on the subject. 'God Almighty decreed' that 'a white dove' should bear it 'unto a land which was afar off'. By what means the bird entered the tent where it was to go none could tell; and he to whom it was sent 'found that the letter was in the handwriting of the king himself, and that the ink wherewith the king's own words had been written was wet as if they had just been written'. The analogy from Cerdon's *Hymn of the Soul* is known.

VACHER BURCH.

[1] Wright *Journal of Sacred Literature*, 1866, April 117 ff, Oct. 162.
[2] Budge *Miscell. Coptic Texts*, Coptic 514, English 1023.
[3] Ed. Budge, 1900, 101 ff.

Digitized by Google

A SEVENTH-CENTURY COMMENTARY ON THE CATHOLIC EPISTLES.

A MANUSCRIPT from Reichenau, Karlsruhe, Aug. 233, ff. 1 a–40 b, contains an anonymous Latin Commentary on the Catholic Epistles, which has not yet been printed. In this work six Irish writers are mentioned by name. These names were printed in diplomatic reproduction by the late Alfred Holder in a very brief note contributed to the *Archiv für celtische Lexikographie* (Bd. iii, 1907, pp. 266–267). They are[1]:

(1) Breccannus (Brecannus, Brecanus, Brecan, Precannus), cited eight times. This name, in the form Breccan, is common in the Irish Martyrologies.

(2) Bercannus filius Aido, cited once. Aido is the Irish genitive of Aid or Aed, a very common name, and Berchan is also of frequent occurrence in the Martyrologies. That the author of the Commentary meant to discriminate between *Breccannus* and *Bercannus* is evident: fol. 5 b, lines 9–13 'omne datum optimum brecannus et bercannus filius aido nolunt hoc testimonium ad proprietatem unius rei separari quod apostolus de multitudine beneficiorum dei dixit'.

(3) Manchianus *doctor noster*, cited once. This reference to Manchianus as the author's teacher is particularly interesting for it enables us to give an approximate date to the work. In the Prologue of the Pseudo-Augustinian treatise *De Mirabilibus Sanctae Scripturae*, which, as I have shewn elsewhere,[2] was written in Ireland by an unknown author in the year 655, we read:

Hoc[3] autem opus utrum intereat an maneat in uestro pendet arbitrio. Ab uno enim uestrum, id est Bathano,[4] post patrem Manchianum, si quid intelligentie ab eo didici, et ab altero ut credo una saliua oris eius, uicem laborum[5] omnium suscepi.

[1] Holder (p. 267) has only identified two of these names (Lodcen, Lath). It is much to be regretted that the edition of the Commentary which he promised has never seen the light.

[2] *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* vol. xxxv, Section C, No. 2, 1919.

[3] I give here the text according to three MSS which I have collated (Brussels, 10543–10544, f. 21 b; London, Reg. 5. C. V, f. 123 a, and Harl. 4725, f. 20 a). In the printed edition (*Patrol. Lat.* 35, 2152) the passage is unintelligible.

[4] MS Harl. has *Barbano*, but the form Barban does not occur in Irish documents. This Bathanus is possibly the same personage as the 'bishop Baithanus' mentioned by Bede (*Hist. Eccl.* ii 19), and may perhaps be identified with Baetan Mac-Ui-Cormaic, abbot of Clonmacnoise, who died in 664 (*Annals of Ulster*, ed. MacCarthy, iv, 1901, p. 29; Tigernach *Rev. Celt.* xvii, p. 198).

[5] MS Harl. *librorum*.

Digitized by Google

And further on in the work (liber ii, cap. 4):

Post quem [decimum cyclum] undecimus . . . ad nostra usque tempora decurrens, extremo anno Hiberniensium doctore Manchiano moriente[1] inter ceteros sapientes, peragitur. Et duodecimus nunc tertium annum agens, etc.

From these passages we learn that the author of the *De Mirabilibus* wrote in 655, and that he was a disciple of a certain 'pater' or 'doctor Manchianus', who died 'along with other sages' in the year 652. There can, I think, be no reasonable doubt that the 'Manchianus doctor noster' of the Karlsruhe Commentary is the same personage as the 'doctor Manchianus' of the *De Mirabilibus*. One is even tempted to go further and suggest that both treatises may be from the pen of the same author, but this, of course, cannot be decided with certainty until we have critical editions of both of them to enable us to make comparison as to style, matter, and Biblical citations. Who then was this Manchianus who died 'inter ceteros sapientes' in the year 652? The Irish Annals will supply us with the answer. Precisely under the date 652 we read in the 'Annals of Tigernach' and in the 'Annals of Ulster' of the death of a certain Manchene or Manchen, abbot of Mondrehid, near Borris in Queen's County, and 'Tigernach' gives us in addition the names of the other wise men who died in the same year.[2] Of the literary activities of this Manchianus we unfortunately know nothing. It is possible that he may have been the author of a Commentary on St Matthew, of which a few fragments are preserved in the form of marginal scholia signed M̄ or MA̅ or MAN̅ in the margins of MS Harl. 1802 (ff. 20 b, 44 b, 47 b, 48 a, 48 b, 49 a, 49 b, 50 a, 52 b, 53 a, 54 a, 55 b, 56 a). This MS is a copy of the Gospels[3] written at Armagh in 1138 by a scribe named Maelbrigte. The latter may have been in possession of the complete work of Manchianus, or he may have merely transcribed the marginalia from an older MS.

(4) The fourth name in the Karlsruhe Commentary is Bannbannus, who is cited once. He may be identified with Banban the Wise, whose death in 686 is recorded in the 'Annals of Ulster',[4] and also by 'Tigernach',[5] who terms him 'lector of Kildare, wise above every one'.

[1] I give this phrase according to the reading of the Munich MS lat. 14456 of saec. ix, fol. 46 a, which contains an extract from the *De Mirabilibus*; cf. my paper in *Proc. R. I. Acad.* cited above, p. 200.

[2] Cf. my paper in the *Proc. R. I. Acad.* xxxv, Section C, No. 2, 1919, p. 198.

[3] Cf. *Catal. of the Harleian MSS* ii, 1808, pp. 231, 234–235; Reeves *Proc. R. I. Acad.* v, 1851, pp. 60–61, 65–66; Whitley Stokes *The Academy* xxxi, 1887, pp. 345–346, and *Revue Celtique* viii, 1887, p. 356; Berger *Histoire de la Vulgate*, 1893, p. 387; Gougaud *Revue Celtique* xxxv, 1914, pp. 425–426.

[4] Ed. MacCarthy, iv, 1901, p. 30.

[5] Ed. Whitley Stokes *Revue Celtique* xvii, 1896, p. 209.

Digitized by Google

(5) and (6). Lodcen and Lath, each cited once. These names belong to one and the same personage, Laidhggen MacBaith Bannaigh, a monk of Clonfertmulloe, Queen's Co., who died, according to 'Tigernach'[1] and the 'Annals of Ulster',[2] in 661. Some of his literary work has survived. In the Karlsruhe MS Aug. 134 there is an abridgement of the *Moralia* of St Gregory bearing the inscription *Incipit Egloga Quam Scripsit Lathcen Filius Bait De Moralibus Iob Quas Gregorius Papa Fecit*, a small portion of which has been printed by the present writer.[3] To Lathcen is also to be ascribed the remarkable rhythmical prayer, usually known as 'the Lorica of Gildas', which has been printed at least a dozen times.[4] It is a remarkable fact that all the recent editors have agreed in attributing this production to Gildas,[5] who is only named as the author in the most modern and least valuable MS. The older copies (going back to the eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries) are overwhelmingly in favour of Lathcen, whom they term *Lodgen*, *Loding*, *Lathacan Scotigena*, and *Ladcinus Sapiens*.

Of the remaining authorities cited in the Karlsruhe Commentary we need only here note *Pilagi*, that is Pelagius (once), and Gregory, who likewise appears in the Irish form *Grīg̃*.

According to Holder[6] the MS is to be assigned to the beginning of the ninth century and is written in continental minuscule, though probably copied from an original in Irish script. The Commentary is tinged with Priscillianism. From the data supplied above it is evidently to be assigned to the middle of the seventh century. The latest authority cited is Banban the Wise, who died in 686, and the author was a pupil of Manchene, who died in 652. It is not improbable that he is identical with the author of the *De Mirabilibus Sanctae Scripturae* written in 655.

MARIO ESPOSITO.

[1] *op. cit.* p. 196. [2] *op. cit.* p. 199.

[3] *Hermathena* xvii, 1912, pp. 104–106; Holder *Reichenauer HSS.* ii, p. 668.

[4] Lastly by Jenkinson *Hisperica Famina* 1908, pp. 51–54, and by Blume *Analecta Hymnica* li, 1908, pp. 358–364.

[5] So also Manitius *Gesch. d. lat. Lit. des Mittelalters* i, 1911, pp. 100 n., 159, 210. Thurneysen *Zeits. für deutsche Philologie* xxviii, 1895, pp. 111–112, was, however, in favour of Lathcen. M. Roger *L'Enseignement des lettres classiques*, 1905, pp. 251–252, and Dom L. Gougaud *Bull. d'Ancienne Litt. et d'Arch. chrét.* i, 1911, p. 268, leave the question undecided.

[6] *loc. cit.* p. 267; see also his description in *Die Reichenauer Handschriften* i, 1906, pp. 531–533.

Digitized by Google

AN ACROSTIC POEM IN PRAISE OF JUDAS MACCABAEUS.

THAT portions of 1 Macc. exhibit the characteristics of Hebrew poetry is a fact which can hardly escape notice. For instance, Mattathias's last charge to his sons in ch. ii 49–68 must have taken a poetical form in the original Hebrew, i. e. it must have fallen into balanced couplets of a more or less rhythmical character. It may be compared with the praise of famous men in Ecclus. xliv 16–l 21. That this should be so is not surprising. Historical as the incident of the old hero's deathbed charge may well be, we can hardly suppose that any very definite record of his speech was handed down. The author of 1 Macc. puts into the mouth of Mattathias sentiments which seemed to him appropriate to the occasion, based very possibly upon a general report of his words; and he had precedents from past history for casting these into the form of poetry (cf. Jacob, Gen. xlix; Moses, Deut. xxxiii; David, 2 Sam. xxiii 1–7).

When we come to ch. iii, which begins the independent career of the chief hero, Judas, we find that in the opening description of his prowess (*vv.* 1–9) the writer rises to an epic strain; and here again we discern the main characteristics of Hebrew poetry, in a more carefully elaborated form. The poem was clearly designed to fall into couplets, exhibiting a parallelism which is not, as in the speech of Mattathias, synthetic merely, but very largely synonymous; and the rhythmical scheme of the couplets is 3+3 beats. Cf., for example, *vv.* 4, 5:

'He was líke a líon in his déeds,
And like a youńg lion roáring for préy.

And he pursúed the láwless, and sought them oút,
And the troúblers of his peóple he consúmed.'

Having read the passage and noted these facts, the thought flashed across my mind that possibly a poem in praise of Judas might have been constructed so as to give the acrostic יהודה המקבה, *Y^{e}hûdāh ham-Maḳḳābāh*, 'Judas the hammer'. Looking again at the text, the fact that this is so seemed to leap at once to the eye. The letters הודה stood out clearly in the opening of the couplets contained in *vv.* 3–5. No one can help seeing הֹרְחִיב כָּבוֹד or הוֹד הֹרְחִיב in καὶ

Digitized by Google

ἐπλάτυνεν δόξαν, וַיַּחֲגֹר in καὶ συνεζώσατο, דָּמָה in καὶ ὡμοιώθη, and הִדְבִּיק in καὶ ἐδίωξεν, while in *v.* 7 the מ of מקבה is obviously to be found in מְלָכִים = βασιλεῖς. These Hebrew renderings are in every case the natural equivalents of the Greek. The only liberty which I was allowing myself was the assumption that the καί which links the clauses in every case, with the solitary exception of πολέμους συνεστήσατο in *v.* 3, was not so regularly present in the original form of the poem. Such an assumption is very reasonable. In prose-narrative it is natural to a Hebrew writer to link up the clauses in this way; but, if carried out in poetry to the same extent, the usage would amount to an inelegancy. The two clauses of a couplet may be linked by 'and', but the conjunction is only occasionally used to link a couplet to its predecessor. All, then, that we have to presuppose is that the author of 1 Macc., who probably was not himself the author of the poem, treated the poem as prose when he inserted it into his history, and so linked up all clauses with 'and' in the ordinary fashion of prose-narrative.

Not much ingenuity was needed to discover the rest of the acrostic, as will be seen through examination of the poem verse by verse.

vv. 1, 2 καὶ ἀνέστη Ἰούδας ὁ καλούμενος Μακκαβαῖος υἱὸς αὐτοῦ ἀντ' αὐτοῦ. καὶ ἐβοήθουν αὐτῷ πάντες οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτοῦ, καὶ πάντες ὅσοι ἐκολλήθησαν τῷ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐπολέμουν τὸν πόλεμον Ἰσραὴλ μετ' εὐφροσύνης, i. e. וַיָּקָם יְהוּדָה הַנִּקְרָא מַקַּבָּה בְּנוֹ תַּחְתָּיו וַיַּעֲזְרוּ־לוֹ כָּל־אֶחָיו וְכָל־הַדְּבֵקִים בְּאָבִיו וַיִּלָּחֲמוּ מִלְחֶמֶת יִשְׂרָאֵל בְּשִׂמְחָה. This as it stands is plain prose, both in expression and in absence of rhythm. It owes its present form to the author of 1 Macc., who naturally felt the necessity of linking up the poem with his preceding narrative. Yet if, as we have already noticed, the couplets contained in *vv.* 3–5 offer the initial letters הודה, we have to look in *vv.* 1, 2 for the opening couplet beginning with י. That the י is to be found in the name יהודה cannot be doubted. A poem in praise of Judas must naturally have opened with his name, and probably also with his title. On the other hand, since the poem is exclusively concerned with the hero, there was no occasion for stating that 'he rose up in the stead' of his father, nor that his brethren and the other adherents of his father helped him. These details may be regarded as due to the historian, who had mentioned the brothers and the adherents to the cause in the preceding narrative.

We have, then, as the opening stichos of the couplet, יְהוּדָה הַנִּקְרָא מַקַּבָּה. A slight indication that this name and title have been incorporated whole from the poem is perhaps to be seen in the somewhat awkward position of υἱὸς αὐτοῦ. Had the writer been composing the whole sentence himself, and incorporating nothing, he would surely have arranged it מקבה הנקרא יהודה בנו תחתיו ויקם, or יהודה בנו ויקם

Digitized by Google

הנקרא מקבה תחתיו. The second stichos, referring, as we have remarked. to Judas exclusively, may have run הוּא נִלְחַם מִלְחֶמֶת יִשְׂרָאֵל. The inclusion of בשמחה gives one rhythmical stress too many, and we may thus regard this as due to the historian.

v. 3. *καὶ ἐπλάτυνεν δόξαν τῷ λαῷ αὐτοῦ,*
καὶ ἐνεδύσατο θώρακα ὡς γίγας,
καὶ συνεζώσατο τὰ σκεύη τὰ πολεμικὰ αὐτοῦ·
πολέμους συνεστήσατο,
σκεπάζων παρεμβολὴν ἐν ῥομφαίᾳ.

Here we clearly have the ה couplet in

הֵרְחִיב כָּבוֹד לְעַמּוֹ
וַיִּלְבַּשׁ שִׁרְיוֹן כְּגִבּוֹר

The poet may have written הוֹד הֵרְחִיב; but the order of the Greek favours the placing of the verb first. *πλατύνειν*, in the great majority of its occurrences in LXX, represents הֵרְחִיב.

The rest of *v.* 3 is not a couplet, but a triplet, offering as its second stichos a line of two beats only, viz. *πολέμους συνεστήσατο* (אV, *καὶ συνεστήσατο πολέμους*), i. e. probably, מִלְחָמוֹת (וַיֶּאְסֹר) אָסַר. (For אסר in this connexion cf. 1 Kgs. xx 14; 2 Chr. xiii 3; rendered in the first case by *συνάπτειν*, in the second, whole phrase, by *παρατάξασθαι*. For אסר rendered by *συνιστάναι* cf. Ps. cxvii (cxviii) 27, *συστήσασθε ἑορτήν* = אסרו חג.) This line, however, is both unrhythmical and spoils the couplet. Considering the fact that ויחנר and ויאסר may bear an identical sense, it is not unreasonable to suppose that we may here be dealing with a doublet. A variant of ויחנר כלי מלחמתו may have been ויאסר כלי מלחמה; this may have come from the margin into the text; and then, since two statements that he girded on his warlike harness were obviously superfluous, a simple emendation was ויאסר מלחמה (מלחמות). Rejecting the clause as a gloss, we have as our ו couplet:

וַיַּחְגֹּר כְּלֵי מִלְחַמְתּוֹ
וַיָּגֶן מַחֲנֵה בְּחַרְבּוֹ

v. 4. *καὶ ὡμοιώθη λέοντι ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτοῦ,*
καὶ ὡς σκύμνος ἐρευγόμενος εἰς θήραν.

i. e. obviously,

דָּמָה לַאֲרִי בְּמַעֲשָׂיו
וְלִכְפִיר שֹׁאֵג לַטָּרֶף

ὁμοιοῦν = דמה Kal, in the great preponderance of its occurrences. *σκύμνος* may represent either כפיר or גור. That it here stands for the former is clear from the fact that the comparison is, not with a mere cub, but with a full-grown young lion able to hunt his own prey. This is unmistakably the ד couplet.

Digitized by Google

v. 5. καὶ ἐδίωξεν ἀνόμους ἐξερευνῶν,
καὶ τοὺς ταράσσοντας τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ ἐφλόγισεν.

This is naturally rendered,

הַדָּבִיק רְשָׁעִים וַיְחַפְּשֵׂם
וְעָכְרֵי עַמּוֹ בִּעֵר

The LXX equivalents of הדביק are various. The word never happens to be rendered elsewhere by *διώκειν*, though it is rendered by *καταδιώκειν* in 1 Chr. x 2. That הדביק is here represented by the Greek is at least as probable as that the original was רדף or הדליק. The equivalent of *ἐφλόγισεν* is probably בִּעֵר, since this means both 'burn' and also 'consume' or 'exterminate'. It was doubtless the latter sense which was intended by the original. Here, then, we have the ה couplet, and with it the name יהודה is complete.

v. 6. καὶ συνεστάλησαν οἱ ἄνομοι ἀπὸ τοῦ φόβου αὐτοῦ,
καὶ πάντες οἱ ἐργάται τῆς ἀνομίας συνεταράχθησαν,
καὶ εὐοδώθη σωτηρία ἐν χειρὶ αὐτοῦ.

As we have already remarked, the מ of מקבה is to be found in *βασιλεῖς* = מְלָכִים in *v.* 7. *v.* 6, therefore, should begin with the ה of the Definite Article; and we have this in *οἱ ἄνομοι* = הָרְשָׁעִים. Since in this couplet we have a change of subject, it is in accordance with usage that the new subject should come before the verb. *συστέλλειν* = נִכְנַע in the two Biblical passages in which we know the Hebrew equivalent (Judg. viii 28; xi 33), and נִכְנְעוּ is very suitable in the present connexion. *συνταράσσειν* may well represent נִבְהַל. It renders the Pa'el of Aṭam. בְּהַל in Dan. iv 2, 16; v 6; vii 28. Our ה couplet then is

חָרְשָׁעִים נִכְנְעוּ מִיִּרְאָתוֹ
וְכָל־פֹּעֲלֵי אָוֶן נִבְהֲלוּ

The final line *καὶ εὐοδώθη κτλ.* is not parallel, but introduces a fresh idea. It clearly forms no part of the verse. We shall revert to it later.

v. 7. καὶ ἐπίκρανεν βασιλεῖς πολλούς,
καὶ ηὔφρανεν τὸν Ἰακὼβ ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτοῦ,
καὶ ἕως τοῦ αἰῶνος τὸ μνημόσυνον αὐτοῦ εἰς εὐλογίαν.

The antithetically parallel מ couplet is

מְלָכִים רַבִּים הֵרָגְיוּ
וַיְשַׂמַּח יַעֲקֹב בְּמַעֲשָׂיו

The Passive of *πικραίνειν* = רָגַז in Isa. xiv 9; Jer. xliv (xxxvii) 15; hence it is reasonable to suppose that the Active = הֵרְגִיז, which may mean either 'angered', as rendered by R.V., or 'perturbed, agitated'. *καὶ ἕως κτλ.* spoils the symmetry of the couplet, and cannot belong to it.

Digitized by Google

Now comes the chief (one might almost say, the only) difficulty. In *vv.* 8, 9 we have only enough material left for two full couplets, and we still have the three letters קבה for which to account. As we shall see, *v.* 8 gives us the ב in *ἐν πόλεσιν* = בְּעָרֵי, and the last clause of the same verse, which combines with the first clause of *v.* 9, gives the ה in *ἀπέστρεψεν* = הֵשִׁיב. What has become of the ק couplet?

There is nothing in the final clause of *v.* 7, *καὶ ἕως κτλ.*, which, as we have seen, is superfluous to couplet מ, which remotely suggests a Hebrew word beginning with ק; nor can we bring in the superfluous clause of *v.* 6, *καὶ εὐοδώθη κτλ.*, to help us. We notice, however, that when we have combined the first clause of *v.* 9 with the last of *v.* 8 to form the final ה couplet, there still remains *καὶ συνήγαγεν ἀπολλυμένους*, which is superfluous in its present position. It is surely significant that the natural equivalent of *συνήγαγεν* is קִבֵּץ, which gives us the very letter which we want; and it is hardly, therefore, too bold to suppose that the clause has suffered accidental misplacement. *καὶ ὠνομάσθη ἕως ἐσχάτου τῆς γῆς* is clearly the climax of the whole poem, whereas *συνήγαγεν ἀπολλυμένους* gives merely one of the details upon which that fame rested, and therefore might be expected to be mentioned earlier in the poem. *συνήγαγεν ἀπολλυμένους* yields, however, only two stresses, קִבֵּץ אֹבְדִים. The clause must, therefore, have lost something in transposition; and we may conjecture that it originally ran קִבֵּץ אֹבְדֵי עַמּוֹ. The parallel clause may be found either in the final superfluous clause of *v.* 6, or in that of *v.* 7. Perhaps the former suits the parallelism the better. Thus we obtain for the ק couplet,

קִבֵּץ אֹבְדֵי עַמּוֹ
וַתַּצְלַח יְשׁוּעָה בְּיָדוֹ

v. 8 *a*, *b*. *καὶ διῆλθεν ἐν πόλεσιν Ἰούδα,*
καὶ ἐξωλέθρευσεν ἀσεβεῖς ἐπ' αὐτῆς.

In place of *ἐπ' αὐτῆς* AV read *ἐξ αὐτῆς*, which is preferable. Our ב couplet then runs,

בְּעָרֵי יְהוּדָה הִתְהַלֵּךְ
וַיְאַבֵּד חֲנֵפִים מִמֶּנָּה

διέρχεσθαι = הִתְהַלֵּךְ is frequent. *ἀσεβεῖς* stands several times for חֲנֵפִים, which is the proper term for the godless apostates.

vv. 8 *c*, 9 *a*. *καὶ ἀπέστρεψεν ὀργὴν ἀπὸ Ἰσραήλ,*
καὶ ὠνομάσθη ἕως ἐσχάτου τῆς γῆς.

The equivalent of *ὠνομάσθη* is somewhat dubious. Elsewhere in LXX *ὀνομάζειν* represents זכר, Ḳal and Hiph'il; נקב, Ḳal and Niph'al; קרא, Ḳal and Niph'al. Either נִזְכַּר or נִקְרָא would almost necessarily have been followed by שְׁמוֹ; yet, had this stood in the original, it would

Digitized by Google

almost certainly have been represented by τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ. נִקַּב, again, would hardly stand by itself. Possibly the Greek verb represents נוֹדַע in the sense, 'he made himself known', and this equivalent may be adopted in default of anything more certain. Thus the final ה couplet runs,

הֲשִׁיב אַף מִיִּשְׂרָאֵל
וַיִּוָּדַע עַד־קְצֵה הָאָרֶץ

Having completed the acrostic, we may now conclude with the poem in full:

א הוֹדָה הַנִּקְרָא מַקֵּבָה
הוּא נִלְחַם מִלְחֶמֶת יִשְׂרָאֵל׃

ב וַיִּרְחִיב כָּבוֹד לְעַמּוֹ
וַיִּלְבַּשׁ שִׁרְיוֹן כְּגִבּוֹר׃

ג וַיַּחְגֹּר כְּלֵי מִלְחַמְתּוֹ
וַיָּגֶן מַחֲנֵה בֶּחָרֶב׃

ד מָה לַאֲרִי בְּמַעֲשָׂיו
וְלִכְפִיר שֹׁאֵג לַטָּרֶף׃

ה וַיִּרְדֹּף רְשָׁעִים וַיְחַפְּשֵׂם
וְעֹכְרֵי עַמּוֹ בִּעֵר׃

ו וַיִּרְשָׁעִים נִכְּנְעוּ מִיִּרְאָתוֹ
וְכָל־פֹּעֲלֵי אָוֶן נִבְהָלוּ׃

ז מְלָכִים רַבִּים הֵרְגִּיז
וַיְשַׂמַּח יַעֲקֹב בְּמַעֲשָׂיו׃

ח קִנֵּן אַבְרֵי עַמּוֹ
וַתַּצְלַח יְשׁוּעָה בְּיָדוֹ׃

ט בְּעָרֵי יְהוּדָה הִתְהַלֵּךְ
וַיְאַבֵּד חֲנֵפִים מִמֶּנָּה׃

י הֵשִׁיב אַף מִיִּשְׂרָאֵל
וַיִּוָּדַע עַד־קְצֵה הָאָרֶץ׃

Digitized by Google

י Judas, who was called 'the Hammer',
He fought the battle of Israel.

ה He extended glory for his people,
And donned a breastplate as a hero,

ו And girt on his warlike harness,
And protected the army with the sword.

ד He was like a lion in his deeds,
And like a young lion roaring for prey.

ה He pursued the wicked, and sought them out,
And the troublers of his people he consumed.

ה The wicked cringed for fear of him,
And all workers of lawlessness were dismayed.

כ Kings full many he perturbed,
And he made Jacob glad with his deeds.

ק He gathered the perishing of his people,
And salvation prospered in his hand.

ב Through the cities of Judah he went,
And destroyed the impious therefrom.

ה He turned away wrath from Israel,
And was renowned unto the end of the earth.

C. F. BURNEY.

Digitized by Google

A HITTITE WORD IN HEBREW.

THE precise meaning of the title שָׁלִישׁ in the O.T. has been unsuccessfully discussed since the days of Origen. An obvious derivation from שלש would make it mean 'a third man' or 'one of three', and it is accordingly rendered by the LXX as τριστάτης. This has been explained by Origen, and most scholars since, as meaning 'the third man in a chariot'. (See Gesenius *Thesaurus* s.v.) But even if it were the fact that a chariot carried three men, of whom one was an officer, the explanation would be unsuitable to the passages in which the word occurs. (See Burney on 1 Kings ix 22.)

In Exod. xiv 7 we have 'all the cavalry (chariots) of the Egyptians and *šališim* over all of it'.

Exod. xv 4 'the best of his *šališim*'.

1 Kings ix 22 'his *šališim* and the officers of his cavalry'.

2 Kings vii 2 'the *šališ* of the king, on whose hand he leaned'. Cf. *vv.* 17, 19.

2 Kings ix 25 'and he (Jehu) said to Bidkar his *šališ*'.

„ x 25 'and Jehu said to the guard and the *šališim*'.

„ xv 25 'and Pekah his *šališ* conspired against him (the king)'.

In 2 Sam. xxiii 8, 18, 1 Chr. xi 11, xii 18, Prov. xxii 20, the reading is uncertain.

In Ezek. xxiii 15 the prophet collects rhetorically all the honorific titles he knows, and the use of *šališim* is artificial.

Thus in Exodus and 1 Kings the *šališ* is a high officer connected with cavalry. In 2 Kings he is a high official in close attendance on the king; note ix 25, xv 25, *his* šališ.

In the excavations at Boghaz-keui, the ancient capital of the Hittites, Winckler found a large number of cuneiform tablets, some in Semitic Babylonian and some in a strange language which must be that of the Hittite inhabitants. Among them were fragments of vocabularies, giving Sumerian and Babylonian words with their Hittite equivalents. These were published in 1914 by Delitzsch in the *Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie*. On p. 9, l. 10, is the equation *šá rapâti* = *šal-la-e-eš*, so that the Hittite word is a title expressing greatness. Hrozný in *Die Sprache der Hethiter* (1917), p. 22, rightly takes it to be a plural form, and quotes as the singular a form *šal-li-iš*. This occurs, in a cuneiform Hittite text from Boghaz-keui, as a title between 'King' and

Digitized by Google

'Lord'. There can be little doubt, therefore, that it was a title of high distinction, like גבור and גדול in Hebrew, or רביא in the Aramaic fragments of Aḥiḳar.

I suggest that the word was borrowed by Hebrew at a time when the Hittites were still powerful in Syria. In that case it has nothing to do with 'three', but means an important official in close attendance on the king. If its use in Exod. xiv 7 for a cavalry commander and in 2 Kings x 25 for the king's special commissioner correctly represents its meaning in Hittite, there is every reason why the title should have been familiar to the other inhabitants of Syria. Considering the close relations of Israel with the Hittites, and the large number of Hittites who must have remained in the land even after their power was broken, it would be surprising if traces of their language were not found in Hebrew. Other, but more doubtful, instances are perhaps:

בירה a 'fortress' or 'large house' (Bab. *birtu*), for which there is no etymology in Semitic. Hittite *bi-ir* is 'house' (cf. Hrozný *op. cit.* p. 60), the substantial dwelling of a city people, and may have been borrowed to express something other than בית, the nomad's dwelling. But this is not certain, since בירה is not found in the earlier parts of the O.T. Cf. also the Hittite gloss *buru* = 'fortress'.

יין 'wine', for וין, is a borrowed word found in most languages, but its origin is not yet ascertained. Sayce has suggested that it is Hittite, and Hrozný (*op. cit.* p. 5 n. 5) takes *win* as the probable reading of the ideogram for 'wine' in his texts. The question really is, where was wine first made and exported?

Possibly כהן may be Hittite, and when we know more of the language we shall no doubt find that it will explain many of the difficult words in Hebrew.

To return to שָׁלִישׁ = *šalliš*. It has the peculiarity that in the plural, or with a suffix, it retains the ḳameṣ in the first syllable (שָׁלִישִׁים) instead of reducing it to šewa. Is this due to the Hittite form with a closed first syllable? Then שָׁל- would be for שַׁלַּל- and would naturally be retained in the plural. If so, it is a great testimony to the trustworthiness of the Masoretic tradition.

It is perhaps not too far-fetched to regard תַּלְתָּא 'third in the kingdom' in Dan. v 16, 29, as a translation of שלישׁ, as though it were from שלשׁ, after the true meaning was forgotten. Then Dan. vi 3 סרכין תלתה די מנהון חד דניאל is meant to insist on this derivation more explicitly. Such an explanation is at any rate not less satisfactory than others that have been proposed.

A. Cowley.

Digitized by Google

PSALM XXXII 9.

WE are much indebted to Dr Burney for again calling attention to some passages in the Massoretic Text which certainly need correction, and for his helpful suggestions as solutions of difficulties. Let me offer other suggestions, confining myself merely to Ps. xxxii 9.

First, as the Psalmist, both in the preceding and the succeeding context, addresses his readers individually ('thou', 'thee'), the first verb-form should not be the plural תִּהְיוּ but the singular תְּהִי, which thus at once falls into line with the closing form ('unto thee').

Second, Dr Burney rightly insists that the reference in the first clause is to an *unbroken* horse: herein lies the key to the solution of another difficulty. For, let it be observed that the second noun-form in the Hebrew (כְּפֶרֶד 'like a mule') has no disjunctive conjunction ('or') before it, though all translators feel that they must supply this. The difficulty seems to be best solved by substituting the resemblant Niphal participle נִפְרָע, which gives precisely the meaning required ('untrained', or 'undisciplined': see Prov. xxix 18). Third, instead of הָבִין, substitute the resemblant noun בִּינָה, as Grätz has already proposed; there will thus be obtained, in combination with the preceding negative, an appropriate circumstantial clause modifying the preceding noun,[1] and enabling us to render the expression before us thus, 'like a strong horse, untrained, unintelligent.' Here the first part of the verse naturally ends.

In the second part, the form primarily requiring special attention, as Dr Burney points out, is עֶדְיוֹ, whose usual meaning is obviously unsuitable, inasmuch as a bridle and a curb can hardly be called the 'ornament' (see Eccles. xxxiii 4, 6; Jer. iv 3; Ezek. xvi 7) of a horse; but if the word be viewed as a mistranscription of עֶרְכּוֹ, there is obtained the more acceptable idea that the 'equipment' (or 'furnishing': see Jud. xvii 10) of the horse must include bridle and curb.

The next Massoretic form לְבֶלְוֹם, though probably the most difficult problem to solve, nevertheless contains materials which, if properly utilized, produce satisfactory results. As given by the Jewish editors, it looks like a construct infinitive, and has naturally been treated as such: it has further been held to signify to 'hold in' or 'to restrain',

[1] See parallel expressions in Cant. vi 8 ('countless maidens'); Hos. vii 11 ('like a silly dove, heartless'), &c.

Digitized by Google

but this, though a sound conclusion, is a mere conjecture from the context, for no root, either in Hebrew or any other Semitic language, has yet been found giving such a meaning to this form, which in fact is a ἅπαξ λεγόμενον. The suggestion is now made that the first three consonants of this form (לבלו) should be read as the suffixed Qal infinitive לְבָלְאוֹ ('to restrain it'), and made the end of a clause.

The remaining ם should then be prefixed to the succeeding form בַּל, and this slightly changed so that the three consonants together may be read as מִבַּל־, while the next word קֹרֵב should be read as קָרֵב. The whole verse will then run smoothly thus:

Be thou not like an unbroken horse, without intelligence,
whose trappings [are] with a bridle and curb to restrain it
from any one drawing near to thee.

JAMES KENNEDY.

ΑΠΑΡΕΜΦΑΤΟΣ.

Clem. Alex. *Strom.* iv 25. 156 ἀπαρέμφατος δέ ἐστι τῆς περὶ ἑκάστης αὐτοῦ τῶν δυνάμεων ἐννοίας.

THE simple verb ἐμφαίνειν (with its verbal noun ἔμφασις) occurs chiefly as a technical term used by Plato, Aristotle, and the Peripatetics in connexion with the theory of mirrors, and above all in explaining the way in which that theory was employed by Democritus to account for vision.

The active ἐμφαίνειν (Plato *Tim.* 71 c) is used of the action of a power in producing colours upon a smooth surface which behaves like a mirror (we have to remember that Greek mirrors, generally of polished bronze, were not such perfect reflectors as ours). Ἐμφαίνεσθαι is said of the colours which thus shew themselves in or rather upon the smooth surface, and the ἔμφασις is what so shews itself. Democritus taught that this ἔμφασις was not really in or upon the mirroring surface, but in or upon the seeing eye, and regarded this pupillar image as the essential factor of vision. (Democritus's own name for such images was probably δείκελα, not ἐμφάσεις.) It may just be noted that, for the reason given above, the image is mainly a colour-image.

The use of παρεμφαίνειν arises in this way. If the mirror-surface has already (on a portion of it) some colour of its own it is so far disabled from reflecting the colour of an external object, or, more precisely, the mirror-image is incorrect in so far as what appears at that patch does not correspond to the colour of the original (unless accidentally the colour just happens to be the same). Where the colour of the

Digitized by Google

original object is contrary or different, the mirror is said παρεμφαίνειν τὴν αὐτοῦ ὄψιν (*Tim.* 50 E). In this passage the optical facts are used to illustrate Plato's doctrine that the 'matter' of physical objects (= 'space') must have no shape of its own; otherwise, *certain* shapes could not be impressed upon it, whereas in fact it can assume *any* shape. This indifference or neutrality of it might be exactly expressed by calling it ἀπαρέμφατος.

Similarly in Aristotle (*De Anima* iii) the same vocabulary is employed to express the absolute indifference or neutrality of Mind. Were it not ἀμιγής and ἀπαθής, devoid of any qualities of its own, it would not be able to reflect (and so to master and know) absolutely *all* the qualities or forms of τὰ ὄντα. The possession by it of any 'nature' (i. e. positive quality) of its own would so far prevent its reception and reflexion of some external form (some form of something else). To put it still more carefully, if Mind already possessed in its own right any quality of any other ὄν, it would be so far disabled from reflecting one quality among those of τὰ ὄντα, and so far the mental image of τὰ ὄντα would be necessarily imperfect; παρεμφαινόμενον γὰρ (its own quality or εἶδος) κωλύει τὸ ἀλλότριον καὶ ἀντιφράττει. But according to Aristotle Mind is not so disabled, and its nature might be said to be ἀπαρέμφατος.

Words are 'reflexions' of meanings: *qua* sounds or grammatical forms their ἔργον is to mirror meanings; but some are better mirrors than others. Among verbal forms what we call the 'infinitive' form (and perhaps the 'participles') are best adapted for this function: they reflect, so to speak, the whole sense of the verb, neither less nor more or other; while the 'finite' forms intrude alien elements; each has, *in its form* and necessarily, a mark of person or number, which is no part of the meaning of the verb. The 'infinitive' form is peculiarly ἀπαρέμφατος, and hence draws its designation.

These considerations appear to me to give the clue to the interpretation of the passage in Clem. Alex. *Strom.* iv 25. 156. Whatever language Clement uses of the Father he assuredly does not mean that He has no attributes (though this is not a correct term to use); on the contrary he ascribes to him 'powers'. The Son is 'the express image' of the Father, and this He could not perfectly be (according to the doctrine we have been expounding), had He in his own nature already any of the Father's 'powers'. *Qua* Son, therefore, he has no such power *of his own*; but each of the Father's powers is reflected or mirrored in Him and constitutes His definite or definable nature ('person'). (In the phrase quoted, περί is an ordinary Greek idiom, to avoid the awkward triple genitive, and αὐτοῦ is the Father.) The whole phrase signifies that the Son is without any vestige in His own person as such of any power existing in the person of the Father, and so

Digitized by Google

point for point can and does reflect unblurred and perfectly the powers which are indefinably and indemonstrably present in the Father.

It is in any case difficult to see why Clement says τῆς . . . ἐννοίας. I cannot think that Dr Gilbert Murray's suggestion[1] of 'the conception we have' is justified or helpful. In fact, it appears to me inconsistent with Clement's view that the nature of *the Son* is expressible in terms which we can somehow understand. (I take Clement to mean that, e.g., the righteousness of the Son is (*a*) the image of an ineffable righteousness in the Father, and (*b*) not wholly different from righteousness in man.) The word may be a mere strengthening of the phrase somewhat as I translated it above, 'unimpeded from reflecting the whole content of the Father's nature by the presence in Himself of any thought of', &c. But it may be due to the view that in the *spiritual* nature of the Son what might have been thought of as existing is not so much a power or force as the idea of it.

The whole passage leads me to think that Clement has before his mind what Aristotle says of νοῦς in the *De Anima*, and so the particular expressions above quoted. A parallel is suggested between the Father and the Son on the one hand and the two sorts of νοῦς (active or original and originative, and receptive or reflective) on the other. Of the latter, as Aristotle conceives it, it might literally be said that it was ἀπαρέμφατος τῆς περὶ ἑκάστης αὐτοῦ (viz. Mind originative or creative) τῶν δυνάμεων ἐννοίας.

Venturing upon a further paraphrase of Clement's doctrine, we might perhaps put it as follows. What constitutes the nature of the Father is a system of originative or creative 'powers' each incomprehensible and incomprehensibly related to one another. All this is perfectly mirrored in the nature of the Son, term for term and relation for relation. In the mirror-image each 'power' and each relation between 'power' is represented by what may be called a 'thought' and a thought relation between them. Each such representative element and relation in the derived system is at once intelligent and intelligible, self-luminous. Thus what the Father is as incomprehensible Power or Will, that precisely the Son is as intelligible Wisdom or Understanding. And—this is Clement's special point here—this exact correspondence would be impossible, had the nature of the Son antecedently, in itself or in its own right, any underived power, or indeed any thought without correspondent among the powers of its original.

J. A. SMITH.

[1] In Bigg *Christian Platonists of Alexandria*, reprint 1913, p. 93, note 3.

Digitized by Google

ANOTHER STRAIN OF SYMBOLISM IN THE *CHI-RHO* AS A MONOGRAM OF CHRIST.

LACTANTIUS *De mort. persec.* ch. xliv describes one of the forms of the *Chi-Rho*, viz. ☧, in the words: 'Transverso X littera summo capite circumflexo Christum in scutis notat.' The fact that ☨ in the Papyri is the proper sign for Ψ and not for X need not trouble us. What is meant is evidently XP(ιστός). But why this upright position of the composite symbol?

Here of old the *crux ansata* has been compared. The Egyptian symbol *ankh* ☥, whatever may be its origin, was a sign for *life* and similar to the sign of the cross. Its appropriateness for Christian use is for both reasons clear enough, and it was a plausible hypothesis that ☧ should be but a christened form of the pagan ☥.

From the article of Letronne, however, on the *Croix ansée* in the *Memoirs of the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres* vol. xvi plate i figs. 47–49, quoted by Goblet d'Alviella in the *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* vol. iii p. 326 col. *b*, it appears that at Philae *Chi-Rhos* are found in which the pure *ankh*-sign slides into the form adopted in Christian use. Both the sloping and the upright positions are represented there.

The attraction which caused the Christian believer to adopt this sign is, of course, a matter of speculation, but we may guess that it must have carried in Egypt at least at one time the meaning that Christ, or the cross of Christ, was the true *ankh*, the true symbol of life.

In the article quoted above Goblet d'Alviella refuses to go any further into the wilderness of symbolism. 'It is needless to stop to examine theories ancient or modern which seek to claim a pagan origin for the Christian cross on the ground that earlier cults had cruciform signs among their symbolism, while others would discover in pre-Christian crosses prefigurations of the crucifixion. We must content ourselves with referring the reader to the respective supporters of these theories (e.g. Émile Burnouf, G. de Mortilet, Mourand Brock, Abbé Ansoult, &c.).'

Yet it might be worth while, without any such ambitious aims, to draw attention to a seemingly unobserved case of the symbol ☧ in quite a profane document, viz. a Registration of Sheep and Goats, A.D. 116, printed by Grenfell and Hunt in the first volume of the

Digitized by Google

Oxyrhynchus Papyri, as long ago as 1898, on p. 137 (no. lxxiv). In this property return addressed to the strategus, Sarapion, son of Herodes, gives the number of sheep and goats in his possession compared with their number in the previous year, sixteen sheep, one goat, and three lambs. In the lines 10, 12, 14, 16 the writer of the document uses the standing *Chi-Rho* as an abbreviation for *πρόβατα*.

This peculiar usage, which by mere chance may not yet have proven itself more generally known, deserves attention as suggesting another possible strain of symbolism in the Christ-monogram. It reminds one of Isa. liii 6, 7 *πάντες ὡς* ΠΡΌΒΑΤΑ *ἐπλανήθημεν, ἄνθρωπος τῇ ὁδῷ αὐτοῦ ἐπλανήθη· καὶ Κύριος παρέδωκεν αὐτὸν ταῖς ἁμαρτίαις ἡμῶν. καὶ αὐτὸς διὰ τὸ κεκακῶσθαι οὐκ ἀνοίγει τὸ στόμα, ὡς* ΠΡΌΒΑΤΟΝ *ἐπὶ σφαγὴν ἤχθη . . .*, while the Hermes Kriophoros transformed into the Christ carrying a lamb and walking among his sheep is a well-known *motif* from the Catacombs. If the monogram in this upright form should appear to occur in company with quotations, metaphors, or symbolic devices derived from the great chapter in Isaiah, one might guess that the equation ⸸ = *πρόβατον* had been before the mind of the author or artist.

The *ERE* quoted above and the *PRE*[3] xiii, 1903, p. 368, seem not to know this reference. The latter even (*Monogramm Christi*, by F. Piper (Hauck) says: 'The form ⸸ is of exclusively Christian use', a statement which is not corrected elsewhere.

J. DE ZWAAN.

Digitized by Google

REVIEWS

THE EPISTOLA APOSTOLORUM.

Gespräche Jesu mit seinen Jüngern nach der Auferstehung: ein katholisch-apostolisches Sendschreiben des 2. Jahrhunderts. Coptic text edited and translated by Carl Schmidt with the assistance of Pierre Lacau. Ethiopic text translated by Dr Isaac Wajnberg. Three Excursuses by C. Schmidt, and a facsimile, pp. 814. Texte u. Untersuchungen, no. xliii, 1919.

Patrologia Orientalis (Graffin and Nau). Tom. ix, Fasc. 3, 1913.

Le Testament en Galilée de N.-S. Jésus-Christ: Texte Éthiopien édité et traduit par Louis Guerrier avec le concours de Sylvain Grébaut. Pp. 143–236.

The stages in the discovery and production of this important text may be summarized in the first place.

1895. Discovery of the Coptic MS in the French Archaeological Institute at Cairo by C. Schmidt. He publishes an account of it in the *Sitzungsberichte* of the Berlin Academy for that year (p. 705: *Eine bisher unbekannte altchristl. Schrift in koptischer Sprache*). The MS, a papyrus book, is assigned to cent. iv–v. It is imperfect: 15 leaves out of 46 are lost, 4 at the beginning, 4 probably at the end, 7 in the body of the text. Schmidt's notice of it is used in various text-books by Bardenhewer, Hennecke, and others. Harnack writes on it in 1897 in *Theol. Studien für Bernhard Weiss.*

1908. Bick publishes in the Vienna *Sitzungsberichte* the text of two leaves of a Latin palimpsest of cent. v (from Bobbio), one (the second) of which contains a portion of our text, and the other a fragment of the Apocalypse of Thomas. In the same year Hauler writes upon this in *Wiener Studien*, and Schmidt in the Berlin *Sitzungsberichte* (xliii 10).

1910. I pointed out in this JOURNAL (xii 55) that an Ethiopic text described by Abbé Guerrier in *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien* (1907. 1) was, so far as could be seen, identical with Schmidt's Coptic text. I also wrote to C. Schmidt on the subject, and he confirmed my view. This fresh discovery of a *complete* text retarded the publication of the Coptic, which had long been in hand.

1913. Guerrier published the Ethiopic version in the *Patrologia Orientalis* (see above) with a French translation. He used five MSS,

Digitized by Google

three in the D'Abbadie collection at Paris, and two (one of which he takes as the basis of his text) in the British Museum.

1919. Schmidt's edition appears, containing *Prolegomena* and the Latin fragment (pp. 1–22), a translation of the Coptic text, a fresh version of the Ethiopic, printed side by side with the other, and improved by the use of a fresh MS at Stuttgart (pp. 23–155); dissertations upon the character, contents, theology, and date of the document (pp. 156–402); three excursuses by Schmidt upon (i) Cerinthus the Gnostic, and the Alogi (403–452: appendix 726–731); (ii) the 'descensus ad inferos' in the early Church (453–576); (iii) the Passover-feast in the Church of Asia Minor (577–725): the Coptic text (pp. 1*–45* with indexes): a fresh version of an Apocalypse which in the Ethiopic is prefixed to the older text (pp. 47*–66*).

This conspectus of Schmidt's volume shews that there is in it a greater variety of matter than one reviewer can be reasonably expected to compass. All that I can hope to do is to describe, and perhaps to add, a few details.

The book before us purports to be an Epistle of the Eleven Apostles to the churches of East and West, North and South, to warn them against the teaching of Simon and Cerinthus. The names of the eleven head it, in this order: John, Thomas, Peter, Andrew, James, Philip, Bartholomew, Matthew, Nathanael, Judas Zelotes, and Cephas: a list in which the influence of St John's Gospel will be seen to be prominent. Practically the same list, with John at the head (only substituting Simon for Judas) occurs in the *Apostolic Church Order*.

Rapidly running through the text, the following salient points are observable:—

A confession of faith.

A brief account of Christ's miracles, beginning with the incident of the schoolmaster and the alphabet which is told in the Infancy Gospels, and going on to the miracle of Cana.

A warning against Simon and Cerinthus.

The reality of the Passion, which took place in the days of Pontius Pilate and Archelaus (!).

The appearance to the women at the sepulchre (Mary, Martha, and Mary Magdalene *Copt.*, Sarrha, Martha, and Mary *Aeth.*). The appearance to the Apostles, and a dialogue with them which occupies all the rest of the book.

In it Christ speaks of His union with the Father; of His passing through the seven heavens to His incarnation, unperceived by the great archangels, since He clothes Himself with their likeness; of His appearance to the Virgin in the likeness of Gabriel; of the imprisonment and *temporary* deliverance of Peter, of which the purpose was that he might

Digitized by Google

be with his brethren at the celebration of the Passover in commemoration of Christ's death; of the Second Coming which is to take place after the lapse of 150 (or 120) years; of the resurrection of the body; of His descent into Hell to baptize the ancient Fathers and the Prophets; of the conversion of Paul and his great work, for which he is to be instructed by the apostles; of the signs of the end—chiefly earthquakes, pestilence, disturbance of the heavenly bodies; of the justice of the final Judgement; of the parable of the Ten Virgins; of the right attitude to be taken towards brethren who sin.

'After He had finished speaking, He said to us again: "Behold, on the third day and at the third hour will He come who hath sent me, that I may depart with Him". And as He spake, there came thunder and lightning and an earthquake, and the heavens opened, and there appeared a cloud of light which bore Him up. And there were voices of many angels rejoicing and giving thanks and saying "Gather us, O Priest, into the light of thy majesty", and as they drew near to the firmament, we heard His voice saying, "Depart hence in peace".' The whole dialogue apparently takes place on the day of the Resurrection.

The title by which the book should be cited is *Epistola Apostolorum*. It is never named in Christian literature, and Schmidt can only point to traces of its use in the *Apostolic Church Order*, possibly in the *Testamentum Domini*, and certainly in the Apocalyptic discourse (Guerrier's *Testament en Galilée*) which in the Ethiopic is prefixed to the *Epistola*. In c. 4 of this a large fragment of the *Epistola* is introduced. To these I can add the line of Commodian (*Carm. Apol.* 564 'Vestigium umbra non facit') which I cited in this JOURNAL (xvi 406) in a note which I am sorry Schmidt did not see, for it might perhaps have led him to further traces of the book. Such traces are almost sure to emerge now that the whole text is before us.

The date finally assigned to the *Epistola* by Schmidt (p. 402) is A.D. 160–170; the place of origin, Asia Minor. The predominance of the Johannine tradition is evidenced not only by points noticed above, but by the constant use of Johannine ideas and terminology throughout. The author is concerned specially with combating Docetic views, and incidentally with defending the ancient quartodeciman usage, the commemoration of Christ's death on the fourteenth of Nisan, concurrently with the Jewish Passover, regardless of the day of the week on which that might fall. Schmidt's 150-page excursus on this matter is (as it was bound to be) one of the most difficult parts of the book. There is nothing more confusing—not even the accounts of the tenets of various Gnostics—than this calendar-question, which no ancient authority ever states intelligibly, and which was always shifting.

It is no small thing to have recovered an undoubtedly second-century

Digitized by Google

document of considerable compass, and to have it presented to us by a scholar of Schmidt's undoubted eminence. Others must judge what success he has achieved in the treatment of the multitude of subjects—theological and historical—which he has handled. To me the volume seems full of brilliant as well as solid work. I may take occasion in passing to quote some of the closing words of his Excursus on the descent into Hell. 'I welcome', he says, 'the thorough investigation of the conceptions of a future state and of descents into the underworld, but I would emphasize the point that the historian of religion can only hope for success if his material is thoroughly worked out within the sphere of each religion taken singly. He will then become conscious of the differences as well as the resemblances which characterize them. Otherwise we fall into a dilettantism which can only serve to discredit the methods of the science of religion.'

I add a few words on subsidiary matters. In the Ethiopic, as has been said, a Testament or Apocalyptic discourse pronounced by our Lord in Galilee is prefixed to the *Epistola*, and has borrowed matter from it. This discourse has its own points of interest. Chapters v, vi, and the beginning of vii are identical with capp. (ix) x–xii of Rahmani's *Testamentum Domini*. Which of the two documents is the borrower I should like to know, but do not feel certain. All that I can say is that the latter part of c. vii in the Ethiopic seems to connect very naturally with what precedes it. Investigators of this topic must take into account the text of the Apocalypse printed by Arendzen in this JOURNAL (ii 401), which, again, Schmidt does not seem to have seen.

But here is another point of interest. The Ethiopic ends with these words: 'And the righteous who have walked in the way of righteousness shall inherit the glory of the Lord and His power, and there shall be given unto them that which eye hath not seen nor ear heard, and they shall rejoice in my kingdom' (I follow Guerrier's rendering). This is clearly identical with a quotation from an unnamed source in Clem. Alex. (*Protrept.* 44) *ὅθεν ἡ γραφὴ εἰκότως εὐαγγελίζεται τοῖς πεπιστευκόσιν· 'οἱ δὲ ἅγιοι κυρίου κληρονομήσουσι τὴν δόξαν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὴν δύναμιν αὐτοῦ. "ποίαν, ὦ μακάριε, δόξαν; εἰπέ μοι·" ἣν ὀφθαλμὸς οὐκ εἶδεν οὐδὲ οὖς ἤκουσεν οὐδὲ ἐπὶ καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου ἀνέβη· καὶ χαρήσονται ἐπὶ τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ κυρίου αὐτῶν εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας· ἀμήν.'*

Clement is not quoting our Apocalypse. Apart from other differences he would not address our Lord as *ὦ μακάριε*. He is quoting the end of an O.T. apocalyptic writing, as I judge, and so is the writer of our text. (A similar passage in *Const. Ap.* vii 32, by the way, does not present the same striking resemblance.) The phenomenon is worth noting and investigating.

A last remark on another topic. In the concluding page of his third

Digitized by Google

Excursus Schmidt argues for the late date of the Pionian Life of Polycarp, and hazards the conjecture, without laying much weight upon it, that the matter there found about Paul's visit to Smyrna and Strataeas and the rest is taken from the Acts of Paul. I should like to say that the same idea had occurred to me, and that the procedure supposed is markedly like that in the Acts of Titus by Zenas (see *J. T. S.* 1905, 549) where the Acts of Paul are quite undoubtedly used. The two documents smell of the same workshop; but here is yet another case in which Schmidt has not, apparently, read the JOURNAL.

M. R. JAMES.

THE SACRED BOOKS OF THE MANICHEES.

Les Écritures Manichéennes (i Vue générale, ii Étude analytique), by PROSPER ALFARIC. (E. Nourry, Paris, 1918.)

M. PROSPER ALFARIC, now Professor in the reconstructed University of Strasbourg, has given us in the two volumes here noticed a very clear and useful study of the books used by the Manichees. The first volume enumerates the sources and their external history, while the second contains a characterization of the chief works of Mani, followed by a brief review of the chief non-Manichee writings, Jewish, Christian, Pagan, &c., which were reverenced by the sectaries of this curious and long-lived religion.

Both volumes are distinguished by comprehensiveness and balance. Except Professor Bevan's article in Hastings's *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* (1915), M. Alfaric seems to have taken account of every important publication on the religion of the Manichees,[1] including the discoveries of original Manichee documents in Turfan and other centres in Central Asia. Of these latter he gives much the best general account that has yet appeared (i 129–138; ii 126–136), especially to the student who is more interested in the place these fragments occupied in the history of the Manichaean communities than in the linguistic peculiarities of the Middle Persian or Proto-Turkish in which the fragments are written.

But the special merit of M. Alfaric's work is that while he has given full value to the latest discoveries he has not been carried away by them to neglect the older sources both Western and Eastern, and between

[1] e. g. C. W. Mitchell's *Refutations of Ephraim* (1912) is quoted in each volume (i 21, 112; ii 66).

Digitized by Google

these also he steers an intelligent course. Many of the modern writers on Manichaeism have not succeeded in doing this. They either neglect the Mohammedan sources and focus upon S. Augustine and the *Acta Archelai*, or they neglect too much the Christian controversial literature. In the former case the Religion of Mani, which is really as much an independent religion as Islam, appears like a mere Christian heresy; in the latter the very strong links which unite it to specifically Christian thought and lore are left out of sight.

M. Alfaric himself is specially concerned to emphasize the relations between Mani's system and the long chain of the Christian 'Gnostics', particularly Marcion and Bardaisan (ii 43, 162; ii 18–20, 35 f), thereby agreeing with S. Ephraim, who is never weary of asserting the affinity of their heresies.[1] He shews moreover the respect with which the chief writings of Mani himself continued to be held, whereby a general consistency in doctrine was long maintained by Manichees all over the world, from Spain to China. But he sees quite clearly that the disciples of Mani must often have been influenced in the presentation of their doctrines by the beliefs of those among whom they lived. Of Faustus the Manichee, against whom S. Augustine wrote, he says (ii 122): 'He, Faustus, was defending the Manichaean faith against current criticism, he was adapting it to the needs of the time. Only, as he was living among Catholics, he aimed at putting it into agreement with the teaching of Jesus and of Paul, as elsewhere other apologists were attempting to give it a Buddhistic form.'

I conclude with yet another quotation (i 128): 'The Persian, Arab, and Chinese authors supply what is lacking in their Latin, Greek, and Syriac predecessors. They generally speak in more direct terms about the (Manichaean) works quoted, because they are less afraid of their diffusion, and being less earnest in their polemics they give us a more objective view. Moreover some of them, such as An-Nadīm and Biruni, have in any case more historic sense than Hegemonius, Epiphanius, or even Augustine. But they know very little about Christianity, and they do not take much interest in doctrines which are derived from it. Thus they are apt to pass over specifically Christian details in Manichaeism which belong to the Bible, and to throw into high relief the reminiscences of pagan mythology which interested them more, thereby giving a false idea of the Manichaean literature.'

F. C. BURKITT.

[1] See Mitchell, p. li.

Digitized by Google

Aram and Israel, by E. G. H. KRAELING. (Columbia University Oriental Studies, vol. xiii, New York, 1918.)

DR EMIL KRAELING has gathered together in this volume all that is yet known about the Aramaean peoples from the earliest times down to the fall of Nineve (606 B. C.). As he says, the main source of information is the boastful bulletins of the Assyrian kings, together with the references to the various Aramaean states in the Old Testament. Dr Kraeling usually follows Kittel's *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, but not slavishly, and his use of the LXX is careful and intelligent (e. g. p. 39).

But the special interest of the work is to be found in chaps. x, xi, and xiv, where Dr Kraeling gives an account of the civilization of Ya'udi and of Ḥazrak, so far as this can be gathered from the ancient Aramaic inscriptions discovered since 1888 in these hitherto unknown localities. Ya'udi (or Ya'adi), now called Zenjirli, was half-way between Alexandretta and Mar'ash, on the extreme north-west corner of the Aramaic-speaking lands. The region was also called Sam'al (i. e. 'Northland'), corresponding to the far-distant Yemen in the south; for the Semite always thinks of the Sunrise as in front of him, just as we, under the influence of maps drawn with the north at the top, think of the east as on our right hand. Ḥazrak, the Hadrach of Zech. ix 1, corresponds more or less to the modern Ḥoms (p. 99).

The Ḥazrak inscription, discovered by M. Pognon, is to be dated a little after 800 B.C., and tells us how Ḥazrak was unsuccessfully besieged by a coalition of Aramaean kings under Benhadad III of Damascus (Bar Hădad, son of Ḥazael), about whom we read in 2 Kings xiii.

The inscriptions of Ya'udi were found by F. von Luschan, and are now in the Berlin Museum. Of the four important texts three are in a very peculiar Aramaic, evidently the speech of the land of Sam'al. The latest of these monuments mentions Tiglathpileser and the siege of Damascus, so that King Bar Rekub, son of Panammu, who set it up, must have been a contemporary of Ahaz (732 B.C.). The fourth inscription, that of Kilammu, son of Ḥaia, is earlier; it is in the Phoenician language, probably because the local dialect had not yet been reduced to writing. In any case the employment of Phoenician in this remote corner of Syria is an indication that the civilization of the Northern Aramaeans had come from the Tyrian coast; at a later period, under the pressure of the Assyrian conquests, the Phoenician influence died out.

Unfortunately the interpretation of Kilammu's monument is rather obscure, and it seems to me a pity that Dr Kraeling in the chapter

Digitized by Google

called 'Kilammu of Sam'al' has based so much questionable psychology upon so doubtful a text. It seems to me particularly unfortunate that he has dismissed Prof. G. Hoffmann's interpretation of it so lightly (Kraeling, p. 85, note; p. 91, note). Hoffmann's interpretation is to be found in the *Theol. Literaturzeitung* for 1912, cols. 5–8; he regards Kilammu's stele as an epitaph, and takes the word משכב in its natural sense as a tomb (as in the sarcophagus of Eshmunazar). It seems to me clear that. למנערי ובימי (l. 12) must mean 'from my youth up and in my days', and implies that the days of Kilammu, who is speaking, are already over. In any case in the difficult phrase

משכבמ׳ אליכבד׳ לבעררמ׳ ובעררמ׳ אליכבד׳ למשכבמ

(which is part of a curse on whoever shall damage the stele), I cannot believe that 'Muskab represents the inhabitants or fellahin, while Ba'rîr designates the Beduin', or alternatively that 'Mushkab is the old inhabitant of Canaanite or Hittite stock, while the Ba'rîr is the Aramaean immigrant who now formed an important part of the population' (Kraeling, p. 91). That is the sort of way stories of ancient peoples and of *Völkerwanderungen* are now often conjured into existence, and the non-specialist reader fails to see upon how narrow and insecure a basis rests the plausible construction of the text-books. In the case before us I feel with Hoffmann that it is difficult to think that משכב can have anything but its ordinary meaning of 'tomb', and certainly it is almost impossible that any ruler in a public monument could have called a section of his people *Ba'rirîm*, i.e. 'Savages'.[1] The reader will see from the words quoted that no vowel-letters at all are used, and in our present meagre knowledge of Phoenician idiom where it differs from Hebrew even the general sense of many parts of a Phoenician inscription must remain uncertain; probably this line is a conventional formula, in which Kilammu threatens any of his successors who is offended by his inscription that his tomb should be befouled by wild beasts.

It is not Dr Kraeling's fault that the materials with which he has had to construct a history of the Aramaeans are so scanty and in parts of such doubtful quality. He has done a good piece of work, but the reader who cannot consult the primary authorities for himself needs to be warned how treacherous in parts is the ground over which he is being conducted.

[1] The word is apparently identical with the Syriac ba'rīrāyā (Ezek. xxi 36, 2 Tim. iii 3).

F. C. BURKITT.

Digitized by Google

The Style and Literary Method of Luke, by PROF. H. J. CADBURY. (Harvard Theological Studies VI, Cambridge, Mass., and Milford, London, 1919.)

THE little volume here noticed is an excellent piece of work, which every student of the language of the New Testament ought to read. It is only part of a longer work, which will go on to deal with St Luke's treatment of his sources. This first part deals with the diction of Luke, the size of his vocabulary (pp. 1–4), the literary standard of his vocabulary (pp. 4–39), and his alleged medical language (pp. 39–64).

The special value of Prof. Cadbury's study of St Luke's vocabulary lies, as he himself truly says, in the endeavour to select from it those words which may be looked on as significant and in arranging them to shew the different elements. This makes possible much safer comparisons with various other writers, such as Josephus, Lucian, Aelian, &c. 'While the results of such a comparison cannot be stated more definitely than the general impressions of every reader of Luke's work, they are at least better founded. And in particular it justifies itself by shewing that the vocabulary of Luke, while it has its natural affiliations with the Greek of the Bible, is not so far removed from the literary style of the Atticists as to be beyond comparison with them' (p. 38).

The section on the alleged medical language of Luke is a really crushing examination of the all too popular treatise of Dr Hobart (1882), which has been so blindly accepted in England and Germany. It is not that Prof. Cadbury wishes to deny that St Luke was a 'physician', or that the companion of St Paul, if he were a physician, could not be the author of Acts, but he does shew that almost all the words and phrases relied upon by Harnack, Moffatt, and Zahn to prove Luke's medical terminology are found also in the LXX or Josephus or Plutarch. 'The so-called medical language of these books (the Third Gospel and Acts) cannot be used as a proof that Luke was their author, nor even as an argument confirming the tradition of his authorship' (p. 51). In a final Excursus (pp. 64–72) Prof. Cadbury shews that a study of the diction of Lucian after the manner adopted by Hobart, Harnack, and Zahn would 'match in nearly every detail the evidence produced for the medical profession of Luke' (p. 71).

I cannot resist here quoting from the delightful Editorial Note by Prof. G. F. Moore on the earlier history of the discussion of Col. iv 14, in which among other things he calls attention to the contribution made to it by Dr John Freind in his *History of Physick* (1725). At the end of the Note Prof. Moore remarks (p. 53): 'In Hobart's book,

Digitized by Google

and in the subsequent discussion, one consideration of fundamental importance is overlooked. Modern medical terminology is a barbarous artificial jargon, consisting partly of terms that have come down from the Greeks . . . partly of invented terms . . . in a Greek or Latin which is often palpably counterfeit. Many medical terms . . . have come into common use, frequently supplanting, at least in polite discourse, native English words that mean exactly the same thing. . . .

'Greek scientific terminology is the contrary of all this. Its technical terms were native, not foreign; they were not invented, but were real words of the living language, and in considerable part the everyday names for the thing, more exactly defined, if necessary, but not diverted from their meaning. . . .

'The ignoring . . . of this elementary fact has ludicrous consequences. Thus Walker, Hobart, Harnack, Zahn, and Moffatt put down κραιπάλη among the words which shew Luke to be versed in Greek medical literature. But κραιπάλη is not a technical term coined by physicians to designate mysteriously the puking and the dizzy headache that come after a big dinner and much wine; it is—as these scholars might have read in Galen in so many words (κραιπάλασ . . . πάντεσ οἱ Ἕλληνεσ ὀνομάζουσι τὰσ ἐξ οἴνου βλάβασ τῆσ κεφαλῆσ, actually quoted in full by Wettstein on Luke xxi 34, the verse in which Hobart and his *pedisequi* discover it to be a medical word!)—the vulgar word for that very vulgar experience. Luke did not have to go to medical literature on the diagnosis and treatment of the ailment to pick up a word that was, so to speak, lying in the gutter, any more than Aristophanes consulted Hippocrates to know what to call the consequences of a protracted symposium. And κραιπάλη is only a peculiarly crass example of a pervasive fallacy in the discussion of Luke's "technical language".'

F. C. BURKITT.

Divine Overruling, by W. SANDAY, D.D., F.B.A. (T. & T. Clark, 1920.)

THESE few pages—there are but a hundred of them—have an interest no less personal than scientific. One is left in doubt whether to admire more the candour or the courage of the writer. Many men change their opinions late in life; some keep the garment of their early faith unspotted, though they have altered its fashion and cast away its trimmings; few have shoulders broad enough to wear, besides, a white sheet, or a heart stout enough to confess mistakes as fully and as simply as does Dr Sanday.

Digitized by Google

These three lectures and the sermon, which constitute his 'last public utterances as Lady Margaret Professor' at Oxford, trace the full curve of his mental developement and chronicle the pilgrimage of a most brave and beautiful soul. The first records the growth of the study of 'Comparative Religion' during the last fifty years, and its effect upon a single student. The second, 'On Natural and Revealed Religion', carries on the same theme. Both, it is hardly necessary to remark, are full of information marshalled by a master hand; both are highly characteristic of the teacher. Dr Sanday is as anxious to do full justice to former workers in the field into which he now enters, even when their motives and manner are alien to him, as he is to point out the religious and moral value of such heathen thought as is expressed in the Hymn of Amenophis and the Code of Hammurabi. He sees everywhere the Hand of God guiding all things together for good; he acknowledges throughout the Divine overruling. In the third, the most important and most intimate of the lectures, 'On the Nature of Miracle', Dr Sanday boldly proclaims himself a modernist and a rationalist. Deliberately rejecting the abnormal, he discovers in the normal, ordinary processes of life the presence and the operation of the truly divine.[1] The point of view is that of a great book to which this JOURNAL has drawn attention once and again—Wendland's *Wunderglaube*. Not in events which strain belief and postulate interference with the order of nature as man experiences it to-day, but in every happening which has a spiritual content, a lesson for the soul, are God's marvellous workings, His signs and wonders, to be found. Whatever raises us to Him is miracle, for we are unable to rise thither of ourselves.

Many will doubtless be grateful to Dr Sanday for his open adoption of this attitude. It has immense spiritual possibilities; it is surely not in conflict with the highest Christian authority. St Augustine was not very far from it when he wrote 'intelligat qui potest . . . utrum maius sit iustos creare quam impios iustificare'; and his 'abnormal' miracles are subsidiary and subordinate to the great miracle of Creation and sustentation—all of them turning men's minds towards their Maker. And our Lord Himself reproved the tendency to found Faith upon abnormal acts.

One dares not say that in this attitude Science and Religion can find reconciliation—for they are of two different orders. But one may hope that it is along this line that minds of scientific temper may be reconciled to religion. At the same time it must be admitted that it is unphilosophical

[1] *Ex ore infantium.* Dr Sanday will, I am sure, forgive a personal anecdote. Before writing this notice I had been watching all the morning with a little girl the sights and sounds of the recurrent miracle of the spring. At the end she said, 'What a wonderful world it is! All so beautifully arranged!'

Digitized by Google

to deny the possibility of miracles in the traditional sense. It is in the last resort a matter of evidence.

Dr Sanday would be the last to claim that he has answered all the questions which he raises. For instance: What value should be set upon the Gospel according to the Hebrews? Was Cerinthus so dreadful a heretic after all (cf. p. 77)? Atheism, reasoned Atheism, may be dead (cf. p. 80); but what becomes of orthodox Christianity? Where are we to draw the line between symbol and fact in ancient creeds? Dr Sanday hints that though he has ceased to be Professor, he has not laid aside his pen. We look for further courageous and illuminating treatment of some of the points which he has touched upon in passing.

The volume closes with a sermon 'On the meaning of the Atonement' preached before the University, to which the most sensitive of his critics cannot take exception.

H. F. STEWART.

The Spirit: God in His Relation to Man considered from the standpoint of Philosophy, Psychology, and Art. By A. SETH PRINGLE-PATTISON, LILY DOUGALL, J. ARTHUR HADFIELD, C. A. ANDERSON SCOTT, CYRIL W. EMMET, A. CLUTTON-BROCK, and B. H. STREETER (Editor). (Macmillan, 1919.)

NOT learning but research—we cannot avoid the ambiguous but expressive word—is the temper, the spirit, of these days. Call this with Mr Streeter 'the scientific passion of truth for truth's sake' and add, with him, that other 'supreme moral activity of the modern world . . . the effort to realize in practice the brotherhood of man', and this Spirit may be spelt with a capital; it is the Divine Spirit whose track the writers in this volume discover here and there in the various paths of life. Captain Hadfield finds it in the powerful instinctive emotions, which his medical experience enables him to set free, to order, and to harmonize, healing ruined lives and bringing peace to troubled souls and strength to bodies possessed by spirits of infirmity. 'Such words', he says, 'as the following are literally fulfilled before our eyes in a shell-shock hospital of the present day: "The eyes of the blind shall be opened, and the ears of the deaf be unstopped. Then shall the lame man leap as an hart and the tongue of the dumb shall sing. They shall obtain gladness and joy, and sorrow and sighing shall flee away."' Somehow, and at any rate through 'the great hereditary instinctive powers which have borne down like a wave through humanity from generation to generation', an impulse comes to us which we can use for marvellous good. 'Whether we are to look upon this impulse as cosmic

Digitized by Google

energy, as a life force, or what may be its relation to the Divine immanence in Nature', Captain Hadfield does not consider it his business to say. All the same he does indicate how closely allied are his scientific ministrations and the faith, serene and daring, of a decent religion. And he seems to recognize in what we may surely call the grace and blessing of his hospital a new outpouring of Spirit. 'Pentecost, the healing miracles of the Apostolic Age, the triumphant progress of the religion through the Roman Empire, the heroic deeds of saints and martyrs—all these point to the sense of a power newly discovered'; and so it is in psychotherapy to-day.

And Mr Anderson Scott endorses the claim in his essay, 'What happened at Pentecost?' What happened was that an impulse was liberated which overcame the private separating disabilities of man's circumstantial life. *Koinonia*, the great hereditary instinctive power of fellowship, was let loose magnified, directed, harmonized. So the new glad holy powerful life of the Church came into action, that other supreme activity of which Mr Streeter sees revival to-day, 'the effort to realize in practice the brotherhood of man'. Mr Anderson Scott also sees a possibility, a promise, of what happened at Pentecost happening afresh now. But he is aware that it would be no child's-play. 'Judging by the analogy of Pentecost, we should have to be prepared for consequences that might be described as revolutionary, whether in thought or in organization. The Spirit is sovereign where He dwells, though His witness to the individual has always to be checked by His witness to the community. Even the doctrine of private property went up in that flame. Even the Temple and the system it stood for became an irrelevance. To pray for the coming of the Spirit with understanding of what His coming would mean, and " with faith nothing wavering ", is indeed a great achievement. But the answer to such a prayer is prompt and decisive of all the supreme issues of life.'

These quiet words about prayer should be paused upon and honestly considered. Miss Dougall has an essay on worship. It is entitled 'The Language of the Soul', and deals with the principle of sacramental worship. It is conceived with much beauty and will enlarge the thought of those who have already a good will for worship. But Mr Anderson Scott's words remind us that rougher work presses. Real prayer is certainly a power and duty just now. But we shall pray with reality if we recognize that anyhow the Spirit means to be outpoured. Captain Hadfield says of certain views of psychologists, which he declines to endorse or to reject, 'These views suggest that we are not merely receptacles but channels of energy. . . . These descriptive theories represent man as borne on the crest of an impulse which he can only partially control.' Perhaps, if he reads these sentences again, Captain Hadfield

Digitized by Google

sees that they are gathering significance beyond what he imagined when he penned them. In Germany, France, Russia, England there are forebodings of storm. Are these sinister? Or are they travail pangs of the Kingdom? Those who worship in Spirit and in truth, who are prepared to labour and to suffer, counting that the liturgical expression most opportune for these times, can believe in the travail pangs; but only they. Such worship is difficult, intellectually and morally. Is this threatening, promising movement natural or divine, a 'cosmic energy' or 'the divine immanence in nature'? How are the twain unified? What mean we by immanence? That is the intellectual problem which the collaborators in this volume approach from different sides: Miss Dougall in her essay on religious experience, 'God in action'; Mr Emmet in his 'Psychology of Grace' and 'Psychology of Inspiration'; Mr Clutton-Brock in his fantasia 'Spiritual Experience' and again in 'Spirit and Matter'. These writers feel the growing insistence of the natural so strongly that now and then the reader wonders whether the really dominant and differentiating truth is lost sight of: we are tempted to add to the three mottoes prefixed to the Introduction a fourth from Dr McTaggart, 'Science is a large element in our lives now, and if we try to make Science serve as Metaphysic, we get Materialism'.

But if indeed there is a tendency to wander from the apostolic to the commonplace, it is corrected in advance by the opening chapter, Dr Pringle-Pattison's 'Immanence and Transcendence'. This is an admirable piece, terse lucid authoritative, composed as they only can compose who have thought a matter out, and handled it so often that superfluities and hesitancies are quite cleared away, *pacatumque nitet diffuso lumine caelum.* And yet, to be entirely honest, one can imagine a detached reader asking why after all in such a synthesis the name of God need be brought in; just as in another connexion he might ask why the particular activity of worship need any longer complicate the unity of life. We churchmen perhaps hardly realize in what novel terms the young scientific generation moulds even its reverent thought.

And yet, perhaps again, not such a very large proportion of them. England's failure, said Dr Inge four or five years ago, has been intellectual rather than moral. The remark is intelligible, just and encouraging. Still our ultimate difficulty always will be moral. And that is why Mr Streeter's closing essay, 'Christ the constructive revolutionary', arrests attention specially. To Mr Streeter the Spirit is 'the Divine revealed in Jesus Christ'; to him as to the Pauline missionaries it is 'The Spirit of Jesus'. 'I ask myself the question', he writes "What was the attitude of the historic Jesus to the ideals and institutions, and, in particular, the religious ideals and institutions, of His time?"

Digitized by Google

That is primarily an historical, even an academic, question; but I ask it in the conviction that if I can read the answer to it rightly I shall have found the answer to another question, no longer historical or academic, "What saith the Spirit unto the Churches—now?"'

And he finds in answer that our Lord 'saw clearly that, without drastic change, fulfilment was impossible. His interest was in the creative and constructive; but He knew, and was prepared to pay, the price. If, then, I call Him a *constructive* revolutionary, I put the emphasis upon the adjective, but with no intent to weaken the meaning of the noun.' And what our Lord was, the primitive Church was. 'In the New Testament the main emphasis is on the future; everywhere there is life and growth. The Spirit is thought of as ever revealing something fresh, as continually guiding into all truth. But in the third century the traditionalist outlook triumphs.' He shews that this was inevitable, even right: 'in such an age it was the salvation of the Church that, while adventurous in practical experiment, it was conservative in things of the mind.' But to-day the Church is wrongly conservative in both directions. 'It is conceded that the Churches have been backward to adapt to new conditions the commandment, 'Love thy neighbour'. It is less commonly recognized that they have failed even more conspicuously in regard to the commandment, 'Thou shalt love the Lord thy God'. There follows a serious indictment of our honesty in seeking and proclaiming truth. 'But 'to love God is to hate delusion and to long to know what really *is*. . . . The love of truth is perhaps that aspect of the love of God which is the most completely disinterested. . . . And those who are prepared, if necessary, to give up Christ Himself for truth's sake will get back more of Christ than they gave up—if not in name and form, at least in the appropriation and inspiration of His spirit'. And here Mr Streeter squarely faces the spectre which flutters, if at times it does not even paralyse, some of his comrades; the spectre of a dead church from which the Spirit has passed to the outside world, and in passing changes to another spirit.

'The axe is laid at the root of the tree; the year is given to dig and to tend. There are many of the younger generation who think that the sentence of final condemnation has been already spoken, that men of good will had best leave the organized Churches to perish gently of senile decay, while they themselves seek ampler opportunity to carry on the Master's work outside. My own judgement is otherwise. I hope and believe that Jerusalem, even in this her hour, will recognize the things which belong to her peace, and that the Christian Church to-day, unlike the Jewish Church of old, may have the insight and the courage to face that Constructive Revolution—in theology, in forms of worship, in organization, in practical activity--through which alone it

Digitized by Google

can realize its destiny in the uplifting of mankind . . . *Creator Spiritus* is no modern title, but it answers to a most modern need. Man and his civilizations have always needed re-creation, but other ages have been barely conscious of their lack. We know our need. That is a new fact in human history. To-day everyone is crying out for reconstruction: some in hope, others in despair; all are crying out for the creative spirit. And this, if only we will see it, is the spirit manifested in the life of Christ. *Veni Creator Spiritus.*'

A. NAIRNE.

Grace and Personality, by JOHN OMAN, M.A. Second Edition, Revised. (Cambridge University Press, 1919.)

THAT within two years a second edition of Professor Oman's book has been called for is a remarkable and encouraging fact. For despite many vivid phrases which it contains it is not an easy book to read; it demands continuous attention and not only steady but luminous thinking; it gives little help by way of that criticism of the views of others, which is something of a tonic to a tired reader; and its theme is, on the face of it, a rather recondite question of philosophical divinity. If such a book succeeds it can only be because it deserves to succeed.

The controversies of the Reformation period were largely concerned with the true solution of the problem of man's standing in the sight of God. As the long-drawn disputes about predestination and reprobation, original sin and the will enslaved or free, total corruption and irresistible grace, went on their way, the inner and abiding question, which outlasts many answers which may have served their own generation but certainly do not serve ours, concerns God's relation to man, how does God use man, and how does man make answer to God. And this involves considerations fundamental both for religion and for morality. For it would seem that of the essence of morality is personal independence, while of the essence of religion is dependence upon God. To leave the contrast as a sheer antinomy is good neither for morality nor for religion, while it is no less unsatisfactory to sacrifice one to the other.

Much will depend upon the conception formed of that succouring and supporting action of God towards and in man, which is called grace. But the moment we speak of grace we seem to be plunged again into the controversies of the past, into the forms of thought and expression of the sixteenth century, and, far behind them, to Augustine and Pelagius. Grace may suggest the doctor with his antidote or the

Digitized by Google

overpowering might of some impersonal force, but such suggestions do not safeguard its moral or its religious worth. Very early in the book does Professor Oman strike the note of opposition to any such ideas, and the opposition is repeated again and again, in whatever form or whatever connexion such ideas make their presence felt. Grace is not 'the irresistible might of omnipotence directed in a straight line by omniscience', nor is its way of working direct. The idea of the direct action of God's personality upon man's accords with no adequate view of personal relations between God and ourselves. On the contrary, in reconciliation and in justification it is by indirect means that He deals with us. Our relation to the world and to our fellow-men is neither independent of God's gracious dealings with ourselves, nor is it just the result of those dealings; but through it God deals with us as the objects of His love whom He always treats as persons not as things, whose blessedness consists not in the fulfilment of external moral demands but in the possession of that liberty of the children of the God which brings with it the aspiration after a positive righteousness far exceeding anything to which man tries to attain when he conceives of morality as law manifesting itself in prohibitions. So grace means always a personal relationship of love, and not an impersonal relationship of force, and—to give Professor Oman's central thought in words which sum it up as concisely and comprehensively as any in the book—'the very business of a doctrine of grace . . . is to shew how grace steadfastly maintains a relation between God and His children, wherein we remain persons even as He is a person, and have moral independence even as He has, an independence which we only perfectly achieve, as we attain a perfect trust in our Father, whereby we can serve Him joyously, as love alone can be served, in His children.'

There are two principal comments which I wish to make on the exposition of this theme and on the resultant world-view. In the first place, Professor Oman has shewn with a power and a thoroughness which call for the fullest recognition the importance of the fact of human personality *vis-à-vis* to the divine. When this is fully grasped, and there is no lurking thought that God can and ought at times to deal with us as with things and not with persons, the road to an adequate understanding of the world as it is, that is, as an order in which evil is mightily present, is opened. It is not necessary to take the unconvincing step of simply throwing forward into the future the justification of the world-order. Professor Oman, in his final chapter 'Eternal Life', makes plain the insufficiency of such a standpoint, while at the same time he expresses the common-sense view which needs emphasizing at such a time as the present, and in connexion with arguments about the reality of moral life, that if life's 'ultimate

Digitized by Google

meaning is a moral order which is love, it is absurd to say that it could be valid though the final actual order were death'. But a world in which we can live as moral persons and attain to moral independence, enjoy the blessedness of God's children and find that the only true rule is the rule of God's Kingdom, is not a world of which we must say that God ought not to have made or allowed it. What is specially noteworthy in Professor Oman's exposition is his treatment and limitation of the idea of God's omnipotence by reference to moral and religious relations between the personal God and men who are persons, and not by the supposition of some inherent finitude in God. Those who have seized eagerly upon the notion of a 'finite God' as a valid apologetic will speak more soberly and wisely if they read Professor Oman, while they will find that whatever is religiously valuable in their attitude is given strength and an intelligibility less superficial.

The second comment is a criticism of what seems to me a certain narrowness in the book due to the intense earnestness with which Professor Oman rejects whatever appears to fall short of realizing or expressing that personal relationship of God with man which is at the centre of his religious philosophy. His charge against the old dogmatic is that it conceived of impersonal operations on the part of God and not of personal relations. Grace acted individually but not personally, that is without regard to man's true moral autonomy. The meaning of revelation and of reconciliation, of faith in Christ and of the doctrine of the Spirit, of the Church and the Sacraments, has all been adversely affected by an inadequate apprehension of the fact that God is always concerned with the establishment of personal relationships between us and Him, by moral means for moral ends. There is something of the Ritschlian spirit in Professor Oman's attitude towards both orthodoxy and mysticism. And that spirit is always inclined to recoil too far towards the other extreme. When the orthodox belief about Christ has taken the place of a faith in Him which has meant a clearer vision of God and a more righteous service of the brethren, that has been a very serious error; and when a mysticism that approximates to the thought of absorption in the divine has been cultivated at the expense of a vigorous morality, the response of the believer to the revelation of God in Christ has been thrown on to wrong lines. But the sense of mystical union with Christ's person does not necessarily, and has not normally, resulted in His person becoming 'a mysterious vehicle of forces' which operate overwhelmingly and omnipotently. Whatever may be said against the notion of Christ as the 'Bridegroom of the soul', at least it helped to prevent Christ's humanity being lost in the speculative Neoplatonism which so powerfully affected great tracts of Christian mysticism. All mysticism is not unevangelical, and Ruysbroeck

Digitized by Google

and Tauler forgot neither the moral example given in the Gospels nor the reality of personal, moral relationships. As to orthodox belief, the Scriptures and the Sacraments, it should be remembered that these do not simply exist to be understood by spiritual insight, but as means to produce it. If truth and reality belong to them at all, they belong to them in their own right, and prior to their use. It is this which both the Catholicism and the Evangelicalism, which are alike criticized by Professor Oman for their dependence 'on the same conception of grace as arbitrary acts of omnipotence', assert. And this is a side of the matter for which more room must be found than is allowed in these pages.

The reader is much helped by the careful 'Contents and Summary', which has a special value in a work of this kind. And of the book itself I cannot take leave without a final tribute to the great contribution which it makes to the Christian understanding and use of man's moral and religious life.

The Challenge of the Universe: a popular Restatement of the Argument from Design, by the Rev. CHARLES J. SHEBBEARE. (Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, London, 1918.)

THAT Naturalism gives an intelligible account of the universe, and that victory can be denied to its logic only by falling back upon religious experience or mystical intuition, is, probably, not an uncommon supposition. And a certain contempt for 'reason' which has manifested itself in very different schools of religious thought has, at least, not checked the idea. Mr Shebbeare is convinced that Naturalism has not the better of the battle, that Darwinism has not disposed of teleology, and that we cannot afford to despise rational arguments as to the character of the world. The book which he has written from this general point of view is admirable in its lucidity, its fairness, and its avoidance of the danger of trying to prove too much. The central conception is that the world is a rational whole, whose principles cannot be explained as no more than mechanical uniformity, while natural selection and utilitarian exigencies do not cover all the facts of the world's life. No single point in the treatment is more notable than the exposition of the reality of aesthetic laws and ends; writers in the field of apologetics would do well to follow Mr Shebbeare's attention to this highly important and too much neglected subject. That all phenomena are what they are by the working of necessary law is a position which the defender of Naturalism would maintain, but Mr Shebbeare rightly argues that 'necessity and accident are far from being mutually exclusive', and that a Naturalism which rejects final

Digitized by Google

causes has no intelligible account to give of the beauty and harmony present in the world. Consideration is also devoted to the teleological significance of man's capacity for forming true judgements, of his moral sense, and of his spiritual experience. An idealist in philosophy, Mr Shebbeare allows the conceivability of a rational universe which works by higher than mechanical laws embodying the Idea of the Good, and not necessarily implying a personal God. Conceivable it may be, yet I think the difficulties of a 'non-theistic Optimism' deserve greater emphasis than he has given them. A full syllabus of contents adds to the value of the book.

J. K. MOZLEY.

What think ye of Christ? By the Rev. CHARLES E. RAVEN, M.A., Fellow and Dean of Emmanuel College, Cambridge. (Macmillan & Co., 1916.)

THE JOURNAL is somewhat late in reviewing this book, which is marked by freshness and independence of thought, and is deserving of attention on the ground both of merits and of defects in its treatment of its great subject.

It is described in the frontispiece and introduction as a volume of lectures. It is not stated that the lectures were delivered, and possibly the lecture-form was only adopted in order to allow of more variety in the style and in the topics touched upon, and so to appeal to some readers who would be disinclined to follow a more closely knit argument. Mr Raven has, however, evidently attained to his own position only after much earnest reflexion and inner conflict, and his defence of it is vigorous and clear throughout.

The first lecture is on 'Man's knowledge of God'. Mr Raven's main object here is to insist on the relativity of man's knowledge of God as affecting the value of metaphysical ideas in theology. Some of his contentions are not so carefully expressed as might be desired; but when understood with reference to the applications he intends to make of them, they do not appear to be open to serious objection.

The second lecture, entitled 'The Oneness of Jesus', is the most satisfactory in the book. It is an able sketch of the Christological controversies of early centuries, in which Mr Raven insists upon the impossibility for us of admitting a double consciousness, human and divine, in Christ, or of apportioning His words and actions and thoughts between two Natures after the manner of Leo's tome. He makes also the important remark that Justin and the early Alexandrines maintained an analogy between Christ and ourselves through the doctrine of the

Digitized by Google

Logos of which there are 'seeds' in ourselves; and that it was chiefly through the attempts of later Greek fathers to 'interpret the Godhead of Christ in terms of the Absolute' that unreality came into the theology of the Church. But while he criticizes on this ground the Alexandrine Christology he shews that the Antiochene Christology was even more open to objection. Mr Raven may underrate the value of metaphysics, but at all events he rightly urges that in seeking to decide what we are to think of Christ, we must start from Christ as known to us through our ordinary human powers of perception and judgement. To this knowledge he passes in his next lecture, entitled 'The Many-sidedness of Jesus', in which he treats of our sources of knowledge. The 'many-sidedness' to which he refers is largely that which appears on comparing the Synoptics with the Fourth Gospel, though it is to be observed also, as he points out, in the Synoptics themselves. He shews a fair general acquaintance with recent historical criticism of the Gospels. In passing it may be remarked that he adopts the view that the Fourth Gospel is by John the son of Zebedee.

In the lecture on the Divinity of Christ, to which the preceding lectures lead up, Mr Raven writes: 'We are not in these lectures directly concerned with Apologetics' (p. 173). Yet they are in point of fact to a large extent an apologetic argument, and that on quite familiar lines. In his introduction he has said (p. 1) with respect to the question, What think ye of Christ?, 'our answer may be "the Christ of God", or it may be "the Galilean impostor". There is no middle way.' In this chapter on the Divinity of Christ, after reviewing various special characteristics of Jesus, he recurs to this alternative, and proceeds to substitute for the idea of imposture that of 'delusion', which he says would be a more apposite version of the alternative at the present time. But surely there is nothing new in this alternative. It is one which those who did not believe in Jesus as Divine always could, and which most always were ready to, accept. The real difference between the present and former times is that many more now than formerly would say: 'We do not know what Jesus was like, especially as to any exceptional claims that He made. We know Him only as transfigured in the faith of His followers a generation or more after His death.' The great weakness of Mr Raven's book as an appeal on behalf of belief is that he makes no attempt to grapple with this objection, and does not even recognize that this is the position adopted by the majority of those who at the present day cannot accept the Christian Faith.

That which differentiates Mr Raven's plea for belief in the Divinity of Christ from that of most other maintainers of His Divinity lies in the conception of His Divinity which he puts forward. The difference of Christ from ourselves is, he insists, one of degree not of kind. Only

Digitized by Google

the moral attributes of Godhead have been manifested in Him. In these we ourselves share, but in Him there is to be seen no trace of the imperfection and of the sins that mar all other members of the human race. He has been unique, at all events up to the present, among the sons of men in His moral perfection, and thus He is the image of the Father in respect to moral qualities.

Mr Raven is inclined to think that there may be some value in the metaphysical theology of the Church as regards both the doctrine of the Trinity and Christology. But he does not set himself to consider what that value may be. And the one or two passing references which he makes to passages in the New Testament which assert, or in one way or another imply, the Pre-existence of Jesus in the New Testament, do not at all give a just idea of the place which the thought of it holds there, and of its significance.

The appeals of Mr Raven for devotion and love to Christ command our warmest sympathy; and in view of the past history of theology and the kind of hold which old forms of thought still retain, the stress that he lays upon the truth that the revelation in Christ is a revelation of moral attributes is not uncalled for. Yet when he urges more than once that our religion must be 'Christ-centred', one cannot but remember that the declared aim of Jesus was *to lead men to the Father*, while He offered Himself to them as One Who came to them from the Father. That being so the question how we are to conceive of His relation to the Father cannot be avoided. We may well, also, ask whether, when Mr Raven contrasts the 'physical' with the 'moral' qualities of Godhead, he is not making a false antithesis, or at least using words in an unfortunate manner. We can know God's moral qualities in a way that we cannot know his Omnipotence and Omniscience and Eternity, or conceive the Absolute, because righteousness and love are the same in God and in man. But surely moral qualities belong to the Divine *Nature* quite as much as those other attributes. And the last thing we ought to do is thus to separate in thought the Divine attributes. The significance of the Incarnation lies in the assurance that it gives us of the mind and purpose to save of Him in Whose hands our destiny here and hereafter and that of the whole world lie. Mr Raven seems to overlook this even when in his last chapter he treats of the power of the Christian faith to save. He dwells only on the constraining power of the love of Christ, on the analogy of the power of human love to uplift the fallen. There is far more in it than this, for it proves that 'The Almighty *is* the All-loving too'.

V. H. STANTON.

Digitized by Google

Science and Theology: Their common Aims and Methods, by F. W. WESTAWAY. (Blackie & Son, London, 1920.)

THIS is a book of considerable size giving some account of scientific thought on matters concerning the world and man such as theology has interest in, touching on their philosophical and theological bearing, and pleading for reinterpretation of established religious truths in the light of modern knowledge. Matter, space, and time, the genesis of the earth, organic evolution, the antiquity of man, life and consciousness, causation, and questions concerning knowledge, are successively dealt with; and the final chapter, which is devoted to theology and religion, discusses (amongst other topics) faith, inspiration, creeds, miracles, the being and the attributes of God, immortality.

An exposition of the teaching and provisional theories of science, as they stand to-day, on the questions just indicated, should be welcome to many students of theology; and that which Mr Westaway has provided is as simple and untechnical as the subject will allow. On all the purely scientific issues the reader will find in Mr Westaway a competent guide; and the full lists of relevant literature which conclude each chapter should prove highly useful to those who desire further study of any particular department of science. The discussions of causality and probability are not quite up to date: the contributions to these problems which have been made by writers such as Mr Russell on the one question, and Mr Broad (in recent numbers of *Mind*) on the other, which are important, have not been taken into account. The short account of radio-activity might with advantage have been extended, and something have been added *à propos* of the recent developement of the knowledge of X-rays connected with the names of Laue and Bragg. However, science moves rapidly, and it does not perhaps belong to Mr Westaway's purpose to touch upon every interesting recent developement. Else one might suggest, in prospect of a second edition of this book being demanded, provision for some reference to the cosmological theorizing of Mr Jeans, and—what will perhaps by that time be called for—a supplementation of the account of the Periodic Law, by an allusion to the researches (now being prosecuted) of Mr Aston at the Cavendish Laboratory. And, passing to matters of wider import, the hypothesis of quanta and the theory of relativity might well be given consideration; rather more emphasis might be put on the epistemological self-criticism with which science has so long been providing itself through writers such as Mach, Poincaré, Duhem—and some of

Digitized by Google

the new realists with their dislike of the traditional metaphysic of science (substance, conservation, &c.), and indeed on the whole movement which Aliotta has called 'the idealistic reaction against science'.

On other matters than those of scientific thought and method the reader will not be able to rely so securely on Mr Westaway's authority. As early as at p. 11 we are warned by the writer's apparent confusion of the antithesis of subject and object with that of mind and matter: matter and the psychologically objective are not coextensive, and that they are ever identical is disputable. On the following page begins a description of the different schools of philosophy which is in places misleading: e. g. the modern realist would repudiate the author's definition of realism. The author's own philosophical bent sometimes leads him to dogmatism, as when (p. 16) he affirms that 'we feel bound to believe in the existence of an external world which is *quite* independent of *any* percipient'.[1] He has little doubt (p. 18) that the primary qualities of matter will give us the key to the solution of the problem of matter and substance; though it would seem that science as such would not be affected were these qualities ultimately but appearance, and certainly the provisional theories which obtain in science to-day leave little ground for choice of a dualistic rather than a spiritualistic metaphysics. Moreover, idealism (i. e. spiritualism) does not necessarily assert (p. 20) that *esse* is *percipi*; there is such a theory as spiritualistic pluralism to be reckoned with by the dualist, and the problem of body and mind is perhaps destined to prove the crucial test of the two alternatives.

If Mr Westaway's dualism is sometimes too confident, his empirical trend is occasionally a source of unclearness. One misses in his pages any adequate recognition of the fact that necessary or universal truth cannot be arrived at by purely *a posteriori* methods such as induction. It may well be that all axioms are postulates; but they scarcely can be generalizations of observation. It may well be that we have no necessary or universal knowledge of the actual as distinguished from mathematical truth about the relations of ideas; but more clearness could be desired whenever the *a priori*, the categories, &c., come under discussion. The principles of conservation of matter and energy, again, are not satisfactorily dealt with. Mr Westaway appears to regard them as 'generalizations' of observed fact. But generalizations are only valid of experience up to date. Something more than this is obviously involved in the use which science makes of such principles; they contain an element of extrapolation, or a venture of faith, and on this aspect of them more discussion might with advantage have been bestowed.

[1] The italics are introduced by the reviewer.

Digitized by Google

Moreover, Mr Westaway states these principles in the objectionable way which is, or was, too often to be met with in text-books of science; viz. as assertions of the indestructibility or constancy of the sum-total of energy and matter in the universe.[1] Of such things science, of course, knows nothing. Quantitative equivalence in every observed transformation of energy or matter is quite a different thing from constancy of their total amounts; just as it does not follow that, because when one changes a shilling one always gets twelve pennies, the amount of silver and copper in currency is invariable. Mr Westaway's empiricism seems to be a position of instability; it cannot be maintained, I think, without his moving on in one direction or another which he does not indicate. However, one has more sympathy with it than with the old *a priori* rationalism which science inherited from Descartes.

In theology, again, Mr Westaway is rather less at home than in natural science. Now and again one comes upon a statement at which a theologian will chafe. There is rather more animus than fact, e. g., in the observation (p. 296), 'thus all early ecclesiastical literature became tainted with a most unblushing mendacity': the 'thus' appears to refer to Chrysostom's advocacy of lying in a good cause. The bare remark (p. 314) that 'even the Roman Emperors took a hand in formulating the creeds' is misleading as it stands. More unsatisfactory, in another sense, is the judgement (p. 315) that inasmuch as the 'Athanasian' Creed anathematizes confusion of the Persons and dividing of the substance, while the Council of Nicea regarded 'person' and 'substance' as synonyms, 'no amount of theological word-quibbling' can alter the fact that when we recite the creed we are heretics from the standpoint of the Council; for this implies that verbal signs are all-important and the connotation signified is of no moment. However, these are rare blemishes, and of little importance compared with the sympathetic treatment which the fundamentals of religion and theology receive from Mr Westaway. With his desire for removal of doubtful elements from authoritative statements of theological belief, many theologians will earnestly sympathize; and if some of his lucubrations be commonplace, and some of his cavils nowadays superfluous, certain of his suggestions are interesting. Inasmuch as he expresses in his preface the hope that his last chapter may be in time expanded into another work, it will not be necessary here to review the somewhat sketchy treatment which as yet he has accorded to large questions such as the theistic position or immortality. It may be noted that in connexion with theodicy he inclines at present towards a dualism of God and unmanageable matter, and that for omnipotence he suggests the substitution of finiteness other

[1] It is in this sense that the principle of the conservation of energy is appealed to in order to rule out vitalist theories.

Digitized by Google

than that involved in determinateness of being and consistency of activity directed towards one end. But perhaps he will in the meanwhile become convinced that other lines than those which he at present contemplates are more rich in promise of a solution of the problem of evil.

The Problem of Evil, by the Rev. PETER GREEN, M.A., Canon of Manchester. (Longmans, Green & Co., London, 1920.)

As the full title states, Canon Green's book is 'an attempt to shew that the existence of sin and pain in the world is not inconsistent with the goodness and power of God'. It deals, therefore, with problems which are of fundamental importance to theology at all times and which have lately been occupying in especial degree the focus of attention. The book should appeal to a wide public: for it is free from philosophical technicalities; it is written in clear, incisive, and (in the best sense) colloquial style; and it contains, as we should expect, shrewd observations due to its author's experience of energetic ministry.

The opening chapters treat with persuasive common sense of preliminary topics such as the reality of evil and the omnipotence of God, and contain a simple and sound justification of free-will, in the sense of self-determination. But the chief interest of the work attaches to the constructive theory of the origin and reason of sin and physical evil which it presents. The writer's thought here pursues lines which have not frequently been followed by theologians. He seeks to account for human sinfulness by a pre-mundane fall.

In this endeavour the author is concerned to reject the evolutionary and psychological explanation of sin which I have myself maintained; and since his book has fallen to me for review, it is due from me, while giving reasons for dissenting from his positive teaching, to reply to the chief objections which he has so courteously urged against my own.

Twenty years ago it was necessary to emphasize the difference, which had generally been overlooked, between the fact of 'universal' sinfulness and the theory of a fall or of original sin by which the fact was wont to be explained: observation had been erroneously claimed as proof of the theory, whereas it yielded only the fact which the theory sought to explain. Canon Green seems to rehabilitate this false identification when (p. 112) he says 'to me it seems a self-evident proposition that, no matter how it came about, man is at present "far from original righteousness, and is of his own nature inclined to evil"'. Had the word 'original' been omitted this quotation would be acceptable; but *original* righteousness is neither a matter of self-evidence nor of observa-

Digitized by Google

tion. Just as a chaos not reduced to order and a wreck of a once perfect harmony would present the same appearance to observation, so would the life of mankind whether it were the outcome of a fall or of a process of evolution culminating in the superposition of moral status on animal nature. The facts from which any theory must set out are that man, racially and individually, is appetitive before he is volitional, and volitional before he is moral; and therein seems to lie the adequate explanation of the sinfulness of a finite, free, evolved being.

However, Canon Green denies that evolutionary biology and psychology furnish any *explanation* of the existence of moral evil; my 'explanation' is mere description. It is surely more than description in that it assigns causes; and that is exactly in what scientific or empirical explanation consists. Metaphysical explanation—an answer to why?, an assignment of a reason why God willed an evolutionary rather than a static world—is quite another kind or order of explanation, with which sciences have no concern; but this further problem—of theodicy—in so far as it was involved in a discussion of the origin of sin, was also dealt with in the work which Canon Green does me the honour to refer to, and was not evaded.

I quite agree with Canon Green in the view that an adequate and ultimate, or, as he puts it (p. 15) a 'rigid philosophic', solution of the problem of evil is impossible, though the problem is perhaps not more intractable than certain others with which philosophy is concerned. There is a length to our tether, and it is futile to ask, Why a finite, or an evolutionary, world at all? Though that is what the problem of evil ultimately reduces itself to. It may be taken, perhaps, as certain that a man's character at any moment is the outcome of three factors: heredity, environment, and the pure ego, which for the theist, whether he maintains the creationist or the pre-existence theory, is what it is, or was what it originally was, because God made it so and not otherwise. Had God made every human soul like that of Jesus, genuine moral developement, and moral freedom as distinguished from automatism, would still have been provided for; yet how different a world this would be! That God has not so done is the residuum of the inexplicable, as it seems to me, at which any kind of theodicy finds its inevitable limit.

But waiving ultimate explanation of the existence of moral evil as impossible, and coming back to an explanation of such an order as is attainable, I fail to see how the resort to a pre-mundane fall possesses advantages for theodicy superior to those of the evolutionary theory which Canon Green repudiates. The former view, adopted in the book before us, seems rather to involve in intensified degree the difficulty which he alleges against the latter. If we abide by the fact that man,

Digitized by Google

on acquiring the moral status, finds, within his body and the mind or experience which he may be said to inherit from his race, appetitive tendencies which incline or prompt the will to choose the lower and more clamorous motive rather than the higher and stiller, we can at least say, without making light of sinfulness, *humanum est errare*. But if man be conceived as having fallen from original righteousness while a pure ego with no bodily encumbrance and no inherited load of animal propensities, then the universality of sin which seemed to our forefathers to call for a fall of all men at once in Adam becomes inexplicable, and sin becomes diabolical rather than human. No palliation such as frailty is forthcoming. Every man is like Milton's Satan. Canon Green recognizes, as did Kant and Müller, that to yield an ethically sufficient theory of the origin of universal sin, the fall must have been individual. Each man must be the Adam of his own soul; yet he is without the 'excuse' of inherited propensities. Such a theory seems to strain at a gnat and swallow a camel. 'A fall for which each individual is in some way responsible' is indeed our only hope; but a fall for which each man is wholly and exclusively responsible is more unthinkable than the traditional doctrine, which at least did justice to the solidarity of the race and recognized, though in perverted form, the fact of inheritance of 'the tendencies of the stock'. The more God-like we conceive man originally to have been, the harder, and not the easier, is it to account for the 'universality' of sinfulness. Canon Green has chosen the high land, and I have chosen the low. I have pointed out the obstacle around which my path needs to skirt; but the crag which seems to me to block his way is more stupendous, and I can see no way of getting round it. He affirms that the pre-mundane fall consisted in the assertion by the individual of himself against the unity (p. 140); but how such self-assertion was motived, in a pure spirit direct from the hand of God, he does not explain. The evolutionary theory at any rate assigns a motive for nascent sinfulness, and emphasizes the solidarity of the race as well as individual freedom; but to maintain a theory of an individual celestial fall seems to out-Pelagius Pelagius.

Canon Green further endeavours to revive the old doctrine that the physical evil of the world is due to man's sin; but in a new and original form. He builds on the idealistic theory that the world is constituted by our experience; or perhaps rather on the phenomenalism of Kant, according to which the world (as it is for us) is an appearance due (Kant would say, in part) to the nature of our mental machinery. Sinful man, accordingly, makes a physically evil world. 'If man is in any sense a fallen creature, and if human nature is in any sense corrupt, then the evil of the physical universe follows necessarily'; 'if we accept the idealistic solution and regard the world as the expression of human

Digitized by Google

spirit, the universe being what it is because man is what he is, then an imperfect race must necessarily inhabit an imperfect world' (p. 3). This is an original suggestion; but I fear it has not been thought out, or legitimately derived from either idealism or phenomenalism. Even the subjective idealist, e.g. Berkeley, who set out from *esse est percipi*, had to supplement that doctrine by *esse est causari*—if one may coin such an expression of his teaching. The ultimate cause of our sensations, though not self-subsistent matter, was for him the act of God. The extremer form of idealism, that we posit our own sensations, has so rarely been seriously suggested, and is psychologically so worthless, that we need not take account of it. Yet either it or the form according to which all *relations* between the data of sense are due to the human mind, seems essential to Canon Green's theory of the origin of physical evil. He refers indeed to Kant; but Kant was a phenomenalist rather than an idealist, and regarded our sensations as caused by unknowable things-*per-se*, thereby allowing the world in itself to be something real or independent of our mentality and to be a factor in the production of the world of phenomena. Thus on Kant's theory, as on that of modern spiritualistic pluralism, or as on Berkeley's, though colour &c. may be superimposed on the real world by our minds, it is only in consequence of our interaction with some 'reality'—God, things-*per-se*, or monads—existing in independence of us. Further, it is psychologically untenable that the intrinsic character of our sensations depends on our moral volition, or that the feelings of pleasure and pain are caused by the will and not by the sensations on which they are consequent; and even if time-order and causation, &c., be but forms of intuition and of the understanding, they cannot be assumed to be the machinery of morally fallen minds rather than of human minds as such. The order of the occurrence of our sensations, as distinct from their intrinsic qualities, has always been allowed by idealists and phenomenalists to be a matter of external control; and if time-order be but appearance, it must be a 'moving shadow' of *some* real serial order. Now it is to the fixed order of our sensations, or in ordinary speech to the uniformity of Nature, that most physical suffering is due; and this order is no mere 'expression of the human spirit'. Whether we take temporal order to be phenomenal or ontal, it is what we 'make of' that which we have not created, and what we make only through co-operation with that which we have not made. So, abiding by Kant, or even Berkeley, we do not get out of their idealisms any support for the view that the physical evil of Nature is due to man's sinful spirit; and the Kantian phenomenalism does not nowadays satisfy Kant's own followers, but is inconsistent to some extent with knowledge forthcoming since his day. And indeed we have probably to look no farther than the truth which

Digitized by Google

Canon Green emphasizes early in his book, that God is a determinate and self-consistent Being, of whose actions the law of contradiction is valid, for a reason for the possibility and even the necessity of physical evil in an actual evolutionary world which must be a law-abiding cosmos if it is to be the theatre of intelligent and moral life. Theodicy can only plead that, given a finite evolutionary cosmos, none of its evil, in so far as God and not man's volition is responsible for it, is superfluous; or, in other words, that while much of the world's detail is productive of suffering, all things (that is collectively, as a cosmic whole) work together for good; for the highest good—man's moral status and its developement. There is no reason for inferring, from the fact that the world is imperfectly or phenomenally known, that it is imperfect in the sense of pain-producing, in virtue of its being known by man's spirit.

Some Religious Implications of Pragmatism, by J. R. GEIGER. (The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1919.)

WHETHER or not all who profess and call themselves pragmatists subscribe to the pragmatic doctrine of reality and knowledge expounded in this volume, one need not inquire; for the purpose of this review it will be enough to state that by 'pragmatism' will here be meant the teaching presented by Mr Geiger.

Religious realities, it is affirmed, like all 'reality', are constituted by experience; there is no talk, for pragmatism, of existents other than or transcending the objects of human knowledge. 'God', therefore, is a conception or ideal embodiment of the highest values (in the way of social organization) accessible to any community at any stage of its history; and theology is not to be distinguished from ethics, of the empirical—the biological and sociological—kind. God has been conceived according to the various prevailing and passing ideas of social organization, and henceforth we are to have a democratic conception: that is to say, the democratic ideal of social organization is to be the future divinity, and theology and worship are to be reconstructed accordingly.

I hope this epitome of the religious implications of pragmatism does not, in virtue of its condensation, in any way misrepresent the author's meaning, though of course it can hardly do justice to his full argument. The validity of his argument turns on that of the pragmatic doctrines expounded in his third chapter; and to these we may now turn. The primary tenet is that 'whatever reality there is must be constituted by experience' (p. 10)—by experience in its 'immediacy', which perhaps

Digitized by Google

might be translated 'concreteness'. The vagueness of that tenet, and of its leading terms 'reality' and 'experience', covers various possibilities; and it is not easy to ascertain the precise meaning that is intended. If 'real' is *defined* by pragmatism, for its own purposes, to mean what is presented in experience, well and good; but that human experience embraces all the existent, will then seem a gratuitous and even absurd dogmatic assumption. Yet that is what pragmatism appears to mean. Pragmatism 'conceives the real in wholly empirical terms' and 'knows nothing of a transcendental reality' (p. 10). Again, the fundamental postulate of pragmatism is said (p. 11) to be that 'things *are* what they are experienced as', which is as viciously vague as the former statement: for what is precisely denoted by 'things'? If 'things' means experienced objects, the statement is a tautology; if anything else, it is baseless dogma. This fundamental tenet, that reality is constituted by experience, I repeat, might mean several things. Pragmatism repudiates things-in-themselves, apparently, or any substitute for them such as the Leibnizian or the dualist would posit; yet in one context the Kantian doctrine that we 'help to make' reality is approved (p. 13). We naturally ask what we help, or helps us; and for a reply we must be referred to something ontal, or ultimate in the same sense as the experiencing subject. If the 'help' from existents other than ourselves be repudiated, as other passages in this book seem to suggest, we wonder whether pragmatism intends to identify itself with the Fichtean type of subjective idealism. Berkeleyism seems to be discarded only because *percipi* (or *intelligi*) is narrower than experience (p. 11); which seems to imply that feeling and conation, as well as cognition, constitute reality or experienced things. And indeed this view is explicitly taught: 'reality is no more constituted by the knowing process than it is by any other process within experience.' Yet cognition and the other processes can hardly be on a par in this connexion, unless psychology is in error when it teaches that feeling is consequent on or caused by sense-presentation, and conation presupposes feeling. That 'knowing is no more real' (what does 'real' mean here?) 'than any other mode of experience' is true but irrelevant; it may well be that it is through cognition that we constitute, or 'help' to constitute, our objects of experience, supposing indeed that the realist's account of the matter is to be ignored. However, pragmatism seems to go further than deny to cognition the primary rôle in constituting objects. Not only Kant's things-*per-se*, but even his sense-*data* seem to be repudiated: for knowledge cannot 'be regarded as an act whereby the mind of a knower becomes aware of an external and given world' (p. 13). Either, then, there are no data, or else knowing is not knowing (awareness).

Digitized by Google

It will be gathered from these few points selected for criticism that pragmatism, as expounded by Mr Geiger, stands in need of a much more precise formulation of its fundamental doctrines; its implications seem as yet to be the outcome of its vagueness.

The Construction of the World in terms of Fact and Value, by CYRIL TOLLEMACHE HARLEY WALKER. (B. H. Blackwell, Oxford, 1919.)

So far as this little book goes, it contains, in my opinion, the best discussion of value in relation to fact with which I am acquainted. It is quite simple and lucid, and has the rare merit of keeping in touch with experience instead of setting out from vague assumptions or soaring into the heights of abstraction where all connexion with actuality is lost. Some of the principles maintained in it might perhaps have been more fully defended by destruction of untenable alternatives; and that is the only word of criticism that I can say. With its teaching as to what constitutes fact and value respectively, as to how both come into being or into our knowledge, and as to the transition from individual to universal or social values, I am in too thorough agreement, and with its criticism of absolute values too much in sympathy, to be able to allege any defects. The whole method of the book is that which seems to me the only sound one for the study of valuation. The work is to be commended to students of philosophy and theology.

Interpretation of the Spiritual Philosophy, by the Rev. Canon J. GURNHILL, B.A. (Longmans, Green & Co., London, 1920.)

CANON GURNHILL shews in this work that he maintains to advanced age his keen interest in theological study and current philosophical literature, while still discharging the duties of a parish clergyman. He now fills in the outlines of a Christian philosophy which had been already sketched in a previous book, and draws chiefly on his knowledge of the sacred writings of Chaldaea and Babylon, the system of Plotinus, and the cosmic philosophy of Fiske, for illustration of the developement of religious sentiment and its expression in thought. He is over-hasty in assuming that life *is* consciousness, for it is not known whether or not consciousness and life are even coextensive; and his psychological assertions are not always sufficiently precise. Interesting as his book is as a personal confession of belief, it is not one which can be recommended to professed students of the younger generation, for whom the author's exegetical method has been superseded, and who are called upon to face a somewhat different theological situation.

F. R. TENNANT.

Digitized by Google

Les Lettres Provinciales, edited by H. F. STEWART, D.D. (Manchester University Press, 1920. Longmans, London.)

DR STEWART is the first English authority on Pascal; and this important work, which leaves nothing to be desired from the point of view of editorship, will take high rank in the literature of which 'the philosopher-saint' is the centre. Dr Stewart endorses M. Ernest Jovy's contention that, while he 'began the Letters as an ardent member of the Jansenist sect, he was drawing away from it even before he finished writing, and that he ended his life in opposition to it'. It may have been so: the abrupt termination of the work, and the fragmentary state of Letter xix, are difficulties; and Pascal was a temperamental man. But other solutions are possible; and the argument based on his having received the last sacraments is inconclusive. There are few confessors who would not stretch a point in favour of a penitent *in extremis*—it is only fair to say that the casuists whom Pascal attacked would have been the first to counsel a lenient attitude; and, in the case of so eminent a convert, there was much to make leniency politic. Talleyrand's 'reconciliation' by the Abbé Dupanloup, afterwards Bishop of Orleans, is a parallel instance; with good will on both sides, such questions can be satisfactorily, if not theologically, solved.

To the question whether the controversy as to Grace, suppressed rather than silenced by the Congregations De Auxiliis (1598–1607), which revived and came to a head in Jansenism, has now more than a historical interest, Dr Stewart answers that

'the contradictory conclusions issuing, on the one hand in Calvinism and Jansenism, and on the other in Pelagianism and Molinism, cannot both be valid and need not either of them compel allegiance. The ordinary religious conscience is not bound to draw these conclusions, still less to assume that they are inevitable. . . . If we look for a clue to guide our thought through the tangle, it is to be found in St Thomas's postulate that God is the Mover in everything that is good as well as the Cause of it. All human movement towards good is but a part of the great divine movement which is initiated and ceaselessly and infallibly directed towards good. And, as our movement is in His, so we are in Him. . . . It is when men begin to think of themselves as apart from God, outside God, that they go astray, and, human passions aiding, find themselves involved in tragic and unchristian controversy' (Introduction xxv).

We have ceased to discuss these controversies; the ideas which underlay them present themselves to us in other aspects. The Augustinianism which lay at the root both of Calvinism and of Jansenism

Digitized by Google

is a philosophical speculation mistranslated into a theological formula; if inevitable as a background, it is impossible as a working theory of life. For goodness is the primary attribute of divinity. The brilliancy of Pascal's advocacy, the moral grandeur of Port-Royal, and a perhaps not unreasonable distrust of Jesuitism, have led more than one English writer to forget how much of the Jansenist teaching belongs to that core of darkness in human nature on which the growth of religion and civilization acts as a solvent. Port-Royal served God; but it served Him 'with trembling': the Jesuits, with all their laxities, were the better directors of souls.

The controversy, which has recently been revived, as to the good faith of Pascal's criticism of the casuists must be pronounced impudent.

'Honesty apart, it would have been bad policy to tamper with the texts. The books were easily accessible, and there were a hundred keen and practical eyes ready to note a slip. That he does slip once or twice may be admitted . . . but the number of his lapses are extraordinarily small.'

But what is called Moral Theology is not intended as a guide to conduct. That, if you live by Moral Theology, you will lose your soul, is a common seminary maxim; and the story of the man who, having lost his purse, expressed a hope that it would not be found by a moral theologian is familiar. And much of the horror expressed at Probabilism is misdirected; it should be directed against the legal conception of religion of which Probabilism is the outcome. 'Was the laxity which Pascal deplored entirely due to the Jesuits and their teaching?' asks Dr Stewart. 'Was Probabilism the poison which he proclaimed it?' To the latter question, at least, 'history and common sense compel us to answer "No".'

The slanders of the Jesuit faction against Port-Royal roused Pascal to indignation against those whom he denounced as 'cruels et lâches persécuteurs'. 'Qui le croira, mes Pères? Le croyez-vous vous-mêmes, misérables que vous êtes?' But, in the matter of casuistry, the aim of the Society was neither to undermine nor to strengthen morality. 'Toutes vos démarches sont politiques': to vindicate and to extend the power of the Church—this, says Harnack (*D. G.* iii 641), was the motive of their *System der Unmoral.*

'Si nous souffrons quelque relâchement dans les autres, c'est plutôt par condescendance que par dessein. Nous y sommes forcés. . . .

'Nous voyons mieux que les anciens les nécessités présentes de l'Église. Si on était si sévère à exclure les prêtres de l'autel, vous comprenez bien qu'il n'y aurait pas un si grand nombre de messes.'

The age was one of casuists; and laxity, like asceticism among the Fathers of the Desert, had become a game at which each player tried

Digitized by Google

to outdo his rival. Rome was not indifferent to the evil: between 1666 and 1690 forty-five propositions in moral subject-matter were condemned by Alexander VII, sixty-five by Innocent XI, and thirty-one by Alexander VIII. These propositions, to which others might have been added, were scandalous and even grotesque; and Pascal's question as to their advocates, whose names were as outlandish as their doctrines,—'O mon Père, tous ces gens-là étaient-ils chrétiens?'—was to the point. The reasoning, however, which gave substance to their criticism of the casuists would have taken Pascal and the Jansenists very much farther than they were prepared to go; and this is the source of its weakness in their hands. Casuistry, as such, labours under an interior contradiction. The medium of speech is inadequate to the things of spirit; the springs of action escape consciousness, and cannot be weighed in human scales. But, approximate as its conclusions at best are, casuistry is inseparable from law, to which it stands as interpretation; and, in particular, from the system of Sacramental Confession. Were it not for the protection which, with its corollary Probabilism, it affords, the confessor could impose his personal opinions on the penitent, who, under the threat of the refusal of absolution, would be helpless. Whether or no Probabilism is the 'innocent thing' that Dr Stewart thinks, it is certainly, then, 'a necessary accompaniment of enforced auricular confession'; and this is perhaps an argument against that institution. But, be this as it may, his answer to the question as to the permanent moral value of the Letters is conclusive.

'Pascal stiffened the moral conscience, and armed it against the misuse of casuistry. "Probabilism" can do no harm to a properly enlightened conscience, to a conscience which wants to do right, and which takes for its guidance amid all the various voices of human opinion the higher law of God. But among the *honnêtes gens* whom Pascal had frequented and whom the Jesuits confessed, there were many who sought in 'Probabilism' not the solution of their honest doubts, but the excuse for continuing in sin. And there is no reason to suppose that the race of such is extinct to-day.'

The 'Defensor Pacis' of Marsiglio of Padua: a critical study by EPHRAIM EMERTON, Winn Professor of Ecclesiastical History in Harvard University Emeritus. Harvard Theological Studies, viii. (Cambridge, Harvard, University Press, 1920.)

THE famous book, the full title of which is *Defensor Pacis, quo quaestio iam olim controversa de potestate Papae et Imperatoris excussissime tractatur*, is difficult of access. Professor Emerton's criticism, which is of exceptional interest, is based on what he describes as 'the very

Digitized by Google

imperfect edition' of Goldast included in that writer's *Monarchia S. Romani Imperii, sive Tractatus de iurisdictione imperiali et pontificia* (1611–1615): 'collection d'un grand intérêt pour tous ceux qui veulent approfondir les démêlés des deux puissances au moyen âge', says Glaire. This work escaped the Index till 1709; from which it would seem that this Congregation was less active in the seventeenth century than at present. But Goldast's three folio volumes are not likely to be reprinted: and it is matter for congratulation that the administration of the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* has decided to publish what is likely to be for long the definitive text of the *Defensor Pacis*, and that the work has been entrusted to Professor Scholz, of Leipzig, whose abbreviated edition has already appeared in the *Quellensammlung zur Deutschen Geschichte* (1914). No complete translation has, so far, been made; and though partial translations—none later than 1645—exist in French, Italian, English, and German, all are rare.

The political teaching of Marsiglio must be taken in connexion with that of his not remote predecessors St Thomas and Dante. But the outlook of the three differs.

'Aquinas, here as elsewhere in his monumental activity, is the spokesman of an epoch in human history that within a short generation after him was gone for ever. Dante sounds the note of a transition just beginning to outline itself clearly in the rapid march of events. Marsiglio is the herald of a new world, the prophet of a new social order, acutely conscious of his modernness and not afraid to confess it. His book has been called the most remarkable literary product of the Middle Ages; and I am inclined to accept this verdict. And yet even the name of Marsiglio is unknown to most persons outside the narrow circle of students of political theory. Speaking to an audience of clergymen educated quite beyond the ordinary level of their class, I found there was but one in the company who had ever heard his name.'

Politically, St Thomas was 'a Whig of '88', and knew nothing of non-resistance, or of Legitimism, or of the Divine Right of Kings. But, ecclesiastically, he was an Ultramontane; and his doctrines work out to the ultimate supremacy of the Papacy in the temporal as in the spiritual sphere.

'If they could ever be realized, the result would be a monstrous theocracy within which every independent activity, whether of the individual or of organised society, must shrivel and perish.'

In Dante we pass to another climate. The removal of the Papacy to Avignon, and the consequent loss of its Italian character, was the last blow to an Italian patriot's devotion to the theory of Papal absolutism; the treatise *De Monarchia* looks away from it, and is

Digitized by Google

a glorification of the universal idea underlying the Empire of the Middle Ages as the continuation of the imperial system of ancient Rome. It repudiates the subjection of the Empire to the Papacy. But it does not propose any remedy in case of conflict—an event not contemplated by the writer. Marsiglio was a politician, not a poet; and the *Defensor Pacis* descends from the ideal to the actual world.

In this, 'the very world of all of us', the conception of a pre-established harmony between the spiritual and the temporal powers broke down. Before the end of the thirteenth century the Papacy found itself attacked by two great forces; the one religious, that of the Spiritual Franciscans, from which, strangely enough, the Nominalism of William of Ockham issued; the other political, that of the Empire. Marsiglio, a disciple, probably a pupil, of Ockham, was the outcome of the two. He attributes the disorder of Christendom to the invasion of the rights of the secular authority by a power which is essentially spiritual, and should be restrained to the exercise of spiritual functions. The remedy lies in drawing as sharply as possible the lines of division between the two orders, or types, of authority which have become obscured partly through the persistent aggression of the clergy, and partly by the ignorance and indifference of the laity. The law by which the balance between the two is to be held is to be found in the People;

'that is the whole body of the citizens, or a majority (*valentior pars*) of them, acting of their own free choice openly declared in a general assembly of the citizens, and prescribing something to be done or not done in regard to civil affairs under penalty of temporal punishment.'

Professor Emerton argues that by the *valentior pars* is meant not the more competent of the citizens, but the numerical majority. Marsiglio's definition of a citizen is inconclusive on this point; and it is certain that he had not the extended franchise of our own time in view. But he points out the danger of legislation by the few—'they are likely to be moved by selfish motives rather than by the welfare of the community, as has been abundantly shewn in the decretal legislation of the clergy'; and he argues against the preponderance of any one factor in the body politic, whether of the ruler in a monarchy, or of the multitude in a democracy', 'or (he adds) of a priesthood under the Christian Law'.

He was one of the greatest of Precursors. It would be difficult to find an idea, either of the Reformation or of the later historical movement in theology, which he does not foreshadow; he has in him something of Luther, Locke, Bossuet, Sohm, Hatch, Loisy; his system is a *collectus omnium haereseon*, as the Encyclical *Pascendi* says of Modernism: he has anticipated them all. The Church, for example, is

Digitized by Google

the community, not the clergy; and though the clergy are, or should be, experts in sacred science, both their property and their persons are subject to the civil law. The hierarchy, and in general the ecclesiastical polity, is of human origin; he rejects the Petrine story and the customary interpretation of the Petrine texts; he was 'the pioneer in the use of a strictly historical method in examining the foundations of the imposing structure of the Mediaeval Church'. The fact that he accepted the Forged Decretals, and (though not without suspicion) the Donation of Constantine, makes his conclusion that 'respect was paid to Rome as the capital and the most famous city in the world' the more remarkable: we might be listening to Selden or Hobbes. He would place the supreme court of appeal not in the Papacy but in a General Council, or rather a religious States General, of which laymen and (according to Ockham) women should be members: and, though he influenced ideas rather than events, and was of the springtime rather than of the harvest, his thoughts bore fruit 'after many days'. The Conciliar system which he advocated was tried—not, indeed, in the lay shape which he proposed; the hierarchy was too strong to make this possible—and broke down. One distant pope at Rome was less intolerable than a hundred petty popes in every kingdom; and it is probable that the Christian States General of which he dreamed was, and is, impracticable: even then the problems that had taken shape in Christendom were at once too large and too intangible to be met in this way. And the moral and intellectual quality of the civil rulers fell below that of his conception: kings were not philosophers, nor philosophers kings. The benevolent and intelligent despot is an Idol of the Theatre; he exists in the lecture-rooms of professors, not in the world of things. The Papacy, undermined as it was, had two centuries of life before it; because—is not this a common cause of the survival of institutions which have outlived their utility?—there was nothing ready to replace it. Not till the Renaissance had come, and a new lay civilization taken shape under its influence, was the old order faced by a competitor which was in the end to destroy it and to create a new.

A. FAWKES.

First Christian Ideas, by EDWARD CARUS SELWYN, D.D. (John Murray, 1919.)

DR SELWYN resigned the Head-mastership of Uppingham at Christmas 1907. The remaining eleven years of his life were chiefly devoted to the study of the New Testament on which he had already published

Digitized by Google

two weighty volumes—*The Christian Prophets* (Macmillan, 1900) and *St Luke the Prophet* (Macmillan, 1901). *Oracles in the New Testament* (Hodder and Stoughton) appeared in 1911 and *First Christian Ideas* was nearly ready for the Press when the author suddenly died in November 1918. The book has now been edited by Mr E. G. Selwyn, Dr Selwyn's eldest son, who has prefixed to the work a singularly attractive memoir of the writer.

The last book resumes and enforces the central theme of the series—the dependence of the New Testament upon the Septuagint. The Christian missionary of the first century did not throw himself upon an alien world with the Bible in his hand. The Bible was there before him. He followed in the wake of a racial movement. Into every city of the civilized world the Jew had found his way, and wherever he went he carried his religion with him. His religion was bound up with the past history of his nation and with the Scriptures which recorded that history. The Christian apostles and prophets presupposed in their audiences an acquaintance with the Old Testament Scriptures in their Greek dress. How largely those Scriptures bulked in the ideas, language, and argument of the early Church is illustrated in Dr Selwyn's learned pages. In addition to the recognized LXX quotations Dr Selwyn detects a number of 'submarine quotations'. The Gospels, he suggests, are to be traced to Midrash on the Old Testament Scriptures as read in the synagogues. By the *Spirit* the early Christians meant 'the power of seeing Christ in the Old Testament'. *First Christian Ideas* is difficult reading, and, as it appears to the present writer, of very unequal value. For example, there is an illuminating suggestion that Peter's vision at Joppa is based on the Biblical narrative of Noah and the Ark (p. 104); again, there is striking comparison between the language of the account of Pentecost in Acts ii and the LXX version of Isa. xxix (p. 209 f). But it is surely not necessary to resort to the Argument from Prophecy to account for the narrative of Peter's denials; yet, according to Dr Selwyn, 'we may almost say that the reason why Peter's denials are recorded at all is that, *he shall fall* occurs in the oracles of Isa. xxii.' (p. 146). Other passages adduced are neither more nor less convincing. Indeed Dr Selwyn's main thesis that the guidance of the Spirit for the first Christians always implied the *Sortes Biblicae* appears highly questionable. Surely St Paul was thinking of other things when he wrote the eighth chapter of Romans.

Orthodox critics must be prepared for shocks. St Luke, for example, was no Greek, but a Jew; indeed he was no other than Silas (pp. 25 and 72 f). St Mark was responsible in all probability, not for the Gospel which bears his name, but for 'Q' (p. 28).

Whatever may be the verdict on these and other points, Dr Selwyn

Digitized by Google

has called attention to a fundamental factor in the Theology and Literature of the Apostolic Age, and he maintains his theories with profound learning and great distinction.

On p. 182 for 'the Word of God', I think we ought to read 'the word "God"'.

The Parables of the Kingdom. A course of lectures delivered by the late HENRY BARCLAY SWETE, D.D., F.B.A. (Macmillan & Co., 1920.)

ANYTHING from Dr Swete's pen is sure of a warm welcome. This little book, consisting of lectures delivered at Cambridge in the Lent Term 1908, will certainly not be an exception. The course falls into three divisions. In the first Dr Swete reviews the Nature Parables of the Galilean ministry; he then proceeds to the Judaean Parables drawn from social life; and concludes by summarizing the teaching of the Parables of the Kingdom as a whole. The weight of learning which lies behind the book is lightly borne; each parable is taken in turn: the story is analysed and the meaning expounded in Dr Swete's lucid and graceful style, while practical lessons are suggested which the parish-priest may draw from its teaching for his own and his people's guidance. It was this combination of learning, simplicity, and pastoral instinct which made Dr Swete the most popular divinity lecturer in Cambridge.

It is superfluous to say that Dr Swete knew all there was to know on the literature of the subject, and even in these popular lectures he generally manages to indicate where other critics might dissent from the position he maintains. He was not himself disposed readily to venture on conjectures which must probably always remain conjectures. For example, in dealing with the Parable of the Talents and the Parable of the Pounds he is content to treat them as two complete and independent parables delivered as they stand on two separate occasions. Probably most scholars to-day suspect some literary connexions between the two, even if they are unable to determine what exactly those connexions are.

At the time these lectures were delivered the question of the eschatological teaching of the Gospel was coming to the front, and Dr Swete does not fail to emphasize it, though many will feel that the evidence warrants more confident conclusions than Dr Swete in these lectures allowed himself to draw. 'In the first generation or two the Lord was expected to come in a few years. There are signs in St Paul's earlier Epistles that this hope of a speedy Parousia was still entertained,

Digitized by Google

perhaps even by himself' (p. 202). If Dr Swete had lived to see this book in print, the 'perhaps' would possibly have disappeared. In dealing with the Parables themselves, although he lays stress on the eschatological element involved, he is not inclined to interpret the whole Gospel in terms of the Advent message, and these pages probably give a more truly proportioned picture of the teaching of Jesus than that designed by the extreme school of eschatological interpreters.

J. M. CREED.

Digitized by Google

CHRONICLE

THE HISTORY OF RELIGIONS.

The History of Religions in Italian Universities, by Louis Henry Jordan, B.D. (Univ. of Chicago Press, 1919), gives a rapid survey of the subject from 1873, the date when the theological faculties of all the Italian universities were summarily abolished by Act of Parliament. Although the deputies expressly maintained that the history of religions (including the history of Christianity) should be assigned a place in the official courses of study, the results were not wholly satisfactory; and Mr Jordan indicates how France avoided some of the Italian mistakes, when the faculties of theology were allowed to disappear in that country, by the establishment of the 'section des sciences religieuses' of the famous École des Hautes-Études of Paris. Mr Jordan describes and discusses the standpoints and methods of the best-known Italian professors and lecturers since 1873, and sums up the gains of the last eight or ten years. In spite of the serious opposition which the study of the history of religions has met with, he considers the outlook distinctly promising. The difficulty is that 'there exists for the Church of Rome, in effect, only *one* religion; and of Roman Christianity that church is the *sole* authoritative interpreter. . . . Moreover, the Church of Rome continues to be needlessly uneasy whenever laymen invade any theological domain.'

The *Journal of the Manchester Egyptian and Oriental Society*, 1916–1917, and 1917–1918 (Longmans, Green & Co.), contains several articles that require mention here. The Bishop of Salford writes on the work of the late Prof. James Hope Moulton as an Iranian scholar. Miss M. A. Murray, in an article on 'the god of the witches', suggests that in the witch-cult we catch glimpses of the religion practised by one of the earliest races of western Europe—a dwarf race. Prof. Canney discusses the term 'Sun of Righteousness' and the Hebrew root צלח (used of the Divine Spirit 'cleaving' a man). Prof. G. Elliott Smith writes characteristically on 'the giver of life': 'the ultimate motive which impelled mankind to depart from the simple life of his original ancestors, and embark upon the hazardous regimen of toil and strife which we call progress and civilization, was the search for an "elixir of life"'. He is, as ever, suggestive and interesting, but if we may use the present to explain the past, it is fairly obvious that not the least important factors in enquiry and progress are crises—economic, social,

Digitized by Google

political, and intellectual. But Prof. Smith himself recognizes that 'the preservation of life is the fundamental and dominating instinct', and we have, therefore, to understand by 'life' all its manifestations. Prof. Parker contributes an informing account of Kwan-Tsz, 'the earliest articulate Chinese philosopher'.

The Jewish Theological Seminary, New York, sends a copy of the address delivered at the twenty-fifth Annual Commencement, June 1918, by S. S. Cohen, M.D., on its past and future. It is interesting testimony to the spirit animating Judaism, and upholds the conviction that Judaism 'is Faith made life'. Judaism, says the same speaker in an address of 1894 (also reprinted here), forced to 'defend itself against a worship repugnant to its lofty conception of God, has perhaps gone too far to the other extreme'. The hold of Christianity upon the masses lies in 'the nearness of its man-god to his worshippers. To him they turn as to an elder brother. . . . In putting aside the deified man [Jesus] we have perhaps stripped our teaching of God of some of those attributes most precious to the soul that seeks from its Creator help and guidance.'

Rabbi Julian Morgenstern, Ph.D., in *A Jewish Interpretation of the Book of Genesis* (Cincinnati, 1919), writes for the needs of the 'professional Jewish religious school teacher and the non-professional Jewish Bible student'. It is throughout Jewish, in spirit, in its selection of illustrative material from the Talmud, &c. Everywhere it 'accepts the established and irrefutable teachings of science with regard to Genesis, and seeks to determine constantly what is the fundamental Jewish thought and teaching of the various stories and groups of stories, for the sake of which their Jewish authors and editors cast them into their present form'. Complaining that the numerous scientific interpretations of Genesis, mostly by non-Jewish scholars, have been too analytic, and have failed to determine both the aims for which the various sources were combined, and the thoughts and purposes of the editors, the writer, who is Professor of Bible and Semitic Languages, at Hebrew Union College, takes a thoroughly synthetic view, one indeed which will be found suggestive by Christian and other non-Jewish writers. Convinced, though one may be, that the work of penetrating analysis is still unfinished, the exigencies of the age appear to demand a re-handling of Biblical problems from a more psychological and humanistic point of view. It is not that analytical criticism is wrong, but in the history of a study, as in that of a people, one needs unifying and synthesizing guiding lines which shall regulate the work of analysis and make it more fruitful for ordinary readers.

Here must also be mentioned Mr H. M. Wiener's reprint of his essay *The Religion of Moses* (from 'Bibliotheca Sacra', 1919). While Prof. Morgen-

Digitized by Google

stern insists that the books of the Torah are the least corrupt of all the books of the Old Testament (p. 73), Mr Wiener's plank has long been the insecurity of the text, on the strength of which he attempts to deprive the critics of the Old Testament of some of their weapons. Thus he argues that 'we can place no reliance on the Massoretic designations of the supernatural beings' in the patriarchal history (p. 23), and his general attitude to the text seems to me to be as devoid of sound principle as the effort to see Jerahmeelite and other southern names beneath the present Hebrew recension. He urges that 'Baal' occurred much more frequently once, and has been systematically removed from the text—a not unnatural view if held in moderation. He thinks that the patriarchs believed in a plurality of Baals, and that 'the people who went down into Egypt, therefore, were polytheists and the descendants of polytheists' (p. 29). In Egypt Akhenaton (Amenhotep IV) 'taught a speculative belief of pantheistic character in the solar disc', and comparing the oft-quoted royal hymn with the parallels or echoes in Ps. civ, he ingeniously suggests that 'the Hebrew is answering Akhenaton . . . though he may have had before him a different set of excerpts, excluding some of the matter contained in our hymn' (p. 8). He proceeds to argue that Moses must have been acquainted with monotheism in Egypt (although, of course, the monotheism of Moses is different, p. 32), and that the hymn tells against the 'evolutionary school'. To this it may be said that what is really emerging from current tendencies in Old Testament criticism is the fact that facile theories of the history of Israelite religion are untenable. Current events, too, have shaken our dogmas of religious evolution in general. The simple progression from desert nomadism to priestly legalism, which Hugo Winckler, in particular, was never weary of attacking, is a *logical* construction for which it is difficult to find any parallel elsewhere. Yet everywhere else there is definite progress and genetic developement; although it is not easy to determine with precision the course taken. We need a new theory of the history of Israelite religion, even as the age needs some new conception of the line of developement of religion in general. Yahweh may have been primarily as much an ethical god as, for example, the wonderful Varuna of the Vedas, who later occupies a secondary position. The old historians' philosophy of history with its apostasy and return may contain elements of historical fact which criticism has tended to ignore. But what is now of special interest is the extent to which essentially 'critical' problems are found to turn upon questions of psychology, of personal and national religion and of religious experience. Mr Wiener argues that the patriarchs were Baal-worshippers and polytheists; Dr Morgenstern points to the sublime monotheistic teaching which

Digitized by Google

the editors of the narratives wished to convey. The former dismisses Akhenaton as a speculative pantheist (p. 32), in spite of the delicate sympathy and humanism of the royal hymns (e. g. p. 5 sq.); and he whom some call 'the world's first idealist' is to others a fanatic and a pathological specimen. We raise questions of the *meaning* that gods, and Baals, and solar discs, and so forth had for their worshippers; and it seems no exaggeration to say that the trend of modern research where religion is involved, like the trend of social and political events, has reached the point where everything turns upon problems of a profoundly deep religious character. At all events, there is an *impasse* in biblical criticism, and whatever direction one takes one comes up against some fundamental problem of the nature of religion which is in some way bound up with the modern conditions of life and thought.

One of the few really important and constructive books on Old Testament study is due to the industrious veteran, Prof. Eduard König of Bonn (*Hermeneutik des Alten Testaments mit spezieller Berücksichtigung der modernen Probleme*, Bonn, 1916). When one considers the numerous aspects under which the Old Testament can be approached, the really enormous accumulation of material, varying in significance and value, and the way in which 'religious and 'scientific' enquiries can conflict or overlap, the need of some comprehensive and informing handbook on the general methodology of the subject will be obvious. Where may we allegorize? where are moralizing and psychological interpretations to be employed? where are we to treat narratives as poetry and myth, and where as history? Are we to read the Old Testament through Jewish eyes, or through Christian, or from some philosophical standpoint? The fine work which was done by Dr Briggs (*The Study of Holy Scripture*) is here undertaken along characteristically German lines and in a more technical form. While the book by Briggs is always one to be commended to the younger students, König's book, in spite of its frequent difficulty, deserves careful consideration. It is a suggestive contribution to the larger problem of the Church and the interpretation of the Old Testament. The progress of scientific research since the Reformation has gradually brought the question of the interpretation of the Old Testament to the front, and at a time when there is a certain awakening among large masses of the population and a new interest in the Bible and in Palestine itself. The Old Testament does not interpret itself, and in the present position of criticism there is not the requisite unanimity of interpretation whether among Christians or, as we have just seen, among Jews. There must be some harmonious interrelationship between psychological, historical, archaeological, and other lines of enquiry; some new methodology is needed whereby the interconnexion

Digitized by Google

of the different departments of research shall be understood. Only in this way does it seem possible that the necessary harmony of interpretation can be acquired, and that unity gained which makes for the progressive developement of every branch of what is essentially a single tree. That such a result will involve some new harmonious interrelationship between purely religious and purely scientific lines of thought is obvious, and it is very distinctly indicated by a writer on the history of religions to whom we shall refer presently.

The Materials for the Study of the Bábí Religion, compiled by Prof. E. G. Browne (Cambridge University Press, 1918), comprise much miscellaneous matter which throws additional light upon a movement which, to quote his words, 'even if its practical and political importance should prove to be less than I had once thought, will always be profoundly interesting to students of Comparative Religion and the history of Religious Evolution'. The book includes an account of the Bábí movement from an Arabic source, a description of the character of the Bahai propaganda in America, a complete bibliography supplementing earlier lists by Prof. Browne, various facsimiles, texts, and translations, some accounts of the persecution of the Bábís, and also an interesting summary of the doctrines which the Shiites consider heretical. In the course of an introductory statement of the features of political, ethical, and historical interest, Prof. Browne draws attention, first, to the important political side of Bahaism, in particular to the evolution of ideas since its propaganda achieved success in America. As regards the ethical interest, it is instructive to find that Baha'ullah had to face a problem similar to that which confronted St Paul, namely, whether the new religion he represented was to be universal or to remain that of a small sect. '*Mutatis mutandis* the strife between Baha'ullah and Subh-i-Azal was essentially identical with the strife between St Paul and St Peter' (p. xxi). Finally, 'in spite of the official denial of the necessity, importance, or evidential value of miracles in the ordinary sense, numerous miracles are recorded in Bábí histories . . . and many more are related by adherents of the faith'. Extraordinary diversity of opinion prevails as to such fundamental doctrines as those connected with the future life, and, also, as to the authorship of various Bábí writings although the beginnings of the literature only go back to 1844–1845. The earliest history of the Bab and his disciples was suppressed and replaced by a version which modified or omitted features regarded as undesirable, and while this was suffered to remain in MS, a third official history with another representation of the succession was widely diffused. It only remains to be said that it is a great gain to be able to see so closely into the history of the rise and early vicissitudes of an Oriental religion and to obtain so many positive data suggestive for the investi-

Digitized by Google

gation of the rise of other religions where contemporary material is scanty or wanting.

No less than three different works on the history of religions have recently been published in the United States. Prof. G. A. Barton writes (*The Religions of the World*) for the series of 'Handbooks of Ethics and Religion' issued by the University of Chicago (1917). It is intended for class purposes and aims at fairly brief and concise descriptions, each chapter being followed by a bibliography graded to suit students of slight or of extended opportunities for further study. It may be cordially recommended to those who desire only brief outlines. It begins with a chapter on primitive religions, passes to Babylonia and Egypt, thence to the religion of the Hebrews (to the Persian period), the Jews and the Mohammedans; it then goes east to Persia, India, and Further Asia, returns west, to Greece and Rome, and concludes with Christianity. A specially interesting feature in this little book—it runs to about 360 pages—is the extensive list of topics for further study and discussion, and the suggested outline of a book to be written by the student himself.

A larger work, by Prof. E. W. Hopkins, Ph.D., LL.D., on *The History of Religions* (Macmillan, New York, 1918), about 630 pages, covers the same religions, though in a different order, and includes a much fuller account of the more primitive religions, with chapters on the religions of Africa, Polynesia, N. American Indians, Mexico, S. America, Celts, Slavs, and Teutons. Here a more determined effort is made to indicate the growth of religion as it passes from primitive peoples to those higher in the scale of cultural developement, and where possible the historical vicissitudes of each religion are traced stage by stage. The volume belongs to the Yale 'Religious Science and Literature Series', and whereas Prof. Barton—like Prof. Moore (see below)—is well known in the field of Old Testament and Semitic research, Dr Hopkins is the Yale Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology, and the author of a valuable work on Indian religions. In both text and foot-notes Dr Hopkins devotes more attention than the other writers to points of detail, and his volume, covering a considerably wider field than the others, though in several respects not so full as Prof. Moore's, will be appreciated by those who desire a less elementary work than the preceding.

Finally, *The History of Religions* by Prof. G. F. Moore, D.D., LL.D., deliberately ignores 'what are miscalled "primitive" religions', on the ground that they are a subject for themselves, demand another method, and cannot be 'incidentally despatched in the prolegomena to a history of religions'. Further, he adds, the 'survivals' in the higher religions are just as intelligible in Babylonia or Greece as in Africa or Australia.

Digitized by Google

The first volume (noticed in the *J. T. S.* January 1915, vol. xvi p. 299 sq.) handled the religions of China, Japan, Egypt, Babylonia and Assyria, India, Persia, Greece, and Rome (about 650 pages). The present volume deals with Judaism, Christianity, and Mohammedanism in about 565 pages, of which the second occupies 380 pages. The pair form a most valuable addition to the 'International Theological Library' (Clark, Edinburgh), and Dr Moore, who is Professor of the History of Religion at Harvard and already well known for his Old Testament work, has laid scholars under a fresh debt. The whole work forms an elaborate handbook to the subject, and the indexes are so contrived that (independently of the various references in vol. ii to vol. i) a comparative study of the treatment of similar topics in the different religions can be readily made. Special attention may be drawn to the important prefaces which furnish the reader with hints on the evolution of religion in general. The writer has made it his aim to secure unity of treatment so that the features of resemblance and difference between religions can be followed throughout. The effect of this is most marked in this second volume where he points out how Neoplatonic mysticism and Aristotelian scholasticism have exercised a fundamental influence upon the three great religions which he styles 'three branches of monotheistic religion in Western Asia and Europe'. Prof. Moore is inclined to take a world-wide survey of the history of religion and lays emphasis upon the significance of the middle of the first millennium B. C. for Taoism, the Upanishads, Buddhism, Zoroaster, Orphic-Pythagorean movements, and Hebrew prophetism (vol. i p. viii sq.). Going back still earlier he finds about 3000 B. C. another great period of supreme importance for Egypt, Babylonia, Elam, Crete, and China. As regards the present age, if there are indications of some new movement sweeping over Judaism, Christianity, and Islam, we are directed to the disintegrating effect of the progress of modern science upon religions interwoven with Greek thought and an antique conception of the universe as a whole (p. 275). What was achieved by scholastic theology in the thirteenth century and by the Protestant confessions of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries must now be the task of 'advanced' Protestantism to-day; 'to find a theology, or, some would say, a philosophy of religion which shall represent modern conceptions of the universe, of the place and part of man in it, of the origin and developement of religion in general and of Christianity in particular, and of the specific excellencies of Christianity' (p. 379). Both Prof. Barton (p. 307) and Prof. Hopkins (pp. 394 sqq.) give their reasons for their faith in the further progress and supremacy of Christianity; Prof. Moore, throughout markedly objective, notes the present tendencies, and concludes his survey of Christianity with some remarks upon the 'Catholic Church'.

Digitized by Google

'The Church', he says, 'is resolved by all means in its power to prevent the disintegrating effects of modern philosophy, science, history, biblical criticism and exegesis upon the dogmas of religion, which have been so conspicuously exemplified in contemporary Protestantism' (p. 385). Prof. Moore writes impassively and with complete restraint: the disintegrating tendencies of modern thought, the optimism of Protestantism, which, as we read between the lines, he considers precarious (p. 379), the failure of Protestant bodies to unite (p. 380), the uncompromising attitude of Rome to Modernism (pp. 381 sqq.), its staunch defence of its doctrines—little is said of Neo-scholasticism—and finally the brief paragraph, already partly quoted, on the task awaiting '"advanced" Protestantism', which may be said to sum up in half a dozen lines the verdict of the historian of religions. Re-read the history of religions and we shall find a certain uniformity and logical necessity in the sort of questions that arise and the typical solutions. Here the history of religions seems to have something to contribute to modern constructive religious thought; it encourages that more objective point of view from which one can gain a broader survey of the curve of religious history and militates against any narrow outlook of the future of religion which takes its stand upon a man's own particular convictions and ignores those of his no less honest opponents.

STANLEY A. COOK.

Digitized by Google

RECENT PERIODICALS RELATING TO THEOLOGICAL STUDIES

(1) ENGLISH.

The Church Quarterly Review, April 1920 (Vol. xc, No. 179: S.P.C.K.). Y. BRILIOTH The Church of Sweden in its relations to the Anglican Church—H. RASHDALL Personality in recent philosophy—A. A. COCK A mediaeval mystic's 'Fiery soliloquy with God'—BISHOP OF GLOUCESTER The Rock of ages—E. B. COOK The national assembly of the Church of England—A. C. HEADLAM Reunion and theories of the ministry—The future of the Turkish empire—H. WARREN Sophia, comtesse de Franqueville—Short notices.

The Hibbert Journal, April 1920 (Vol. xviii, No. 3: Williams & Norgate). C. D. BROAD Euclid, Newton, and Einstein—M. D. PETRE The city on earth, the city in heaven, and the league of nations—J. E. CARPENTER Saints and philosophers among the Tamil Çaivas—T. LACEY The Pelagianism of to-day—J. E. MERCER Survival and monadology—E. HOLMES The psychology of sanity—H. P. COOKE Ripae ulterioris amore—L. RE-BARTLETT The mind of Italy—H. P. SMITH Religion and the Churches—H. J. D. ASTLEY Primitive art and magic—H. D. RAWNSLEY Liquor control and the Carlisle experiment—G. DOUGLAS The child of genius—A. T. CADOUX Evangelism old and new—Discussions, Survey, and Signed Reviews.

The Expositor, April 1920 (Eighth Series, No. 112: Hodder & Stoughton). LORD SANDS The silence of St Paul—R. MACKINTOSH Historic Protestantism and the penal scheme—J. W. FALCONER The Aramaic source of Acts i 15 and Paul's conversion—J. A. ROBERTSON Jesus' words regarding care—H. G. WOOD The moral scepticism of to-day—W. MEIKLE The vocabulary of 'patience' in the New Testament—E. H. ASKWITH Some obscure passages in the Psalms.

May 1920 (Eighth Series, No. 113). R. A. FALCONER The mystery of godliness—R. HARRIS The original title of the Gospel of Mark—J. A. ROBERTSON The 'presence' of Jesus—J. A. HUTTON The epistle general of Jude—R. MACKINTOSH Grotianism and its echoes—J. H. LECKIE Beauties of apocalyptic literature.

June 1920 (Eighth Series, No. 114). C. LATTEY The divine Julius—F. GRANGER Jesus the workman—G. B. GRAY The additions in the ancient Greek version of Job—T. A. GURNEY St Paul the co-operator

Digitized by Google

—R. MACKINTOSH R. W. Dale and the fact of the Atonement— J. A. ROBERTSON Jesus and Nathanael—F. GAKIN 'The Saints': some notes on New Testament and present English use.

(2) AMERICAN.

The American Journal of Theology, April 1920 (Vol. xxiv, No. 2: University of Chicago Press). I. P. JOHNSON The policy of the Episcopal Church—J. B. PRATT Theology an empirical science—G. B. SMITH Significance of the humanity of Jesus—T. J. MEEK Reconstruction of early Hebrew history—S. G. HEFELBOWER Deism historically defined—P. G. MODE Contemporary Church-union movements—M. A. POWER Nisan fourteenth and fifteenth—C. R. BOWEN Are Paul's prison letters from Ephesus?—Recent theological literature.

The Princeton Theological Review, April 1920 (Vol. xviii, No. 2: Princeton University Press). J. Fox Spiritist theologians—C. H. FENN The religion of modern China—J. D. DAVIS The reclothing and coronation of Joshua—B. B. WARFIELD 'Miserable sinner Christianity' in the hands of rationalists—C. W. HODGE Dr Tennant on the Divine omnipotence and the conception of a finite God—Reviews of recent literature.

(3) FRENCH AND BELGIAN.

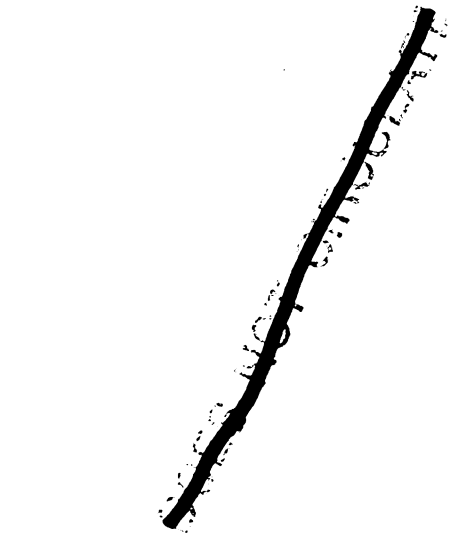
Analecta Bollandiana, May 1920 (Vol. xxxviii, Nos. 1 and 2: Brussels, 22 Boulevard Saint-Michel). H. DELEHAYE Saint Martin et Sulpice Sévère—P. PEETERS Un nouveau manuscrit arabe du récit de la prise de Jérusalem par les Perses en 614—C. VAN DE VORST Note sur S. Joseph l'hymographe—R. LECHAT Vita beatae Framehildis viduae—F. VAN ORTROY Un incunable des Fioretti—P. PEETERS La canonisation des Saints dans l'Église russe—Bulletin des publications hagiographiques.

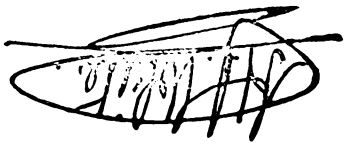
Revue Bénédictine, October 1914–1919 (Vol. xxxi, No. 4: Abbaye de Maredsous). D. DE BRUYNE Étude sur les origines de la Vulgate en Espagne—U. BERLIÈRE La congrégation bénédictine de Chalais—Comptes rendus—U. BERLIÈRE Bulletin d'histoire bénédictine.

January–April 1920 (Vol. xxxii, Nos. 1, 2). D. DE BRUYNE L'héritage littéraire de l'abbé Saint Valère—C. CALLEWAERT Le Carême à Milan au temps de S. Ambroise—U. BERLIÈRE Innocent III et la réorganisation des monastères bénédictins—DE BRUYNE Quelques nouveaux documents pour la critique textuelle de l'Apocalypse d'Esdras —A. WILMART Les Allégories sur l'Écriture attribuées à Raban Maur: Le commentaire des bénédictins de Jacob attribué à Paulin de Milan—G. M. BEYSSAC Sur un feuillet de parchemin—Comptes rendus—U. BERLIÈRE Bulletin d'histoire bénédictine.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google





Digitized by Google

[redacted]

[redacted] & CLASSICAL [redacted]

Digitized by Google

The Ohio State University
3 2435 028393387
Journal of theological studies.
BR1J88
001
V21-22

THE OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY BOOK DEPOSITORY
D AISLE SECT SHLF SIDE POS ITEM C
8 08 11 04 7 12 023 3